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History.

AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

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AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

VOL. XVIII.

BOOK IV.

The History of the Carthaginians.

CHAP. XIII. SECT. VIII.

The History of the Carthaginians, *from the Taking of* Capua *by* Hannibal, *to the Destruction of* Carthage *by Æ*milianus.

The transactions in Italy *immediately after the battle of* Cannæ.

HANNIBAL had no sooner possessed himself of *Capua*, as we have related in the preceding volume, than he attempted, both by promises and menaces, to make himself master of *Neapolis*. But the *Neapolitans* being proof against all his efforts, he advanced to *Nola*, and summoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmost extremities, if they did not immediately surrender. The senate, at least the leading men in it, were wholly in the *Roman* interest; but the *Carthaginians* being masters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was intirely at *Hannibal*'s devotion. The former therefore, in order to carry their point,

pretended to be in a diſpoſition to ſurrender the city to *Hannibal*; but at the ſame time inſinuated, that, before this could be done, it would be proper to come to ſome terms of agreement with him. By pretending to enter into a negotiation with the *Carthaginian*, the ſenate gained time to diſpatch an expreſs to *Marcellus*, the *Roman* prætor, who informed him of the abſolute neceſſity of marching inſtantly to their relief. Hereupon *Marcellus*, leaving *Caſilinum*, where he was then poſted, advanced to *Calatia*; and having paſſed the *Vulturnus*, moved, with ſurpriſing celerity, through the diſtricts of *Satricula* and *Trebia*, in order to ſuccour *Nola*. *Hannibal* drew off upon his approach, and made a freſh attempt upon *Neapolis*; but without effect. After this, he laid ſiege to *Nuceria*, and ſtarved it to a ſurrender. Then he again approached *Nola*, and encamped before it. But the town was kept out of his hands by *L. Bantius*, whom the *Romans* had brought over to their intereſt, by a preſent of a fine horſe, and five hundred *bigati* (A). *Acerræ Hannibal* laid in aſhes, the inhabitants abandoning it upon his approach. From thence he moved to *Caſilinum*, which he cauſed firſt to be attacked by a body of *Gætulians* under the command of their captain *Iſalca*. But they being repulſed, as well as a large *Carthaginian* detachment headed by *Maherbal*, *Hannibal* was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade. After this, he left a ſmall body of troops to guard his lines, and put his army into winter-quarters at *Capua* [a].

[a] Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 14—19. Plut. in Marcel. Paul. Oros. l. iv. c. 16.

(A) The *bigati*, or *nummi bigati*, were ſilver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horſes ſtamped upon them; and the *quadrigati*, or *nummi quadrigati*, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horſes, as we learn from *Pliny*. According to the ſame author, the *Phrygians* invented the former kind of chariots, and *Erichthonius* the latter. Let this be admitted, and it will ſeem to follow, that the *Romans* had theſe chariots introduced amongſt them by their neighbours the *Etruſcans*, who were deſcended from the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*, ſince they were uſed at *Rome* before that city had any intercourſe with the *Greeks*. Many *Roman denarii*, particularly of thoſe coined in the times of the republic, with ſuch images on their reverſes, are to be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious. *Tacitus*, and other *Roman* authors, as well as *Livy*, mention the coins we are now treating of (1).

(1) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 3. *& l.* vii. *c.* 56. *Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l.* i. *c.* 4. *Val. Max. l.* ii. *ex.* 17. *Plut. in prob. Roman. c.* 52. *Tacit. in cert. Aſiat. urb. l.* iv. *Tertul. de pal. Vide etiam Joan. Meurſium, de fort. Athen. apud Jac. Gronov. in ant. Græc. theſaur. vol.* v. *p.* 1707. *& de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. diſſert. edit. Oxon.* 1738.

The pleaſures of Capua *prejudicial to* Hannibal.

IT is intimated by the *Roman* hiſtorians, that *Capua* proved the deſtruction of *Hannibal*. Here it was, according to theſe authors, that thoſe ſoldiers, who had long been inured to the greateſt fatigues, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were vanquiſhed by luxury, and a flow of pleaſures, with which the minds of the *Capuans*, who were immerſed in a profuſion of the moſt charming delights, had long been corrupted. *Livy* in particular intimates, that *Hannibal*'s delicious abode at *Capua* was a reproach to his former conduct, and infinitely more prejudicial to his affairs, than the falſe ſtep he was guilty of, in not marching directly to *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*. For this laſt error, according to that hiſtorian, might ſeem only to have retarded his victory; whereas the former rendered him abſolutely incapable of conquering. This, we ſay, is the ſentiment of *Livy*, and has been adopted by ſeveral later writers; but whether or no it is intirely agreeable to truth, will, if we conſider things with due attention, perhaps admit of ſome diſpute [b].

FOR though we ſhould allow, that the martial genius of the *Carthaginians* was impaired by the bewitching retirement at *Capua*, yet it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the bad ſucceſs, which afterwards attended *Hannibal*'s arms, ought to be aſcribed to this, as its principal cauſe. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the *Romans*, the ſeveral towns he reduced in ſight of the *Roman* armies, the bravery with which he maintained himſelf in *Italy* for fourteen years after this event, in ſpite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. But *Livy* himſelf puts this beyond diſpute: that author points out to us a cauſe of the declenſion of the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy*, different from the delights of *Capua* [c].

The principal cauſe of the decay of Hannibal's *affairs.*

WE have before obſerved from him, that the ſenate and people of *Carthage* ordered four thouſand *Numidian* horſe, forty elephants, and a conſiderable body of *Spaniſh* infantry, with a proper ſum of money, to be ſent to *Italy*, in order to enable *Hannibal* to maintain and extend his conqueſts there. Had this ample ſupply been ſent him with an expedition equal to the ſpirit with which it was granted, the *Romans* would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon *Hannibal*, on account of his conduct at *Capua*. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty rival of the *Carthaginian* republic to have ſubmitted to the ſuperior force of

[b] LIV. ubi ſup. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 3. [c] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 13. & c. 32, Idem, l. xxvi. ZONAR. ubi ſup.

his arms the next campaign. But, notwithſtanding the influence of the *Barcinian* faction, *Hanno*, and his adherents, found means not only to retard the march of the intended ſuccours, but even to diminiſh them. *Mago*, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for only twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; and even with this body of troops, inconſiderable as it was, he was ſent to *Spain*. *Hannibal*, being thus deſerted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had come to a reſolution to ſacrifice the ſtate, of which they were members, to their private reſentment, found himſelf obliged to be on the defenſive, his army being reduced to twenty-ſix thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe. As the *Romans* therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties they were reduced to, ſent every year two conſular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order; as neither the *Gauls* nor *Italians* were natural allies of the *Carthaginians*, and conſequently would ſcarce fail of abandoning them, as ſoon as fortune began to declare againſt them; there is no need to have recourſe to the pleaſures of *Capua*, in order to account for *Hannibal*'s being driven out of *Italy* [d].

At the return of the ſpring, *Hannibal* drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and reſumed the ſiege of *Caſilinum*. He did not, however, puſh this on with vigour, as knowing, that the place muſt ſoon ſurrender through want of proviſions. The famine raged ſo grievouſly amongſt the citizens, that they were obliged, for ſome time, to feed upon the moſt loathſome animals. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one of them gave another an hundred *Roman* denarii for a ſingle mouſe; which ſupported him, till *Hannibal* granted the gariſon a capitulation; but the perſon who ſold it, in the mean time, periſhed with hunger. *Pliny* and *Frontinus* affirm, that this mouſe was purchaſed with two hundred *Roman* denarii; and with theſe authors *Livy*, in the main, agrees. *Marcellus*, not being able to attempt raiſing the ſiege, by reaſon of an inundation of the *Vulturnus*, the troops in gariſon were forced to have recourſe to *Hannibal*'s clemency; who, induced thereto by their brave defence, permitted them to march out of the town, upon the freemens paying ſeven ounces of gold a head. *Hannibal* reſtored *Caſilinum* to the *Campanians*, leaving there a *Carthaginian* gariſon of ſeven hundred men, to defend the place againſt the *Romans*, in caſe they ſhould think proper, after his departure, to attack it. Then, to complete the reduction of that part of *Italy*, in conjunction with the greateſt part of

[d] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. paſſ.

the

the *Brutii*, he laid siege to *Petelia*, the only city of that nation, which held out against him. The *Peteliani* immediately applied to the *Romans* for succours in the most pressing manner; but the perplexed state of affairs would not permit the republic to assist them. Notwithstanding which, they defended themselves for several months against the reiterated attacks of the whole *Carthaginian* army, with incredible bravery and resolution [c].

The state of affairs in Spain.

During these transactions in *Italy*, the war was carried on with great vigour in *Spain*. For some time *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general there, kept himself upon the defensive, not being in a condition to face either the *Roman* fleet under *Publius Scipio*, or the land-forces commanded by *Cneius*. However, at last receiving a reinforcement of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from *Carthage*, he ventured to move out of the fastnesses, wherein he had before posted himself, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewise gave orders to have his fleet refitted, to protect the maritim parts of the *Carthaginian* provinces, and the islands adjacent to them, from all insults of the enemy; but, before this was in a condition to put to sea, he received intelligence, that several captains of ships had gone over to the *Romans*. These captains, it seems, had been severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the *Iberus*, through cowardice, the last year; which they not being able to brook, had, from that time, meditated a revolt from the *Carthaginians*. Not content with what they had already done, they endeavoured to excite the *Carthesians* to a defection; in which they so far succeeded, that several towns were drawn off from their obedience to the *Carthaginians*, and another, that refused to join them, reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to *Asdrubal*, and a seasonable diversion in favour of the *Romans*. For the *Carthaginian* general, leaving the *Romans* to themselves, advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a design to attack *Galbus*, the *Carthesian* general, who lay encamped there under the walls of the town he had lately possessed himself of. He therefore first sent away his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels, and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the straggling parties of the enemy, that should be found dispersed there. By which

[c] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 20. Appian. in Hannib. Plin. nat. hist. l. viii. c. 57. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 6. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. iv. c. 5. ex. 20. Plut. in Marcel. & in Hannib.

means many of the *Carthaginians* were killed, others put to flight, and their camp alarmed at the ſame time. However, their forces being very numerous, they were ſo far from being terrified at this motion, that they inſtantly iſſued out of their camp in a body, dancing after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the *Carthaginians*. This ſudden inſtance of courage ſo damped the ſpirits of *Aſdrubal*'s main body, with which he was advancing to attack *Galbus*'s camp, that he thought proper to take poſt on an eminence, in itſelf of difficult acceſs, but rendered more ſo by a river, which ſecured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the two above-mentioned detachments, equally ſtruck with terror at the enemy's approach. Nay, under ſuch terrible apprehenſions were the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, that, notwithſtanding their camp might have been looked upon as inacceſſible, *Aſdrubal* fortified it with an intrenchment, in order to cover it the more effectually from all attempts of the barbarians. Some ſkirmiſhes happened whilſt the two armies lay ſo near one another; but without any conſiderable loſs on either ſide. *Livy* tells us, that the *Numidian* cavalry were not ſo good as the *Carthaginian*; nor the *Mauritanian* dartmen as the *Carthaginian* targeteers; who, in activity, were equal to them, and in ſtrength, as well as courage, excelled them. *Galbus*, finding it impoſſible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the intrenchment that covered it, ſeized upon *Aſena*, a town where *Aſdrubal* had fixed his principal magazine, when he firſt entered upon the *Carthaginian* frontiers, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the open country round about it. *Aſdrubal*, finding that the enemy, not a little elated with their ſucceſs, ſoon after diſperſed themſelves in ſmall parties over the country, and laid aſide all diſcipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced out of his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The *Carthaginians*, not expecting ſo ſudden an attack, and having a good part of their forces then roving about the country, were eaſily routed by the *Carthaginians*, who continued the ſlaughter a great part of the day. In fine, the whole body of the barbarians in the camp, except a ſmall party, that eſcaped, by a vigorous ſally, to the mountains and woods, was put to the ſword; which threw the *Carthaginians* into ſuch a conſternation, that the next day the whole nation ſubmitted to *Aſdrubal*. Soon after a courier arrived from *Carthage*, with orders to *Aſdrubal* to begin his march for *Italy* without delay. This changed the face of affairs in *Spain*; for the *Spaniards*, upon the publication of this news, conſidered the *Carthaginians* as not in a condition to protect them;

and

and of course began to turn their eyes towards the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore dispatched an express to *Carthage*, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of *his* departure had been to it; at the same time adding, that, if the late orders were put in execution, the *Romans* would be masters of *Spain*, before he had passed the *Iberus*. Notwithstanding which, the state of *Carthage* persisted in its former resolution, looking upon it as a matter of the utmost consequence to support *Hannibal*. However, it so far complied with *Asdrubal*'s request, as to send *Himilco*, with a competent army, and a considerable naval reinforcement, into *Spain*, to watch the motions of both the natives and the *Romans* [f].

HIMILCO, having transported his forces into *Spain*, took care immediately to put himself into a situation not to fear any insults from the *Spaniards*. He fortified his camp, drew his ships on shore, and surrounded them with an intrenchment. After this, he hastened with the utmost expedition through the territories of several cantons, either open enemies to the *Carthaginians*, or disposed to be so, to *Asdrubal*'s camp, escorted by a choice detachment of horse. After he had imparted the orders of the senate to that general, and received from him instructions how to carry on the war in *Spain*, he returned to his own camp in safety, the extreme celerity, with which he posted through the territories of the aforesaid cantons, not giving any of them an opportunity of discovering him. Before *Asdrubal* began his march for *Italy*, he furnished himself with large sums of money, which he exacted from the *Spaniards* subject to, and in alliance with *Carthage*, being sensible that *Hannibal* could never have reached the *Alps*, had he not been powerfully supported by gold. At last, having got all things in readiness for the enterprize he was going upon, he assembled all his forces, and advanced to the *Iberus*. In the mean time he received intelligence, that the *Romans*, apprised of *his* approach, had laid siege to *Ibera*, a town deriving its name from the river on which it stood, and the richest in all that part of *Spain*. To oblige them therefore to raise that siege, he sat down before another town, which had lately submitted to the *Romans*. This had the desired effect; for the *Romans*, leaving *Ibera*, immediately moved towards him, and encamped upon a spot about five miles distant from him. The consequence of this action was a decisive battle; wherein *Asdrubal* gave proofs of an extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared against him. The *Spaniards* in

[f] POLYB. l. viii. LIV. l. xxiii. c. 26---29. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. APPIAN. in Iberic. ZONAR. ubi supra.

his

his army, not reliſhing an *Italian* expedition, took to their heels at the firſt onſet, the *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* horſe made but a faint reſiſtance; ſo that the rout was general, and the ſlaughter dreadful. *Aſdrubal* did all that could be expected from the moſt conſummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greateſt preſence of mind, and to animate his men by his example, till all things became deſperate. But not being able to rally his troops, he found himſelf obliged to leave the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vaſt ſums of money he had amaſſed for the *Italian* expedition. According to *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-five thouſand men killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, in the action. *Zonaras* intimates, that *Cneius* was ſo poſted with a body of troops, that very few of the *Carthaginians* found it poſſible to make their eſcape. After this blow, all the *Spaniards*, who had before been wavering in their fidelity to *Carthage*, declared for the victors. *Aſdrubal*, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his ſhattered army, was ſo far from being in a condition to attempt ſuccouring *Hannibal*, that he found it difficult to maintain himſelf in *Spain* [g].

Livy partial in his relation of the tranſactions in Spain.

OUR readers will eaſily conceive, that this account of the *Spaniſh* affairs, during the period we are now upon, is chiefly extracted from *Livy*; though they may at the ſame time diſcover, that we have inſerted ſeveral circumſtances not taken notice of by that hiſtorian, with which we have been ſupplied by other antient writers. They are not therefore to be ſurpriſed, if they ſhould meet with ſeveral improbabilities, and even inconſiſtencies, in the relation; ſince *Livy* muſt be allowed to have been moſt unreaſonably prejudiced againſt the *Carthaginian* republic, as well as in favour of his own. *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, from whom he compiled his hiſtory, were of the ſame diſpoſition with himſelf in this particular. What truth therefore can be expected from them in a deſcription of any great tranſactions, wherein the *Carthaginians* bore a principal part? The improbabilities and inconſiſtencies juſt hinted at are ſo glaring, that they cannot eſcape the eye of any attentive reader; for which reaſon it is ſuperfluous, would the nature of our deſign permit, to recite them. However, thus much is apparent from what the above-mentioned authors have tranſmitted to poſterity in the point before us; to wit, that the defeat of *Aſdrubal*, in a great meaſure, ruined *Hannibal*'s affairs in *Italy*, though it was not

[g] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 29. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. APPIAN. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. &c. ubi ſupra.

attended

attended with such fatal consequences in *Spain*, as *Livy* suggests. That historian himself puts this last observation beyond dispute, in some subsequent parts of his work. How greatly *then* are we to regret the loss of that part of *Polybius*'s excellent history, treating of these campaigns in *Spain!* This, had it been extant, would undoubtedly have set us right in every important particular relating to them. But to return to the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy* [h].

HIMILCO, who commanded the *Carthaginian* forces before *Petelia*, carried on the siege of that place with great vigour, battering the walls with the utmost fury, and harassing the garison by continual assaults. However, the *Peteliani* defended themselves in a very gallant manner, destroying great numbers of the besiegers, though they were but an handful of men. But what not a little contributed to the defence of the place, was the bravery of the women, who distinguished themselves as much as the men on this occasion. They made frequent sallies, burnt the enemy's works, and then retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithstanding which, *Hannibal* having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they were so greatly pressed by famine, that they found themselves obliged to send all the useless people out of the city, who, according to *Appian*, were immediately butchered by the *Carthaginians* in the sight of the garison. At last, they resolved to make a sally with their whole force, which they accordingly did; but the greatest part of them, through hunger and fatigue, not having strength enough either to make use of their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the sword. However, eight hundred of them cut their way through the enemy, and escaped in a body to the *Romans*; who, after the conclusion of this war, reinstated them in their former possessions, and always took care to distinguish them by such marks of esteem, as their singular fidelity intitled them to [i].

The Carthaginians reduce Petelia.

AFTER the reduction of *Petelia*, *Hannibal*, having been rejoined by *Himilco*'s detachment, advanced to *Consentia*; which soon surrendered to him. *Locri* opened its gates upon the first summons, the principal citizens having, for some time, kept a secret correspondence with the *Brutii*, who had united themselves with the *Carthaginian* army. *Croton*, which was, in a manner, deserted by its inhabitants, and several other cities of *Magna Græcia*, did the like. *Rhegium*, though attacked by *Hannibal* with all his forces, held out bravely, and

As likewise Consentia, Croton, Locri, *and other cities.*

[h] LIV. ubi supra, & alib. in Iberic. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6.

[i] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 35. APPIAN. PLUT. ubi supra.

baffled

baffled all the efforts of the *Carthaginians*. *Sicily*, in the mean time, wavered in its fidelity to the *Romans*, the defeat at *Cannæ* giving it such an idea of the *Carthaginian* power, that it could not avoid discovering an inclination to follow the example of the *Italians*. Even the family of *Hiero* was not intirely free from this disposition. For *Gelon*, the heir apparent to the crown of *Syracuse*, despising *Hiero*'s old age, declared for *Hannibal*; and had not death taken him off so opportunely, that *Hiero* himself was suspected of hastening his fate, he might have made a powerful diversion in favour of the *Carthaginians* [k].

The Carthaginians *prepare to invade* Sardinia.

In the mean time a courier arrived at *Carthage* from the army in *Spain*, with letters from *Asdrubal*, importing, that he had received an intire defeat, and that the greatest part of *Spain* had revolted to the *Romans*. The senate and people were thunder-struck at this melancholy advice; which, for the present, disconcerted all their measures. *Mago* was upon the point of setting out for *Italy*, with a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, twenty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver. But his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying news, was countermanded, and he ordered to hold himself in readiness to embark for *Spain* at a minute's warning. Whilst matters were in this ferment at *Carthage*, embassadors arrived there from *Sardinia*, inviting the *Carthaginians*, in the name of *Hampsicora*, who, at that time, bore the chief sway there, and the other *Sardinian* prime nobility, to send over a body of troops, in order to take possession of that island. These embassadors insinuated, *That the* Romans *had scarce any forces there*; *that the old prætor* Cornelius *had left the island*; *that a new one, unacquainted with the genius of the* Sardi, *was expected*; *that the* Sardi *were tired of the* Roman *government, and extremely incensed against their imperious and avaricious masters, for their grievous exactions the last year*; *in fine, that nothing was wanting to induce them to shake off the* Roman *yoke, but an encouragement thereto from some powerful state, that would take them under its protection.* This embassy a little revived the drooping spirits of the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon immediately sent *Mago* to *Spain* with the aforesaid succours, and dispatched *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Calvus* [l], with the like number of forces, to support the *Sardi* [m].

Hannibal *concludes a*

Whilst the two potent republics of *Carthage* and *Rome* were thus contending for superiority, the eyes of all the

[k] Liv. ubi supra, c. 30. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valef.
[l] Liv. ubi supra, c. 31. [m] Liv. ubi supra.

neighbouring states were fixed upon them. Amongst the rest, *Philip* king of *Macedon* had observed, with great attention, the progress of this war. This, in point of prudence, he thought himself obliged to, as he was a neighbour to *Italy*, being separated from it only by the *Ionian* sea. At first, he was equally inclined to both parties; but, finding *Hannibal* the favourite of fortune, he came to a resolution to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Carthaginians*. To this end he sent an embassy, with *Xenophanes*, one of his ministers, at the head of it, to *Hannibal*'s camp in *Campania*. These embassadors happened to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and were conducted to the prætor *Valerius Lævinus*, in his camp at *Nuceria*. But *Xenophanes*, by his address, pretending he came to propose a treaty of friendship to the *Romans*, found means to pursue his route; and, upon his arrival at *Hannibal*'s head-quarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble to it, was couched in the following terms. "Copy of the treaty concluded between "*Hannibal*, general of the *Carthaginian* army, *Mago*, *Myr-* "*can*, *Barmocar*, all the senators of *Carthage*, together with "the whole body of forces then present, on the one side; "and *Xenophanes* son of *Cleomachus*, an *Athenian*, minister "plenipotentiary of *Philip* son of *Demetrius*, king of *Mace-* "*don*, in his own name and that of the *Macedonian* nation, "and their allies, on the other. The articles of this treaty "are agreed upon in the most solemn manner by both the "contracting powers, in the presence of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and "*Apollo*; of the *Dæmon* of *Carthage*, *Hercules*, and *Iolaus*; "of *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Neptune*; of those diviniti s who are "confederates with *Carthage*; of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Earth*; "of the *Rivers*, *Meadows*, and *Waters*; of the tutelary dei- "ties of *Carthage*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; and, lastly, of "those deities, who, presiding in war, assist at, and super- "intend, the signing of the present treaty. *Hannibal*, ge- "neral of the *Carthaginian* forces, the senators above-men- "tioned, and the whole *Carthaginian* army, declare this, "according to the mutual intention of both parties, to be a "treaty of amity, by virtue of which the contracting pow- "ers are, from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as "friends and brethren. In consequence therefore of this "convention, king *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and the "*Greeks* their allies, engage themselves to defend and sup- "port, to the utmost of their power, the lords the *Cartha-* "*ginians*, *Hannibal* their general, all the senators and forces "with him, all governors of provinces under the dominion "of *Carthage*, who govern by the same laws, the people of "*Utica*,

treaty with Philip *king of* Macedon.

" *Utica*, and all other cities and nations ſubject to the *Car-*
" *thaginian* empire; all who bear arms in their ſervice; all
" cities in alliance with them in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*;
" and all that ſhall hereafter become their allies in thoſe coun-
" tries. On the other hand, the *Carthaginian* armies, the
" inhabitants of *Utica*, all the cities and ſtates ſubject to *Car-*
" *thage*, all the *Carthaginian* allies, and their troops, all the
" nations of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, that are in a ſtate of
" amity with the *Carthaginians*, or that ſhall hereafter enter
" into an alliance with them, ſolemnly oblige themſelves to
" preſerve from all injuries and inſults, and ſtrenuouſly to
" ſupport, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the *Macedonian* nation,
" together with the *Greeks* their allies. No clandeſtine de-
" ſigns ſhall be formed by either party againſt the other. Both
" powers ſhall, with the utmoſt ſincerity and alacrity, act
" againſt the enemies of *Carthage* and king *Philip*, except
" ſuch kings, cities, or ports, as ſhall have contracted a
" friendſhip with either of them. The *Romans* ſhall be looked
" upon as a common enemy, till ſuch time as the gods ſhall
" be pleaſed happily to terminate the war already commenced.
" King *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and the *Greeks* their
" allies, ſhall ſupply the *Carthaginians* with all neceſſaries, in
" order to carry on this war, in ſuch manner as ſhall be here-
" after ſettled by a particular convention. If Heaven ſhould
" not vouchſafe ſucceſs to the arms of the high allies, but
" they ſhould be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the
" enemy, and even conclude a peace with them, they ſhall
" all be comprehended in that treaty. The *Romans* ſhall ne-
" ver be permitted to have any footing in the iſland of *Cor-*
" *cyra*, nor to exerciſe any dominion over the inhabitants of
" *Apollonia*, *Epidamnus*, *Pharus*, *Dimales*, *Parthenia*, with
" its territories, and *Atintania*. They ſhall be obliged to de-
" liver up to *Demetrius Pharius* all his friends and relations,
" who ſhall be found in any part of their dominions. If the
" *Romans* ſhall hereafter declare war againſt either of the con-
" tracting powers, they ſhall mutually aſſiſt each other, as
" occaſion ſhall require. The ſame thing ſhall be done by
" both parties, if any other power comes to a rupture with
" either of them, except it be a king, ſtate, or city, with
" which the other was before in alliance. It ſhall be lawful
" either to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or add
" new ones to it, by the mutual conſent of both parties, if
" it ſhall hereafter be judged expedient ſo to do [n]."

[n] Polyb. l. vii.

THIS copy of the articles of the offensive and defensive alliance concluded betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, preserved to us by *Polybius*, is a most curious and valuable fragment of antiquity, as serving not only to give us a good idea of the most noted objects of the *Carthaginian* worship, but likewise to exhibit to our view the form and manner in which that nation drew up their treaties. For it appears pretty plain from *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginians* were looked upon as the chief party concerned in this engagement; and that the preparing of this instrument inserted here was, in a great measure, left to *Hannibal*. It likewise further appears, that *Livy* has not so much given us the articles of this treaty, as certain inferences and conclusions drawn from those articles, some of which were, in all probability, false. These he seems to have taken from *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, who have not paid the greatest regard to truth in many particulars relating to the *African* republic [o].

Philip's embassadors intercepted by the Romans.

WHEN the *Macedonian* embassadors returned home, *Hannibal* sent three ministers with them; to wit, *Gisco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, in order to bring him king *Philip*'s ratification of the above-mentioned treaty. They had a vessel waiting for them, privately stationed near the temple of *Juno Lacinia* in *Calabria*; but were scarce got out to sea, when they were descried by the *Romans*. Some light frigates being detached from the *Roman* squadron, then cruising off the coasts of *Calabria*, soon came up with them, and obliged the vessel they were on board immediately to surrender. In this emergency, *Xenophanes* had recourse to another falshood, asserting, *That all the passes and highways in* Campania *were so guarded by the* Carthaginian *parties, that he found it impossible to go to* Rome, *as he was ordered*; but without effect. For the *Carthaginian* ministers were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the *Romans* discovered the whole secret, sent both the *Carthaginian* and *Macedonian* embassadors prisoners to *Rome*, and diverted the impending storm this formidable league threatened them with, in the manner related by us in a former part of this history [p].

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay both by sea and land.

ABOUT this time *Hannibal* received intelligence, that the *Campanians*, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men to act in favour of the *Carthaginians*, had been intirely defeated by *Gracchus* at *Hamæ*; to which place they had advanced, in order to seize upon *Cumæ*. They lost on this oc-

[o] POLYB. ubi sup. & LIV. l. xxiii. c. 33. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 12. OROS. l. iv. c. 16. [p] JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 4. LIV. ubi supra, c. 34. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 282.

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caſion above two thouſand men, together with *Marius Alfius* their commander, and thirty-four ſtandards. He therefore, without loſs of time, marched to *Hamæ*; but, upon his arrival there, found only the carcaſes of the *Campanians*, who fell in the laſt action, with which the ground was ſtrewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to *Cumæ*. For the preſent, *Hannibal* reoccupied his former camp upon mount *Tifata*; but, at the ſolicitation of the *Campanians*, after having ravaged all the country about *Cumæ*, he laid ſiege to that city. Having applied an huge wooden tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous aſſault. But the *Roman* conſul, who had thrown himſelf into the town, erected one that was higher, and poſted ſome men in it, who diſcharged a great number of flaming torches, beſides a vaſt quantity of other combuſtible materials, upon the beſiegers. This put the *Carthaginians* into diſorder; which being obſerved by the gariſon, a ſtrong party ſallied out of the town, put them to the rout, and purſued them as far as their camp, which was about a mile diſtant. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal* loſt fourteen hundred men on this occaſion upon the ſpot, beſides forty taken priſoners. However, the next day the *Carthaginian* drew up his army in order of battle betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the *Romans* to an engagement; but the conſul declining this, he immediately decamped, and took poſt again upon mount *Tifata*. Whilſt theſe things happened, *Hanno* was defeated at *Grumentum* in *Lucania* by *T. Sempronius Longus*, and loſt four thouſand men upon the field of battle, beſides forty-one military enſigns. After this blow, *Hanno* abandoned *Lucania* to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the *Brutii*. Upon theſe repeated inſtances of ill ſucceſs, three towns of the *Hirpini* revolted from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*, who took a thouſand priſoners there, and cauſed them all to be ſold under the ſpear. A little before theſe diſaſters happened, *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *Calvus*, ſet ſail from *Carthage*, with the armament under his command, for *Sardinia*; but received great damage from a ſtorm he met with in his paſſage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the *Balearic* iſlands. Here he ſtaid awhile, in order to refit his fleet; which gave the *Romans* time to make head againſt the *Carthaginians* in *Sardinia*, and conſequently not a little contributed to the ſignal overthrow *Aſdrubal* ſoon after received in that iſland [q].

PHILIP, king of *Macedon*, being informed, that his embaſſadors, together with the *Carthaginian* miniſters ſent by

[q] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 35, & ſeq. PLUT. in Hannib.

Hannibal,

Hannibal, had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, ſent *Heraclitus Scotinus*, *Crito Berræus*, and *Soſitheus Magnes*, three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a freſh treaty with that general. This they happily performed; but, as the ſummer was ſpent in this negotiation, *Philip* could not put himſelf ſoon enough in motion to make any diverſion in favour of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* therefore now began conſiderably to loſe ground. *Fabius*, having paſſed the *Vulturnus*, in conjunction with his collegue, took the cities of *Combulteria*, *Trebula*, and *Saticula*, by aſſault, making the *Carthaginian* gariſons therein priſoners of war. In the mean time *Hannibal* kept a ſecret correſpondence with the populace of *Nola*, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands. This being communicated to *Fabius*, he ſent the proconſul *Marcellus* with a body of troops thither, to gariſon the place, and protect the nobility, who were in the *Roman* intereſt; and poſted himſelf betwixt *Nola* and the *Carthaginian* camp upon mount *Tifata*, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. *Marcellus* likewiſe made frequent incurſions into the territories of the *Hirpini*, and the *Sammites Caudini*, where he committed great depredations. This induced the *Hirpini* and the *Sammites* to ſend deputies to *Hannibal*, reproaching him with his indolence, and telling him, That *Marcellus* ſeemed rather to be the conqueror at *Cannæ* than *Hannibal*. To whom *Hannibal* replied, That as the blow given the *Romans* at *Cannæ* had eclipſed all his other victories, ſo they ſhould ſoon ſee the glory of that obſcured by another more illuſtrious atchievement. Then diſmiſſing them with magnificent preſents, he advanced towards *Nola*, after having left a ſufficient body of troops to guard his camp on mount *Tifata*. Upon his approach, he ſent *Hanno*, with a detachment of the forces, to perſuade the *Nolans* to ſurrender their city to the *Carthaginians*. To which end, by *Marcellus*'s permiſſion, he had a conference with *Herennius Baſſus*, and *Herius Petrius*, two perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the place; but without effect. *Hannibal* therefore, ſitting down before the city, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking it with the utmoſt vigour; which *Marcellus* obſerving, ſallied out upon his forces with ſuch fury, that the action muſt have become general, had not the combatants on both ſides been obliged to draw off by a violent ſtorm. On this occaſion the *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, loſt thirty men; but the *Romans* not one. Two days after, a bloody engagement happened within a mile of *Nola*, wherein the *Carthaginians* were driven out of the field. They loſt, on this occaſion, fifty thouſand men killed upon the ſpot; and had ſix hundred taken priſoners. A body of near thirteen hundred *Spaniſh*

Marcellus *gains another conſiderable advantage over* Hannibal.

and *Numidian* horſe, immediately after this defeat, deſerted to the *Romans*; which was a great loſs to *Hannibal*, as theſe were ſome of his veteran troops, that had attended him in all his expeditions. *Fabius*, now laying aſide his uſual caution, penetrated into the very heart of *Campania*; and hearing of *Hannibal*'s retreat into *Apulia*, moved towards *Capua*, deſtroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword [r].

The Carthaginians *once more driven out of* Sardinia.

In the mean time, *Aſdrubal* being detained in one of the ports of the *Balearic* iſlands by the accident above-mentioned, *Manlius* landed his forces at *Caralis*; and, upon taking a review of them, found them to conſiſt of twenty-two thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near *Hampſicora*, the *Sardinian* general, who, being gone into the diſtrict of the *Pelliti Sardi*, to aſſemble all the youth there able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his ſon *Hioſtus* to command in his abſence. *Hioſtus*, being an impetuous youth, ventured an engagement with *Manlius*, wherein he had the misfortune to be overthrown, having three thouſand of his men killed upon the ſpot, and three hundred taken priſoners. The body aſſembled by *Hampſicora*, upon this melancholy news, immediately diſperſed itſelf over the fields and woods; but, at laſt, retired to a city called *Cornus*, the capital of the aforeſaid diſtrict. *Sardinia* now muſt have been totally loſt, had not *Aſdrubal* arrived in the critical moment with the forces ſent from *Carthage* for the ſupport of the *Sardi*. *Hampſicora* ſoon joined him with all the *Sardinian* troops he could draw together; and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the *Roman* allies, laying waſte the whole country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched directly to *Caralis*, and ſeized upon that capital; but *Manlius* came up with them before they could put their deſign in execution. After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action enſued, wherein the *Sardi* were ſoon put to the rout; but the *Carthaginians* continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, inſomuch that the victory hung long in ſuſpenſe. However, they were at laſt intirely defeated, and diſperſed beyond a poſſibility of rallying. Twelve thouſand of the *Sardi* and *Carthaginians* fell in this battle; and ſeven hundred of both nations were taken priſoners. *Mago*,

[r] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 38----48. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcel. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Luc. Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

a near relation of *Hannibal*; *Hanno*, another *Carthaginian* nobleman, the chief fomenter of all these troubles in *Sardinia*; and *Asdrubal* the general; were in the number of the latter. But *Hioftus*, the son of *Hampsicora*, in that of the former, which threw his father into such an excess of grief, that he laid violent hands on himself. The shattered remains of the *Carthaginian* and *Sardinian* army fled to *Cornus*, and, almost upon the first summons of the conqueror, surrendered at discretion. All the cities and fortresses likewise, either in the *Carthaginian* jurisdiction, or that of *Hampsicora*, in a few days made their submission to *Manlius*; who soon set sail from *Caralis* for the coast of *Italy*, with the prisoners, as well as vast booty, he had acquired in this successful expedition [s].

The Carthaginians worsted at sea.

ASDRUBAL had no sooner landed his troops in *Sardinia*, as already related, than he sent the fleet back to *Africa*, the admiral of which, in his passage, was attacked by a *Roman* squadron of fifty sail, under the command of *T. Otacilius* the prætor; who, having ravaged the maritim part of the territory of *Carthage*, was steering his course towards *Sardinia*, in quest of this very fleet. The *Romans* took seven *Carthaginian* gallies, with their crews, the rest escaping by sheering off in time. About this time *Bomilcar* arrived at *Locri* with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a considerable supply of provisions and military stores, from *Carthage*. After a short stay here, he joined *Hanno*, who, at that time, lay encamped in the country of the *Brutii*, having narrowly escaped being taken by *Appius*, who suddenly passed the streights of *Reggio*, and advanced to the gates of *Locri*, in order to have surprised him. *Appius* took post in the neighbourhood of *Locri*, immediately after *Bomilcar*'s departure; so that the city, being abandoned by the *Carthagtnians*, opened its gates to him. However, he missed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, soon after returned to *Messana* [t].

State of affairs in Spain.

THE *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, sustained this year a very considerable loss in *Spain*. *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Hamilcar*, the son of *Bomilcar*, three *Carthaginian* generals, laid siege to *Illiturgis*, which had revolted to the *Romans*. The *Romans*, with no small difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and supplied their allies with all things necessary, when they were upon the point of surrendering for want of such a supply. This encouraged the *Scipios* to venture a battle with the *Carthaginians*, whose army

[s] LIV. ubi supra, c. 40--42. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. OROS. l. iv. c. 16. SIL. ITAL. l. xii. EUTROP. l. iii. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 5.
[t] LIV. ubi supra, c. 41.

conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men, though theirs did not amount to above ſixteen thouſand. *Aſdrubal*'s camp, being by far the moſt conſiderable, was firſt attacked by the *Romans*; which being obſerved by *Mago* and *Hamilcar*, they advanced, each of them at the head of his reſpective corps, to ſupport him. But, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, according to the ſame author, all the *Carthaginian* camps were forced, and their army overthrown, with the loſs of above ſixteen thouſand men upon the ſpot, three thouſand made priſoners, five elephants ſlain, beſides a thouſand horſes, ſixty military enſigns, and five elephants taken. The conſequence of this defeat was the raiſing the ſiege of *Illiturgis*, from whence the *Carthaginians* retired with great precipitation to *Indibilis*, and in a ſhort time found means ſo to recruit their forces out of the *Spaniſh* provinces, that they ventured another engagement with the *Scipios*. But their unhappy fate ſtill attending them, they were routed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men killed in the action and the purſuit. Three thouſand priſoners, above forty ſtandards, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds *Livy*, almoſt all the different nations of *Spain* revolted to the *Romans* [u].

OUR readers will be beforehand with us in obſerving with what improbabilities, not to ſay abſurdities, this narration of *Livy* is clogged. How can it be ſuppoſed poſſible for *Aſdrubal*, after the complete defeat he met with in *Spain* only the laſt year, to aſſemble another army of ſixty thouſand men ſo ſoon in the ſame country, eſpecially ſince the *Carthaginians* had reinforced their troops in *Italy*, and ſent a very conſiderable body of forces to invade *Sardinia*? If *Aſdrubal*, after the terrible blow he received laſt year, could ſcarce maintain himſelf in any part of *Spain*, as this author himſelf expreſly aſſerts, what probability is there, that, in the ſpace of a very few months only, he ſhould have become ſo prodigiouſly ſuperior in ſtrength to his conquerors the *Romans*, eſpecially ſince the *Spaniards* in general had declared againſt him? Laſtly, admitting all this to be true, can it be imagined, that immediately after the ſecond fatal overthrow mentioned here by our author, the *Carthaginian* general could form ſo numerous an army out of the *Spaniſh* nations, who had before eſpouſed the *Roman* intereſt? The inconſiſtencies couched in theſe queries are certainly ſo glaring, that it would be intirely needleſs to expa-

[u] Idem ibid. Vide & FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. & ZONAR. ubi ſupra, ut & in not. OUDENDORP. in S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 1.

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tiate upon them; and therefore we shall content ourselves with having barely hinted at them here, as thinking this sufficient to confirm what we have elsewhere observed of the partiality of this historian, or at least of those he extracted his materials from [w].

No considerable movements happened during the time the troops on both sides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of *Croton* however was abandoned to the people of *Locri*, allies of the *Carthaginians*, after the conclusion of the campaign. *Hannibal* took up his winter-quarters at *Arpi*, and the consul *Sempronius* his at *Luceria*. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagonist, and endeavoured to animate his men, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* parties frequently skirmishing with one another [x].

The troops in Italy *on both sides go into winter-quarters.*

About this time *Hannibal* found means to raise commotions in *Sicily*, which turned out not a little to his advantage. After the death of *Hiero*, by several artful steps, he fixed his grandson *Hieronymus*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Syracuse*, in the interest of the *Carthaginians*. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen months; that, after he came to the crown, he shewed a most abandoned disposition; and that many prodigies at *Syracuse* preceded his accession. *Polybius* however differs from these authors, in relation to his character; tho' he allows, that he was a weak and unjust prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with *Hannibal*, and the state of *Carthage*, he was assassinated by the direction of *Indigimines*, one of the officers of his guards. But, for the particulars of this horrid action, as well as the effect it had upon the affairs of *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, we must refer our readers to a former part of this history [y].

Hannibal *raises commotions in* Sicily.

The *Capuans*, hearing of the vast preparations made in all the *Roman* provinces for the vigorous prosecution of this war, no less than eighteen legions being destined for the service of the current year, were thrown into a great consternation, especially as they knew themselves to be, above all others, obnoxious to the *Romans*. They therefore, in the most pressing terms, intreated *Hannibal* to move immediately to their assistance, and prevent the *Romans* from taking post before their city. *Hannibal*, in compliance with their request, advanced with all expedition to mount *Tifata* near *Capua*, where the former year he had encamped. Here he left a body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* to defend the advantageous spot of

The Romans *gain some advantages over* Hannibal.

[w] Vide Liv. l. xxiii. c. 29. & c. 49. [x] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 1—4. [y] Liv. ubi supra, c. 4---8. Polyb. l. vii. in excerpt. Vales. Univers. hist. vol. viii. p. 109---112.

ground he had then poſſeſſed himſelf of, and ſent a detachment to reinforce the gariſon of *Capua*. Then he marched to the lake *Avernus*, under the pretence of ſacrificing to the gods, but, in reality, to attempt making himſelf maſter of *Puteoli*, into which *Fabius* had, ſome time before, thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of *Cumæ*, as far as the promontory of *Miſenum*, he preſented himſelf before *Puteoli*, and ſummoned the gariſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to ſurrender. But finding the *Romans* determined to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood, and that the place was, in a manner, impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this repulſe, the populace of *Nola*, upon his approach towards their city, ſent to *Hannibal*, deſiring of him ſome forces to defend them againſt the ſenate, who were friends to the *Romans*. But *Marcellus*, having with great difficulty paſſed the *Vulturnus*, reinforced the gariſon of *Nola* with ſix thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and thereby prevented the *Carthaginian* from being admitted into the place. In the mean time *Hanno*, marching out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped within three miles of *Beneventum*, upon the river *Calor*; which *Gracchus* being informed of, moved at the head of a large detachment, conſiſting chiefly of ſlaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. This vicinity of the two camps ſoon brought on a general action, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated, with very conſiderable loſs. During theſe tranſactions in the neighbourhood of *Beneventum*, *Hannibal* appeared again before *Nola*; but *Marcellus*, having joined the proprætor *Pomponius*, and ordered *Claudius Nero*, with a ſtrong body of horſe, to fall upon the enemy's rear, attacked him. After a briſk diſpute, the *Roman* gained the advantage, and might have intirely overthrown the *Carthaginian*, could *Nero* have executed his orders. But that commander having, by ſome unforeſeen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing deciſive happened on either ſide. *Hannibal* ſoon after drew off his forces from before *Nola*, and retreated towards *Tarentum* [z].

Hanno *defeats* Gracchus.

HANNO, after the diſgrace he had received near *Beneventum*, retired into *Lucania*, where meeting with a body of *Romans* ſent by *Gracchus* to ravage the country, he ſoon diſperſed them, putting a great number of them to the ſword. *Fabius* and *Marcellus* now jointly carried on the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, which they puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that it was at laſt obliged to

[z] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 11---13. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 286. Vide & LIV. ubi ſup. c. 13---18. APPIAN. & PLUT. in Hannib.

capitulate.

capitulate. *Fabius* granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that they ſhould have leave to retire to *Capua*; but *Marcellus*, *Roman* like, broke this, maſſacring many of them, and ſending all the reſt, except fifty, that eſcaped to *Fabius*, priſoners to *Rome*. After this exploit, the *Romans*, in a very heroic manner, deſtroyed with fire and ſword the whole country of the *Caudine Sammites*, carried off from thence an immenſe quantity of plunder, and took by ſtorm the cities *Compulteria*, *Teleſia*, *Compſa*, *Melæ*, *Fulfulæ*, and *Orbitanium*. *Blandæ* in *Lucania*, and *Ancæ* in *Apulia*, likewiſe met with the ſame fate. *Hanno*, with the booty he got in the late action, arrived ſafe in the country of the *Brutii*, the *Roman* forces in thoſe parts not being ſtrong enough to intercept him [a].

Hannibal *advances to* Tarentum, *but without any effect.*

WHILST *Hannibal* was encamped on the lake *Avernus*, five young *Tarentine* noblemen, that had been taken priſoners in the battles of the lake *Thraſymenus* and *Cannæ*, and diſmiſſed, with great politeneſs, by that general, arrived there as embaſſadors from the city of *Tarentum*. They told him, "That, in return for his kindneſs to them, they had prevailed "upon the *Tarentines* to prefer his friendſhip to that of the "*Romans*; and that they would open their gates to him upon "his preſenting himſelf before the town." *Hannibal*, relying upon this aſſurance, ſoon after advanced into the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*. But, finding that nobody offered to ſtir, he bent his march to *Salapia*, ordering vaſt quantities of proviſions, amaſſed in the territories of *Metapontum* and *Heraclea*, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix there his winter-quarters, he likewiſe ſent detachments of *Moors* and *Numidians* to carry off every thing valuable, that could be found in the diſtrict of *Salentum*, and the adjacent woody parts of *Apulia*. Amongſt other things, that were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horſes, four thouſand of which, being tamed, were very ſerviceable to *Hannibal* in the remounting of his cavalry [b].

FROM the continent of *Italy* we ſhould now paſs over to the iſland of *Sicily*, which was the theatre of very conſiderable tranſactions during this period, according to *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*. But as ſo full and ample an account of theſe tranſactions has been given in a former part of this work, that not a ſingle circumſtance of note relative thereto has been omitted, we cannot ſo much as touch upon them, without being guilty of repetition. We hope therefore it will be deemed

[a] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 19---21. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſupra.
[b] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 13. & c. 20.

sufficient for us to have hinted to our readers, that the affairs of *Sicily*, however interwoven with those of other nations, do most properly belong to the history of *Syracuse* [c].

The transactions in Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the losses the *Carthaginians* sustained the last year in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, the beginning of this campaign, defeated a strong body of *Spaniards*; which might have been of bad consequence to the *Romans*, had not *Publius* advanced with all expedition to the *Iberus*, in order to support his confederates. The *Romans* encamped at *Castrum Altum*, a place famous for the death of the great *Hamilcar*. Though this was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly stored with provisions, *Publius*, finding all the adjacent country possessed by the enemy, and his troops greatly harassed by their horse, soon decamped, and posted himself on a spot not so much exposed to their insults. The *Carthaginians* cut off above two thousand *Romans*, in various rencounters, during *Publius*'s short stay at *Castrum Altum*. *Publius*, soon after his arrival in his new camp, which he immediately fortified with a retrenchment, went, with a detachment of his light-armed troops, to reconnoitre some of the neighbouring places. This being observed by the *Carthaginian* general, he advanced, at the head of his forces, to attack him; and had surprised him in a plain, had he not had the precaution to retire in time to an eminence, where he defended himself, till his brother *Cneius* came to his relief. *Castulo*, a strong and noble city of *Spain*, and so strictly allied with the *Carthaginians*, that *Asdrubal* had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, not discouraged at this, laid siege to *Illiturgis*, wherein was a *Roman* garison, which was in great danger of surrendering to them for want of provisions. *Cneius* hearing of this, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, supplied it plentifully with every thing needful, and the next day sallied out upon the enemy. In the two actions, the *Carthaginians* had twelve thousand men killed upon the spot, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Being thus obliged to abandon the siege of *Illiturgis*, they marched from thence to attack *Bigerra*, another city in alliance with *Rome*; but *Cneius* forced them to raise this likewise, without striking a stroke. Afterwards the *Carthaginian* general moved to *Munda*, whither he was followed by the *Romans*. Here both armies engaged for four hours, when the *Romans* would have been victorious, had not *Scipio* been wounded in the thigh by a javelin; which so disheartened his troops, that he

[c] Idem ibid. c. 21---40. POLYB. l. viii. PLUT. in Marcel. Univers. hist. vol. viii.

was

was obliged to ſound a retreat. In this action the *Carthaginian* troops, according to *Livy*, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchment, where thirty-nine of thoſe huge animals periſhed by the enemy's darts. Twelve thouſand *Carthaginians* loſt their lives on the field of battle, and three thouſand of them, with fifty-ſeven military enſigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the *Carthaginians* retreated with great precipitation to *Aurinx*, and were purſued by the *Romans*. There *Cneius*, being carried in a litter, again attacked *Aſdrubal*, and intirely routed him; but did not make ſuch a carnage as in the former engagements, becauſe the *Carthaginian* forces were not at that time ſo numerous. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſaſters, *Mago* ſpeedily raiſed ſuch a number of recruits, as enabled his brother to look the *Romans* again in the face. Another battle enſued, wherein the *Romans* met with their uſual ſucceſs. Above eight thouſand *Carthaginians*, with eight elephants, were ſlain, and about one thouſand, with fifty-eight military enſigns, and three elephants, taken. *Mænicapto* and *Civiſmaro*, two famous kings of the *Gauls*, who came to aſſiſt their allies the *Carthaginians*, likewiſe fell in this battle. A vaſt number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other *Gallic* ſpoils, alſo came into the poſſeſſion of the victors. The *Romans*, having now driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to *Saguntum*, forced the *Carthaginian* gariſon to abandon it, and then reſtored it to the antient inhabitants, that had ſurvived the calamities of their country. As for the *Turdetani*, who had been the occaſion of this bloody war, *Cneius* cauſed them to be ſold by auction, and afterwards raſed their city. Such is the account *Livy* has given us of the military operations this year in *Spain*; which is juſt as conſiſtent with itſelf, as that extraordinary relation of the action near *Syracuſe*, in the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war, *Philinus* vouchſafed his countrymen, according to which, the conquered were victors, and the conquerors vanquiſhed; or, as the conduct of ſome of our neighbours in a late war, when they ſung *Te Deum* for a defeat. In ſhort, our readers will, from a curſory view of this account, be fully convinced, that conſiſtency and impartiality are qualifications not eſſential even to thoſe, who are reputed the beſt *Roman* hiſtorians [d].

THE following ſpring *Hannibal* received intelligence, that one *Caſſius Altinius*, who abandoned the *Roman* intereſt after the battle of *Cannæ*, had offered to deliver up *Arpi* into the hands of the *Romans* for a ſum of money. This news did not

The campaign in the Italy.

[d] PHILINUS apud Polyb. l. i. ſub init. LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 41---43. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii.

at

at all diſpleaſe the *Carthaginian*, who had long ſuſpected *Altinius* of holding a correſpondence with the enemy; ſince ſuch a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of ſeizing upon the immenſe treaſures that wealthy citizen of *Arpi* poſſeſſed. But, that he might ſeem not ſo much influenced by avarice as reſentment, as ſoon as he got *Altinius*'s riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. This ſtory depends upon the authority of *Livy*, and is as probable as ſome of the preceding. *Appian* calls this traitor *Daſius*, and tells us, that he was deſcended from *Diomedes* of *Argos*, the founder of *Arpi*. *Hannibal* immediately put a gariſon of five thouſand *Carthaginians* into the city above-mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thouſand citizens, in order to ſecure it againſt any attack of the *Romans*. However, the *Fabii*, having guarded all the avenues to it, ſurpriſed it in the manner already related. About a thouſand *Spaniards*, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the *Romans*, and prevailed upon them to permit the *Carthaginian* gariſon to retire. In purſuance of the capitulation, thoſe troops were conducted by a *Roman* eſcorte to *Hannibal*'s camp at *Salapia*, without the leaſt injury offered them. This is *Livy*'s account. But *Appian* relates, that the *Fabii* did not reduce *Arpi* by force, but, by means of ſome traitors, had it delivered to them; and that they put all the *Carthaginians* found therein to the ſword. Nothing further very material, except what has been already taken notice of in the *Roman* hiſtory, happened this campaign in *Italy* [c].

Some motions in Africa.

THE *Romans* this year entered into an alliance with *Syphax*, a *Numidian* prince, who had ſuddenly conceived an averſion to the *Carthaginians*. In conſequence of the treaty concluded betwixt the two powers, the *Romans* ſent *Q. Statorius* into *Africa*, to train up a body of *Numidian* infantry after the *Roman* manner. This, above all things, *Syphax* deſired, the *Numidians* having, till that time, brought only cavalry into the field; which rendered them incapable of coping with the *Carthaginians*. *Statorius*, upon his arrival in *Numidia*, ſoon inrolled a conſiderable body of foot out of *Syphax*'s youth. Theſe he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and ſwiftneſs, and, in fine, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art after the *Roman* model; ſo that in a ſhort time *Syphax* had a body of infantry, which he could intirely depend upon. The *Carthaginians*, finding their *Numidian* forces beginning to deſert in

[c] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 45---47. APPIAN. in Hannib. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſupra.

great

great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects such a formidable union might produce, dispatched embassadors to *Gala*, king of the *Massyli*, another *Numidian* prince, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to him. They insinuated, "that, out "of regard to his own safety, he ought to join them without "loss of time, before either *Syphax* could transport any troops "into *Spain*, or the *Romans* into *Africa*; that *Syphax* was, "at present, void of all support from the *Romans*, and might "therefore be easily crushed." *Gala*, at the instigation of his son *Masinissa*, then but seventeen years of age, closed with the proposal, and sent an army to assist his new allies. *Masinissa*, to whose conduct that army was committed, gave *Syphax* two such total overthrows, the first in conjunction with the *Carthaginians*, and the second with the *Massylian* forces only, that he found it impossible to make a diversion afterwards in favour of the *Romans* [f].

The Romans take a body of Celtiberians into their service.

THE transactions in *Spain* this year are scarce worth relating. Nothing of the least moment passed there, except that the *Romans* took a body of *Celtiberians* into their service, and sent three hundred persons of the most distinguished families in *Spain* to *Italy*, to encourage a desertion amongst their countrymen in *Hannibal*'s army. *Appian* relates, that this scheme took some effect; but at the same time intimates, that *Hannibal* himself made use of the same method of acting, in order to draw off the *Spaniards* incorporated with the *Roman* forces, with equal success. The *Celtiberians*, who took on in the *Roman* service, were allowed the same pay that their countrymen received from the *Carthaginians* [g].

Hannibal has Tarentum delivered up to him.

THOUGH *Hannibal* stood upon the defensive the last campaign, towards the close of it, some inconsiderable cities of the *Salentines* surrendered to him. However, to compensate this, the *Thurians* and *Consentini* revolted from him to the *Romans*. This revolt might have been attended with more fatal consequences, had not *Hanno* overthrown a body of *Roman* forces under the command of *L. Pomponius Veientanus* in *Lucania*, after they had made dreadful incursions into the country of the *Brutii*, pillaging and laying waste all before them. The commander himself was taken prisoner in the action, and a great part of his men cut off; which prevented several petty states from abandoning the *Carthaginian* interest, though a few small towns of *Lucania*, after that defeat, opened their gates to *Sempronius*. In the mean time *Phileas*, who had a long time resided at *Rome* as minister from *Tarentum*, a man of a

Year of the flood 2149. Bef. Christ 199. Of Rome 549.

[f] APPIAN. in Iberic. LIV. ubi supra, c. 48, 49. [g] LIV. l. xxiv. sub fin. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 16.

turbulent

turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition, retired privately from *Rome*, with ſome *Tarentine* hoſtages, whom he had aſſiſted to make their eſcape. But being cloſely purſued, they were all taken near *Tarracina*, brought back to *Rome*, whipped publicly there in the *comitium*, and afterwards thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. This barbarity extremely incenſed the *Tarentines*. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of whom were *Nicon* and *Philemenus*, formed a deſign to maſſacre the *Roman* troops in gariſon, and deliver the city up to the *Carthaginians*. Theſe two young noblemen, therefore, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under the pretext of being engaged in a hunting-match. *Nicon* and *Philemenus*, as had been before concerted, rode up ſo near *Hannibal*'s lines, that they were ſeized by one of his advanced guards, their aſſociates having taken care before to diſperſe themſelves in the neighbouring woods. At firſt they refuſed to give any account of themſelves; but only intimated, that they had ſomething of moment to impart to the general. Being therefore conducted to him, they deſired to have a private conference with him; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the diſpoſition of the *Tarentines*, exclaiming bitterly at the ſame time againſt the *Romans*. *Hannibal* received them with great kindneſs, loaded them with promiſes, and then diſmiſſed them. At the ſecond conference, *Nicon* and *Philemenus* concluded a treaty with *Hannibal* on the part of the *Tarentines*, upon the following terms. 1. When the *Carthaginians* ſhall have poſſeſſed themſelves of *Tarentum*, the citizens ſhall enjoy their laws, liberties, and eſtates, without infringement. 2. They ſhall not be obliged to pay any tribute, or receive a *Carthaginian* gariſon, without their own conſent. 3. All the effects of the *Romans* in *Tarentum* ſhall be given up as free booty to the *Carthaginian* troops. Soon after, *Hannibal*, by the aſſiſtance of the conſpirators, and the indolence of *Livius*, the *Roman* governor, made himſelf maſter of the town; and the *Roman* gariſon retired into the citadel. In order to cover the town from the inſults of this gariſon, he guarded that ſide of it next to the citadel with walls. A ſtrong party of the *Roman* troops made a ſally upon the workmen; but *Hannibal* drawing them into an ambuſcade, put moſt of them to the ſword. Then he built ſeveral works, that rendered the city impregnable on the ſide of the citadel; and at laſt laid ſiege to that place. But, after he had advanced his military machines, and his line of circumvallation was formed, the *Romans* received a reinforcement by ſea from *Metapontum*; which ſo raiſed their courage, that the next night they made a ſally, ruined the

works of the beſiegers, and burnt their machines. This repulſe forced *Hannibal* to abandon the ſiege ; but, by making carriages of ſeveral carts joined together, upon which he raiſed ſhips, he drew gallies with their rigging from one part of the ſea to another. This ſecured the *Tarentines* a free paſſage to the ſea, of all communication with which they had before been deprived by the gariſon in the citadel. After which he returned to the banks of the *Galeſus*, where he had before encamped; and left the citadel blocked up, both by ſea and land [h].

Hanno *defeated by the* Romans.

WHILST *Hannibal* lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, the conſuls threatened *Capua* with a ſiege. This greatly alarmed the *Capuans*, who were under dreadful apprehenſions of a famine, as the *Romans* had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore intreated *Hannibal* to ſend them a ſupply of proviſions, before the *Romans* had cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places, where the *Carthaginians*, and their allies, had erected magazines. Whereupon *Hanno*, in purſuance of an order received from *Hannibal*, moving out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from *Beneventum* ; and, having amaſſed a vaſt quantity of corn, appointed a day for the *Capuans* to ſend a proper number of waggons thither to carry it off. The conſuls being informed of this, *Fulvius* marched with all expedition to *Beneventum*, and from thence to the *Carthaginian* camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Pelignian* troops, *Valerius Flaccus*, tribune of the third legion, and *T. Pedanius*, a centurion, carried, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. Of the *Carthaginians*, above ſix thouſand were ſlain, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners. A great number of *Campanian* peaſants, together with their waggons, and the corn *Hanno* had collected for the uſe of the *Capuans*, as well as an immenſe quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Hanno* himſelf was not in the action, but at ſome diſtance from the camp, when it happened ; but, being informed of it at *Cominium Ceritum*, he retired, with great precipitation, into *Brutium*. This blow ſo terrified the *Capuans*, that the principal of them ſeemed afraid the enemy would as eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of *Capua*, as they had before done of *Arpi*. However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory from the incurſions of the *Roman* parties, *Hannibal* ſent the gariſon a reinforce-

[h] POLYB. l. viii. LIV. l. xxv. c. 7---12. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 3. ex. 6.

ment

ment of two thouſand men. In the mean time the *Carthaginian* gariſon at *Tarentum*, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the blockade of the citadel there, *Hannibal*, with his army, purſuing all the meaſures, that he thought neceſſary to facilitate the reduction of that place [i].

The Carthaginians *admitted into* Thurium.

THE body of troops left to defend *Metapontum* being ſo weakened by the large detachment ſent to the citadel of *Tarentum*, that the *Romans* there were not in a condition to make head againſt the citizens, who were well affected to the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* found means to make himſelf maſter of that city. *Appian* tells us, that the *Metapontini* put all the *Romans* to the ſword; and that *Heraclea*, a town ſituated between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, followed the example of thoſe two cities. The *Thurians* likewiſe, being nearly related to the people of the two laſt-mentioned cities, as deſcended from the *Achaians*, and highly reſenting the cruel treatment of the *Tarentine* hoſtages, meditated a revolt from the *Romans*. They therefore ſent a deputation to *Hanno* and *Mago*, who then commanded a *Carthaginian* army in *Brutium*, inviting them to come and take poſſeſſion of *Thurium*. *Atinius*, the commandant, had but a ſmall gariſon, his chief dependence being upon the townſmen, whom he had armed and diſciplined, that they might be the better enabled to ſupport him, in caſe of a viſit from the enemy. *Hanno* firſt preſented himſelf before the town with a body of infantry, whilſt *Mago*, with the cavalry, lay in ambuſcade by favour of ſome eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were ſent to reconnoitre the *Carthaginians*. *Atinius* therefore, imagining that he ſhould be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conſpiracy the *Thurians* had entered into, did not in the leaſt doubt but that he ſhould eaſily repulſe the enemy. *Hanno*, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the *Romans*, drawing both them and the *Thurians* inſenſibly to the foot of the eminences poſſeſſed by the *Carthaginian* horſe; who immediately ruſhing down upon them with a great ſhout, the *Thurians*, according to agreement, took to their heels, and were received by the conſpirators into the city. The *Romans* in the mean time, notwithſtanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behaved with great bravery; but, being at laſt likewiſe put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they found themſelves denied admiſſion, the conſpirators on the walls crying out, *That the* Carthaginians, *being mixed with the* Romans, *would certainly enter, unleſs the gates were immedi-*

[i] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 13--15. APPIAN. in Hannib.

ately

ately ſhut. They were all therefore cut to pieces, except *Atinius*, with a few of his principal officers, whom the *Thurians* ſaved from the general carnage, out of the great perſonal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and juſt government. After they had ſent theſe, on board ſome gallies prepared for that purpoſe, to the next port belonging to the *Romans*, the conſpirators delivered *Thurium* into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time the conſuls moved towards *Capua*, in order to form the ſiege of that important place [k].

The proconſul Sempronius *betrayed and killed.*

WHILST the *Romans* were thus preparing to attack *Hannibal* in the moſt ſenſible part, they ſuſtained an almoſt irreparable loſs by the death of *Sempronius Gracchus*. That excellent commander, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching out of *Lucania* into the neighbourhood of *Capua*, with a body of *Volones*, to prevent the enemy from throwing any ſuccours into the place, was, by the treachery of *Flavius Lucanus*, drawn into an ambuſcade, and cut off, with all the ſmall party that attended him. *Livy* tells us, that authors do not intirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, ſome affirming, that he was maſſacred by two troops of *Numidians*, as he repeated a ſacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at ſome diſtance from the camp, before he left *Lucania*; others, that a *Carthaginian* detachment put him, and a few lictors, with three ſlaves attending them, to the ſword, near the river *Calor*, in the territory of *Beneventum*, as they were going to bathe themſelves; and laſtly, others, that he fell in the manner firſt related. The *Roman* writers differ likewiſe as much in the accounts they give us of his interrment; ſome intimating, that *Hannibal* celebrated his funeral obſequies with great pomp and magnificence; and others, that he ſent the body to the *Roman* camp, to be interred there. Be that as it will, *Hannibal* probably reaped conſiderable advantage from this accident, ſince it, for ſome time, ſeems to have retarded the attack of *Capua* [l].

HOWEVER, the conſuls at laſt approached that city, with an intention to inveſt it; of which the *Capuans* being informed, they ordered a detachment of foot out of the town, to make a ſally upon the enemy. As the *Romans* plundered all the country, through which they moved, that detachment, ſupported by a body of *Carthaginian* cavalry, under the command of *Mago*, fell in with a numerous party of them, ra-

[k] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 15. APPIAN. in Hannib. [l] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 16--18. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 17.

vaging the adjacent territority without any order or diſcipline. Theſe troops *Mago* routed at the firſt onſet, laid fifteen hundred of them dead upon the ſpot, recovered a vaſt quantity of booty, and diſperſed the reſt. This action ſo dejected the conſuls, that, for the preſent, they thought proper to ſtand upon the defenſive, and ſo encouraged the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans*, that they haraſſed the enemy. *Hannibal*, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to *Capua*, and attacked the *Romans*. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the quæſtor *Cornelius* appeared with the body of troops formerly commanded by *Sempronius*, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehenſion, both armies drew off from the field of battle to their reſpective camps. The conſuls, after the action, in which the *Romans* ſuffered moſt, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige *Hannibal* to leave the territory of *Capua*. *Fulvius*, with one of them, retreated into the diſtrict of *Cumæ*, whilſt *Claudius* took his march into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* purſued the latter; but was not able to come up with him. However, he met with a *Roman* corps of ſixteen thouſand men, under the conduct of *M. Centenius Penula*, who had ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the ſenate by *P. Cornelius Sulla* the prætor, had the aſſurance to tell the conſcript fathers, that, if they would truſt him with only a body of five thouſand men, he would turn the tables upon the *Carthaginians*, and give a good account of *Hannibal*. Inſtead of five thouſand, they aſſigned him eight thouſand, which, by the acceſſion of volunteers in his march to *Lucania*, and many of the natives on his arrival there, he increaſed to double the number. Being a man of wonderful reſolution, he engaged the *Carthaginians* upon *Hannibal*'s firſt offering him battle; but not being able to cope with that general, after a fight of two hours, he was intirely defeated. As *Hannibal*, by blocking up all the paſſes with detachments of his cavalry, had taken care to cut off their retreat, all the *Romans*, except a thouſand men, together with their general, were ſlain. Notwithſtanding which, *Claudius*, having taken a large compaſs, in order to get clear of *Hannibal*, arrived once more before *Capua*, and, in conjunction with his collegue, blocked up that city [m].

Hannibal gives Centenius Penula *a great defeat.*

As likewiſe the prætor Fulvius.

HANNIBAL, ever intent upon taking advantage of the foibles of the *Roman* generals, receiving intelligence from his emiſſaries in *Apulia*, that *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor, being elated with ſome late inſtances of ſucceſs, deſpiſed the enemy, and per-

[m] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 18----22.

mitted

mitted a total relaxation of diſcipline to take place amongſt his troops, advanced to *Herdonia*, where the *Romans* lay encamped. Upon his arrival there, he poſted three thouſand light-armed troops in the neighbouring houſes, and amongſt the ſhrubs and buſhes, which concealed them from the enemy, and detached *Mago*, with two thouſand horſe, to ſecure all the avenues through which it was probable the routed enemy would attempt to make their eſcape. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was eaſily drawn by *Hannibal* into the ambuſcade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and the retreat cut off, the whole *Roman* corps, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand men, except the prætor, and two hundred horſe, who fled as ſoon as they ſaw victory incline to the *Carthaginians*, was almoſt intirely put to the ſword. The two laſt blows coming, as it were, one upon the neck of the other, threw the *Roman* ſenate into a conſternation, and obliged them to ſend *M. Metilius* and *C. Lætorius* to the conſuls, with freſh inſtructions [n].

Hannibal in vain attempts to excite the citizens of Brunduſium *to a revolt.*

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe misfortunes, the conſuls, purſuant to an order received from the ſenate, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for forming the ſiege of *Capua*. *Hannibal*, after the defeat of the enemy at *Herdonia*, returned to *Tarentum*, where he attempted, both by force and perſuaſion, to bring the *Roman* gariſon in the citadel to a capitulation. But, all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to *Brunduſium*, to excite the citizens there to a revolt. Being diſappointed in this view, he entertained ſome thoughts of moving towards *Capua*, at the earneſt deſire of the citizens, who now ſent a deputation to him. At this time the tranſactions in the iſland of *Sicily* were very conſiderable, and the *Carthaginians* exerted themſelves there, notwithſtanding the numerous armies they employed in *Italy* and *Spain*. However, as the particulars of theſe tranſactions do not fall under our province, we muſt refer our readers for them to the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*, to which they properly belong [o].

Otacilius ravages the coaſts of Africa.

ABOUT the time of the reduction of *Syracuſe*, *Otacilius* ſailed with eighty quinqueremes from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*; where, entering the port in the night, he took a great number of veſſels laden with corn. After which he landed a body of forces, that ravaged all the adjacent territory; and then returned on board with a very conſiderable booty. The *Carthaginians* giving him no obſtruction in this excurſion, either by ſea or land, he arrived ſafe at *Lilybæum*, three days after he

[n] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 22. PLUT. in Hannib. c. 23. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. viii. p. 106——157.

[o] Iidem ibid.

left the harbour of *Utica*, with an hundred and thirty tranſports, that conveyed the corn, and other ſpoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By ſuch a ſeaſonable ſupply, he was enabled to relieve the people of *Syracuſe*, who, as well as the *Romans* there, were, at that time, threatened with a famine [P].

The tranſactions in Spain.

THE *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*; one commanded by *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, another by *Mago*, and the third by *Aſdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*. The two former generals encamped cloſe together, about five days march from the *Romans*; and the latter poſted himſelf at *Anitorgis*, a city much nearer the enemy. This obliged the *Romans* to divide likewiſe their forces. *Cneius*, with one third of the *Roman* troops, and a body of thirty thouſand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Anitorgis*, to obſerve the motions of *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Hamilcar*. The two armies encamped on oppoſite banks of the ſame river, with an intention ſoon to come to an engagement. *Aſdrubal*, having a perfect knowlege of the *Spaniſh* perfidy, and being beſides well ſkilled in the *Celtiberian* tongue, eaſily found means to bribe the *Celtiberian* troops to a deſertion; which obliged *Cneius* to retire with great precipitation before the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time *Mago*, and the other *Aſdrubal*, by the aſſiſtance of *Maſmiſſa*, and *Indibilis* regulus of the *Lacetani*, gave the *Romans* a complete overthrow, and killed *Publius*. The ſame generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards going in queſt of *Cneius*, met with him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the ſword, with a great number of his legionaries, and forced the reſt to fly to *Publius*'s camp, which was guarded by a ſmall body, under the command of one of his lieutenants called *T. Fonteius*. However, the *Carthaginians*, towards the cloſe of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young *Roman* knight named *C. Martius*, who had collected the remains of the *Roman* army, as we have elſewhere related. According to *Claudius*, who tranſlated the *Annales Aciliani* out of *Greek* into *Latin*, two *Carthaginian* camps were forced in twenty-four hours time by *Martius*, thirty-ſeven thouſand *Carthaginians* killed, eighteen hundred made priſoners, beſides many ſpoils taken, amongſt which was a ſilver ſhield, weighing an hundred and thirty-eight pounds, with the effigies of *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, upon it. *Valerius Antias* relates, that, when *Mago*'s camp was taken, ſeven thouſand of the enemy were put to the ſword; and that, in a pitched battle, *Martius* defeated *Aſdrubal*, killing ten

[P] LIV. ubi ſupra.

thouſand

thouſand of his men, and making four thouſand three hundred and thirty priſoners. *Piſo* affirms, that the *Romans* drew the *Carthaginians* into an ambuſcade, and by that means cut off five thouſand of them. In ſhort, from this ſpecimen, we may form a true idea of the authors *Livy* followed; which is the reaſon of our inſerting theſe laſt particulars here. Their relations, in the point before us, are plainly refuted both by the preceding and the ſubſequent operations of the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies in *Spain*, as may be collected even from *Livy* himſelf. Nay, that hiſtorian, partial as he is, ſeems to allow ſome of theſe to have greatly exceeded the truth in their accounts of the numbers of the ſlain in the battles they have deſcribed. Which looks like a tacit acknowlegement of his own partiality, and conſequently a confirmation of what, in relation to the affairs of *Spain* during this period, we have ſo frequently obſerved [q].

The Roman *generals puſh on the ſiege of* Capua.

In the mean time the *Romans* puſhed on the ſiege of *Capua* with the utmoſt vigour. The *Capuans* made ſeveral ſallies, with tolerable ſucceſs. But *Hannibal* was at laſt informed by a *Numidian* horſeman, who had paſſed thro' the *Roman* camp undiſcovered in the night, that *Capua* was reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions; and then, tho' not without regret, he moved from his camp upon the *Galeſus* near *Tarentum*, to the relief of his beloved city. Tho' for ſome time, after the arrival of the *Numidian*, he remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of *Tarentum*, or the relief of *Capua*, would turn out moſt to his advantage; yet, out of the ſingular affection he bore the *Capuans*, he at laſt came to a reſolution to ſuccour them. It is probable likewiſe, that he took this ſtep, in order to preſerve his reputation amongſt his allies; which, he imagined, could not be more effectually done, than by a vigorous ſupport of thoſe, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his favour. Leaving therefore his baggage in *Brutium*, he advanced, with a ſtrong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards *Capua*, taking poſt in a valley behind mount *Tifata*. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he firſt took a fort called *Calatia*, and then, without loſs of time, attacked the *Roman* lines, the *Capuans* at the ſame inſtant, as had been before concerted betwixt them and *Hannibal*, making a vigorous ſally with their whole gariſon; but, after a warm diſpute, both the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans* were repulſed, with conſiderable loſs. *Livy* tells us, that, in

[q] Claud. Val. Antias, & Piso apud Liv. l. xxv. ſub fin. ut & ipſe Liv. ibid. Vide & Appian. in Iberic.

the heat of the action, the *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that thoſe huge animals, by overturning the *Roman* tents, and frighting the beaſts of burden there, ſcattered terror where-ever they moved; and that *Hannibal*, taking advantage of this confuſion, ordered ſome of his men, who could ſpeak *Latin*, to cry out, "That, ſince the *Roman* camp was taken, every "ſoldier was at liberty to ſhift for himſelf as well as he "could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains." However, the elephants being ſoon driven out of the camp by fire brought thither for that purpoſe, and *Hannibal*'s artifice defeated, the *Romans* recovered themſelves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action, *Hannibal*, not being able either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a paſſage thro' their camp into the town, laid aſide all thoughts for the preſent of relieving *Capua* [r].

Hannibal *advances to* Rome.

HOWEVER, that general, ever active in forming of ſchemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at laſt hit upon an expedient, which, he doubted not, would infallibly anſwer his purpoſe. He propoſed to march with ſuch expedition to *Rome*, as to preſent himſelf at the walls of that metropolis, before the *Romans* could have any notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. In order to facilitate the execution of this project, *Hannibal* ordered his troops to ſupply themſelves with proviſions for ten days, and to get ready as many tranſports, as would waft them over the *Vulturnus* in one night. But, notwithſtanding the privacy with which this whole affair was tranſacted, *Fulvius*, by means of *Carthaginian* deſerters, received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s intended motion, and diſpatched a courier to *Rome*, to give the ſenate early notice of his approach. As the *Carthaginian* did not march directly to *Rome*, but took a compaſs, and ſtaid to ravage the countries, through which he moved, the *Romans* had time to make proper diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital. However, many, even of the ſenators themſelves, were ſtruck with incredible terror at the appearance of the *Carthaginian* forces. *Hannibal*, having marched by *Sueſſa*, *Allifæ*, *Aquinum*, *Interamna*, *Fregellæ*, *Labicum*, *Tuſculum*, and *Gabii*, encamped on a commodious ſpot of ground within eight miles of *Rome*. The *Numidian* cavalry, in the advanced-guard, filled all places with ſlaughter, and took many priſoners. After a ſhort ſtay here, he moved to the banks of the *Anio*, about three miles from the enemy's capital; from whence, eſcorted by a choice detachment of two thouſand horſe, he advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, in

[r] LIV. l. xxvi. c. 4---7.

order

order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the situation of the city. But, not meeting with the desired success, either in this excursion, or the attempts he afterwards made, *Hannibal* retired six miles from *Rome*, and posted himself upon the *Tutia*. From hence he went to the grove of the goddess *Feronia*, where stood a temple sacred to her; enriched with the valuable oblations and presents of the *Capenates*, a people inhabiting that particular district; which he plundered. *Livy* affirms, that, after *Hannibal*'s departure, great heaps of brass were found in this grove, which his soldiers had left there, in the room of the treasure they had carried off, out of a religious motive. According to *Strabo*, a sacrifice was offered annually to the goddess *Feronia*, in the grove where she was worshiped, at the foot of the mountain *Soracte*, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. On several *Roman* denarii, preserved in the cabinets of the curious, she is represented with a crown on her head. *Hannibal*, finding himself disappointed in his views, is said to have cried out, "That "at one time his own will, and at another fortune, would "not permit him to take *Rome*." *Livy* seems to intimate, that the routes *Hannibal* took in his passage to *Rome*, and retreat from it, could not be ascertained, some authors confounding them, though one of these, he believes, in his time, was certainly known. We shall not further expatiate upon this remarkable expedition, since all the particulars of moment relating to it, omitted by us here, will be found in a proper place [s].

Capua surrenders to the Romans.

HANNIBAL, finding that he could not relieve *Capua*, moved with such expedition to *Rhegium*, that he had like to have surprised that city. This little pleased the *Capuans*, who prevailed upon *Bostar* and *Hanno*, the commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Capua*, to press *Hannibal*, in the strongest and most moving terms, to attempt raising the siege of that city. Their letters, however, had no effect; for, *Hannibal* either being not able or willing to relieve the place, it was obliged to surrender to the *Romans*, *Seppius Læsius* being at that time the *mediastuticus*, or chief magistrate, there. *Vibius Virius*, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poison, as did twenty-seven other senators. In what a shocking and inhuman manner *Fulvius* treated the *Capuan* senators, both before, and even after, the conscript fathers at *Rome* had granted them mercy, may be seen in a

[s] LIV. ubi supra, c. 7---12. POLYB. l. ix. STRAB. l. v. SIL. ITAL. C. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. omnesque fere al. hist. Roman. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 297——301.

former part of this work. Nothing can give us a more lively idea of the cruelties and enormities a thirſt after power may make a ſtate capable of, than what even the partial *Livy* himſelf has tranſmitted down to poſterity on this occaſion, except the late villainous and unchriſtian behaviour of a *Moſt Chriſtian* prince, as famous for his obſervation of ſolemn treaties, as either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* were. The ſucceſs of this ſiege gave the *Romans* a viſible ſuperiority over the *Carthaginians*, and diſpoſed the *Italian* ſtates in general to declare for their former maſters [t].

State of affairs in Spain.

SOME time after the reduction of *Capua*, *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Hamilcar*, being encamped at a place called *Lapides Atri*, in the country of the *Auſetani*, between *Illiturgis* and *Mentiſſa*, was informed, that *Claudius Nero*, who had been employed before *Capua*, was arrived in *Spain* with a ſtrong reinforcement. That general had taken upon him the command of the army deſtined to act againſt the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, in the room of *L. Marcius* and *T. Fonteius*. *Aſdrubal* ſoon after, by a falſe point of conduct, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up on an iſthmus in ſuch a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himſelf out of the difficulties, in which that error had involved him, though by none of the moſt honourable methods. This event ſo changed the face of affairs in *Spain*, that no perſon of diſtinction, except *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the ſon of *Publius*, who had lately loſt his life in *Spain*, offered himſelf a candidate for the proconſulate there. He was therefore choſen proconſul for *Spain*, and ſent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival there, he received deputations from moſt of the *Spaniſh* nations, who diſcovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a cloſe union with the *Romans*. When *Scipio*, amidſt the applauſe and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at *Rome*, took upon himſelf the command of the army in *Spain*, he was ſcarce twenty-four years of age [u].

Hannibal's *affairs go to decay in* Italy, Sicily, *and* Spain.

NOTHING of moment, except what has been already related, happened further this year in *Spain*. At the end of it, *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco* extended his winter-quarters as far as *Gades*, and the ocean. *Mago* took up his above the *Saltus Caſtulonenſis*; and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Hamilcar* cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Saguntum*. About this time the *Carthaginians* ſent a ſquadron to *Tarentum*, to cut off all ſupplies from the *Roman* gariſon in the citadel there; but

[t] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 12---17. POLYB. ubi ſupra. Vide & Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra. [u] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 20, &c. POLYB. l. x.

they

they incommoded their allies the *Tarentines* more than the enemy. For it was found impoſſible to convey, either by ſea or land, a quantity of proviſions, ſufficient to ſupport both the people of *Tarentum*, and the forces on board the *Carthaginian* gallies. Though the latter therefore for ſome time blocked up the citadel by ſea, they could not carry their point, the *Romans* being provided with all things neceſſary, and having a large train of military engines, wherewith to annoy the enemy. *Hannibal*, now finding the *Carthaginian* affairs going ſwiftly to decay in *Italy*, as well as *Sicily* and *Spain*, could not forbear exclaiming againſt *Hanno*, and his faction, for the detention of thoſe ſuccours, which had ſo long been promiſed him. This, which was effected by their artifice, did not only prevent the conqueſt of *Italy*, but proved the total ruin of the *African* republic, as will more clearly appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory [w].

THE next campaign the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of *Salapia*, by the aſſiſtance of one *Blaſius*, a *Salapian*, who had always been a ſecret well-wiſher to the *Romans*. As the particulars of this action have been already related at large, we ſhall not dwell upon them here; but only obſerve, that *Hannibal* loſt a body of his beſt horſe in it, which proved much more fatal to him, than the loſs of *Salapia*. For his cavalry could never, after this blow, if *Livy* may be credited, make head againſt that of the *Romans*, to which it had always been before ſuperior. About this time a *Tarentine* ſquadron defeated a *Roman* fleet ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, under the conduct of *Decimus Quintius*, who was killed in the action. But, to make amends for this diſaſter, a *Roman* detachment, conſiſting of two thouſand men, fell upon four thouſand *Tarentine* foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader *C. Perſius*, intirely defeated them, putting the greateſt part of them to the ſword [x]. The *Romans* make themſelves maſters of Salapia; *but are defeated at ſea by the* Tarentines.

SCIPIO, having taken care to get his naval forces in readineſs to put to ſea early in the ſpring, appointed *Tarraco* the place of rendezvous for the forces of his *Spaniſh* allies. Upon their aſſembling here, he ordered the main body of the army to defile from thence towards the *Iberus*, himſelf following at the head of five thouſand *Spaniards*. Here he harangued the ſoldiery, inſiſting largely upon thoſe topics, that, he thought, would be the moſt apt to inſpire them with reſolution. After this, leaving *M. Silanus*, with three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, to prevent all diſorders in thoſe parts of *Spain*, Scipio *takes* New Carthage.

[w] Iidem ibid. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7.

[x] LIV. l. xxvi. c. 39. PLUT. in Marcel.

he paſſed the *Iberus*, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe. As almoſt all the riches of *Spain* were depoſited in *New Carthage*, a city ſituated, like *Old Carthage*, upon a peninſula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which laſt ſerved as a fence to the weſtern and northern parts of the wall, he formed a deſign upon it. To the attack of this place he was likewiſe further excited by the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, which was capacious enough to receive any fleet, and ſo near the coaſt of *Africa*, that the *Romans*, when in poſſeſſion of it, might eaſily make a deſcent on the *Carthaginian* territories there. *Mago*, who, according to ſome authors, commanded in the town, or, as *Valerius Antias* will have it, *Arme*, upon *Scipio*'s approach, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a vigorous defence. He poſted two thouſand of the citizens in that part of the town, which fronted the *Roman* camp, five hundred *Carthaginians* in the citadel, and five hundred more upon an eminence in the eaſtern part of the city. He likewiſe ordered another body to be ready to move, where-ever the efforts of the enemy ſhould render their aſſiſtance neceſſary, at a moment's warning. The *Romans* did not only repulſe the enemy in a ſally they made; but likewiſe purſued them with ſuch ardour, that, had not *Scipio* cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, they had entered mingled with the *Carthaginians* into the town. This ſo intimidated the troops in gariſon, that they abandoned many of their poſts, and, in a manner, deſerted the ramparts. *Scipio*, therefore, immediately ordered a vigorous attack to be made on thoſe parts of the wall, which were moſt expoſed; his fleet at the ſame time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by aſſaulting the town on the ſea-ſide. After a bloody and obſtinate diſpute, the *Romans* carried the place ſword in hand, *Scipio* greatly animating his men, and ſome fiſhermen of *Tarraco* enabling one of his detachments to enter the town on the ſide of the *ſtagnum* or moraſs; which ſeemed almoſt inacceſſible. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the *Romans*, that he ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Till the ſurrender of the citadel, the ſlaughter was general; but afterwards quarter was given, the ſoldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The *Romans* made ten thouſand freemen, beſides a prodigious number of women, children, and ſlaves, priſoners; together with three hundred, or, according to others, ſeven hundred twenty-five *Spaniſh* hoſtages, whom the *Roman* general immediately diſmiſſed. They found in the place an hundred and twenty of the greater catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the leſſer ſort; twenty-three of the larger baliſtæ, fifty-two of the ſmaller;

ſmaller; an inconceivable number of ſcorpions, arms, and darts of all kinds, together with ſeventy-four military enſigns. An immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, both in money and plate, fell into *Scipio*'s hands. But as the authors *Livy* followed, particularly *Silenus* and *Valerius Antias*, greatly differed in this point, as well as with regard to the ſtrength of the *Carthaginian* gariſon, the number of captives, the quantity of ſhipping ſeized in the port, and the proviſions, naval ſtores, *&c.* found on board, we ſhall beg leave to refer our readers, for their further ſatisfaction on thoſe heads, to that writer himſelf, and to the circumſtantial account we have already given of this glorious action in a former part of our hiſtory [y].

The Carthaginians ſeem to deſpiſe the Romans, notwithſtanding the progreſs of their arms.

THE *Carthaginians*, for ſome time, endeavoured to ſuppreſs the news of the blow they had received in *Spain* by the reduction of *New Carthage*, being apprehenſive, that, as ſoon as the *Spaniards* obtained intelligence of that unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the *Romans*. But, not being able long to conceal ſo remarkable a diſgrace, they were obliged at laſt to own it. However, they put as good a face upon the matter as they well could, in the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs, in order to palliate their own ſhameful behaviour at the late attack. They gave out, "That *Scipio* had ſtolen the town by ſurprize; that the "conqueſt was of little importance, notwithſtanding the "young commander affected to cry it up as equivalent to a "ſignal victory; and that, upon the approach of three *Car*-"*thaginian* generals, at the head of three victorious armies, "he would preſently be thrown into a panic, and have his "mind intirely occupied by the frightful idea of the havock "lately made in his family." Notwithſtanding which ſuggeſtions, they were perfectly ſenſible of the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of ſo important a fortreſs muſt neceſſarily have upon their affairs. The polite as well as generous treatment the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, regulus of the *Ilergetes*, all the daughters of *Indibilis*, thoſe of the principal *Spaniſh* nobility, a young lady of moſt attractive charms betrothed to *Allucius*, prince of the *Celtiberians*, and *Allucius* himſelf, met with from *Scipio*, will more naturally fall under our obſervation, when we come

[y] POLYB. l. x. ſub init. LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 43, & ſeq. APPIAN. in Iberic. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 15. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 1. SIL. ITAL. l. xv. OROS. l. iv. c. 18. ZONAR. ubi ſupra, c. 8. Vide SERV. in Virg. Æn. i. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 304---307. SILEN. & VALER. ANT. apud Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 49.

to

to the hiſtory of *Spain*. For which reaſon we ſhall content ourſelves with having barely mentioned it in this place [z].

Hannibal *defeats the proconſul* Cn. Fulvius *at* Herdonea.

MARCELLUS, after the taking of *Salapia*, advancing into *Samnium*, made himſelf maſter of *Maronea* and *Melæ*, two cities of that country, by aſſault. Three thouſand *Carthaginian* ſoldiers, left there by *Hannibal*, were all put to the ſword. He found there two hundred and forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, together with an hundred and ten thouſand of barley. The plunder he diſtributed among the troops. But this could by no means be deemed a ſufficient compenſation for the great defeat *Hannibal* gave the proconſul *Cn. Fulvius* at *Herdonea* about the ſame time. The *Roman* general, being appriſed, that the citizens of *Herdonea* ſhewed a diſpoſition to abandon the *Carthaginian* intereſt, moved that way, to encourage them to declare themſelves. *Hannibal*, by his ſpies, receiving intelligence of this motion, as well as the reaſon of it, advanced likewiſe into the neighbourhood of that city, with ſuch celerity, that *Fulvius* had no notice of his approach. However, upon *Hannibal*'s offering battle to the *Romans*, an engagement enſued, wherein the legionaries behaved with great bravery, till the *Carthaginian* found means to overpower them with his horſe. Then they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and driven out of the field, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men, the reſt flying to *Marcellus* in *Samnium* by different routes. After this victory, *Hannibal* burnt the city of *Herdonea*, put to death as many of the nobility, who had kept a ſecret correſpondence with *Fulvius*, as he could diſcover, and tranſported the body of the citizens to *Metapontum* and *Thurii*. Upon the firſt news of *Fulvius*'s overthrow, *Marcellus* moved out of *Samnium* into *Lucania*, to give a check to the progreſs of the *Carthaginian* arms, and came up with *Hannibal* near the town of *Numiſtro*. Both ſides immediately ſhewed a diſpoſition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle without delay. *Hannibal* poſted his right wing on an eminence, and *Marcellus* his left cloſe by the town. The action was very ſharp, but not deciſive, the night obliging both ſides to retire. *Hannibal*, not judging it expedient to renew the attack the next morning, decamped in the night, bending his march for *Venuſia*, where, in a few days, the *Roman* army arrived. Some ſlight ſkirmiſhes happened here betwixt the advanced-guards of both parties; but nothing of moment was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conſpiracy, formed againſt the *Roman* troops in *Capua*, being detected,

[z] POLYB. LIV. & APPIAN. ubi ſupra.

the conſpirators received condign puniſhment. *Syphax*, about this time, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, notifying to the ſenate certain advantages he had lately gained over the *Carthaginians*, with a declaration, that no power was conſidered by him in a more hoſtile light, than the ſtate of *Carthage*, nor in a more friendly one, than that of *Rome*. Towards the cloſe of this campaign, *Hamilcar*, with a *Carthaginian* ſquadron, conſiſting of forty gallies, hovered upon the coaſts of *Sardinia*, and, not meeting with any *Roman* fleet to oppoſe him, ravaged all the country about *Olbia* and *Caralis*. The *Sicilian* banditti, about this time, did not only deſtroy with fire and ſword a good part of *Brutium*, but likewiſe laid ſiege to the city of *Caulonia*[a].

Various engagements betwixt Hannibal *and* Marcellus.

HANNIBAL, having taken up his winter-quarters near *Canuſium*, uſed all poſſible means to excite the people of that city to a revolt from the *Romans*. This reaching the ears of *Marcellus*, he advanced to *Canuſium*, encamped over-againſt *Hannibal*, and ſoon found means to draw him to a battle. The two armies, being ſeparated by the night, at firſt parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, *Hannibal* worſted the *Romans*. This extremely chagrined *Marcellus*, who hitherto had never received any diſgrace from the *Carthaginians*. But now, beſides the field of battle, he loſt near three thouſand men, amongſt whom were four centurions, and two military tribunes, together with ſix ſtandards, that were taken by the enemy. Being therefore filled with indignation and reſentment, he reſolved to venture another engagement with *Hannibal*, who, on his part, ſeemed determined not to decline the challenge. *Marcellus* poſted the left wing, and thoſe cohorts, that, in the laſt action, had loſt their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed to the right; and appointed *Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Claudius Nero* to command both wings, whilſt the main body was committed to his conduct. *Hannibal* poſted the *Spaniards* in front, and diſpoſed his other forces in the uſual manner. The fight was obſtinate and bloody, the *Carthaginian* elephants overthrowing many of the *Roman* ſtandards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading under foot a vaſt number of them. But, by the bravery of *Decimius Flavus*, a military tribune, theſe boiſterous animals were repulſed; which enabled the *Romans* to drive *Hannibal* to his camp, after they had laid eight thouſand *Carthaginians* dead upon the ſpot. *Marcellus*, however, loſt above three thouſand men in the action, and had almoſt all

[a] POLYB. l. x. LIV. l. xxvii. ſub init. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLUT. in Marcel. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

the

the reſt wounded; inſomuch that he found himſelf not capable of purſuing *Hannibal*, when his ſpies informed him, that he was retreating into *Brutium*. During theſe tranſactions, the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, and *Volſcentes*, ſubmitted to the conſul *Fulvius*, delivering all the troops *Hannibal* had left in their cities for gariſons, into his hands. *Pactius* and *Vibius* likewiſe, two of the principal noblemen amongſt the *Brutii*, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the ſame terms that had been granted to their neighbours. Q. *Fabius*, the other conſul, about the ſame time, took by ſtorm *Manduria*, a city of the *Salentines*, making four thouſand men therein priſoners of war. After this, *Fabius* ſat down before *Tarentum*. As the *Carthaginians* had then no fleet in thoſe ſeas, having ſent all their gallies to the iſland *Corcyra*, in order to aſſiſt king *Philip*, then at war with the *Ætolians*, he found no difficulty in making his approaches by ſea as well as by land. Whilſt theſe things happened, *Hannibal* advanced with a ſtrong body of troops to *Caulonia*; which obliged the *Sicilian* robbers to retire to an eminence at ſome diſtance from the town [b].

Fabius *takes* Tarentum.

FABIUS had no occaſion to puſh on long the ſiege of *Tarentum*. An accident, that could not be foreſeen, threw that place into his hands. It happened, that the commandant of the *Brutian* gariſon, which *Hannibal* left for the defence of the place, fell deſperately in love with a girl, whoſe brother was a ſoldier in the *Roman* army. This perſon being informed by his ſiſter, in a letter, of the great intereſt ſhe had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to *Fabius*, who ordered him to go into the city as a deſerter, and to try whether he could not, by his ſiſter's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the *Romans* into the town. This was happily effected, the *Tarentines* not being able to make head againſt the *Romans*, after they had been deſerted by the *Brutians*. *Nico* and *Democrates*, two of the *Tarentine* leaders, died glorioufly, fighting for the liberties of their country; and *Philemenus*, by whoſe agency *Tarentum* had been betrayed to *Hannibal*, was ſuppoſed to have thrown himſelf headlong from off his horſe into a well, after the end of the action. *Carthalo*, who commanded the body of native *Carthaginians* in the place, was put to the ſword, together with a good number of his men, as well as the greateſt part of the *Tarentines*, and many even of the *Brutians* themſelves, who, one would have thought, had merited better treatment. All authors agree, that the plunder taken here was immenſe, and even equal to what *Marcellus* found in *Syracuſe*. The number of ſlaves

[b] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi ſupra.

made

made prisoners amounted to thirty thousand. *Fabius* took care to dismantle *Tarentum*, and to demolish the wall, that separated the town from the citadel. About this time *Hannibal*, having, for a considerable term, surrounded the body of *Sicilian* banditti posted on the eminence near *Caulonia* above-mentioned, forced them to surrender at discretion [c].

Afdrubal *defeated by* Scipio *in* Spain.

The *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*, commanded by three of their best generals, to wit, *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*, *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and *Mago*. *Edeco*, or *Edesco*, a general of great fame amongst the *Spaniards*, abandoning the *Carthaginian* interest about the beginning of the summer, came over to *Scipio*. His wife and children had been, for some time, in the *Roman* camp; but a regard to their safety did not so much induce him to act the part he had done, according to *Livy*, as that sincere affection for the *Romans*, with which *Scipio* had inspired all the *Spaniards*, by his great humanity, politeness, and condescension. *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, and most of the other *Spanish* reguli, charmed with the same amiable qualities, joined *Scipio* with all their forces. By this accession of strength, that general found himself enabled to hazard an engagement with *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*, who lay encamped near the city of *Bætula*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Bæcula*. *Scipio* was impatient of delay, as fearing the junction of *Asdrubal* and his collegues. The *Carthaginian* discovered the same eagerness for a battle on his part, as finding the *Roman* army to be daily reinforced by the accession of *Spanish* troops. *Scipio*, upon his approach towards the *Carthaginian* camp, detached some parties of his *velites* to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with some of their advanced-guards, defeated them, pursued them to their camp, and then returned, without any loss. Animated by this event, *Scipio*, the next day, attacked the *Carthaginians*, who, for some time, defended themselves with great bravery; but were at last totally routed, and forced to fly. According to *Livy*, they had eight thousand men killed upon the spot, besides ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, taken prisoners. *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginian* camp up to his soldiers to be plundered, and released all the *Spanish* prisoners found there without ransom; but ordered the *Africans* to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal*, rallying the remains of his shattered army, pursued his march towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent his elephants that way before. The *Spanish* princes, who had entered into an alliance with *Scipio*, received considerable presents, for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; *Indibilis*, in particular,

[c] *Iidem* ibid. Plut. in Fab. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi sup.

being

being ordered by the *Roman* general to chooſe three hundred horſes out of thoſe taken from the enemy, for his own uſe. Notwithſtanding the glorious victory *Scipio* had gained, he thought proper to return to *Tarraco*; which gave the other two *Carthaginian* commanders an opportunity of joining *Aſdrubal*. At a conſultation held for that purpoſe, each of theſe generals had his particular province aſſigned him. *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, was to march into *Italy*, to aſſiſt *Hannibal*, with all the *Spaniſh* forces he could draw together; *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, was to take upon himſelf the command of the corps lately committed to *Mago*'s conduct, and to retire into *Luſitania*, in order to avoid an engagement; and *Mago* was ſent to the *Balearic* iſlands, with a large ſum of money, to make new levies there. *Maſiniſſa* had likewiſe a choice detachment of three thouſand horſe, being the flower of the cavalry, aſſigned him, in order to ſupport the *Carthaginian* allies in *Hiſpania Citerior*, as well as to deſtroy the enemy's country there with fire and ſword. As *Scipio*, by his generous and affable deportment, ſeemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the *Spaniards*, it was judged neceſſary to make theſe diſpoſitions, that the *Spaniſh* ſoldiery, in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, might be drawn immediately either into *Gaul*, or the remoteſt part of *Spain*, where the *Romans* had not, as yet, got any footing. This, it was hoped, would put an effectual ſtop to that general deſertion, which then prevailed amongſt thoſe troops [d].

A party of Numidians cut off the famous Marcellus, and diſperſe the eſcort that attended him.

THE next year, being the eleventh of the ſecond *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* threatened to ravage the coaſts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, with a fleet of above two hundred ſail; of which *Scipio* being appriſed, he detached fifty gallies to cruiſe off the ports of *Sardinia*, and protect that iſland from all inſults of the enemy. The conſul *T. Quinctius Criſpinus* ſent for a large train of battering-engines from *Sicily*, intending ſoon to form the ſiege of *Locri*, his fleet having already blocked that city up on the ſea-ſide. But he laid aſide that deſign on *Hannibal*'s approach to *Lacinium*, and on receiving advice, that his collegue *Marcellus* had drawn his forces from *Venuſia*, in order to join him. *Hannibal*, being appriſed, that both the conſuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt *Bantia* and *Venuſia*, moved that way, pitching his camp at a ſmall diſtance from them. Notwithſtanding the ſummer was far advanced, the conſuls wrote to *L. Cincius*, ordering him to come with a fleet from *Sicily* to *Locri*, a body of *Romans* from *Tarentum* being commanded to in-

[d] POLYB. l. x. LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 19---23. APPIAN. in Iberic.

veſt

veſt that city by land at the ſame time. This being diſcovered to *Hannibal* by ſome *Thurians*, he placed an ambuſcade for that corps; into which having drawn them, he put two thouſand of them to the ſword, took twelve hundred priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt. He afterwards decoyed the two conſuls into another ambuſcade of *Numidian* horſe, together with *M. Marcellus*, ſon to one of them, and *A. Manlius*, both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an eſcort of two hundred and twenty horſe, of which forty were *Fregellani*, and the reſt *Etruſcans*. The brave *Marcellus*, one of them, who had acquired ſuch renown by the ſeveral advantages he got over *Hannibal*, loſt his life, through the cowardice of the *Etruſcans*, who fled at the firſt onſet. But *Criſpinus*, his collegue, and *M. Marcellus*, his ſon, made their eſcape in the manner we have already related [e].

Hannibal *obliges the* Romans *to raiſe the ſiege of* Locri.

MAGO, the *Carthaginian* commandant at *Locri*, found himſelf ſo preſſed by *Cincius*, that he was upon the point of ſurrendering; but, receiving advice of the blow *Hannibal* had given the *Romans* by the ſlaughter of *Marcellus*, he reſolved to defend the place to the laſt drop of blood. Soon after, an expreſs arrived from *Hannibal*, with an account, that the *Numidian* cavalry had already begun their march for *Locri*; and that he himſelf, with the groſs of the army, would follow them with all poſſible expedition. Upon the approach of the *Numidians*, *Mago* made a ſally with his whole force upon the beſiegers, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, the *Numidians* coming up in the point of time, forced them to abandon their works, and leave all their battering-engines, and other military machines, behind them. So that *Hannibal*, upon his arrival at *Locri*, found no enemy to oppoſe him there. About this time, *Valerius*, the *Roman* admiral, after having ravaged the coaſt of *Africa*, attacked a *Carthaginian* ſquadron of eighty-three gallies off *Clupea*. The *Carthaginians*, not being able to withſtand the efforts of the *Romans*, were ſoon obliged to ſheer off, with the loſs of eighteen ſhips; which *Valerius* carried off in triumph. From thence ſteering for *Sicily*, he arrived in a ſhort time, with an immenſe booty, at *Lilybæum* [f].

Aſdrubal *beſieges* Placentia.

ASDRUBAL, as we have lately obſerved, being obliged to abandon his camp near *Bæcula*, had afterwards a conference with the other two *Carthaginian* generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were ſettled. In purſuance of the plan then formed, *Aſdrubal* advanced towards the *Pyrenees*, at the

[e] POLYB. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. xxvii. c. 23---30. PLUT. in Marcel. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 16, 17. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Marcel. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1. [f] LIV. & PLUT. ubi ſupra.

head

head of the forces assigned him, with all possible expedition. The *Pyrenees*, as far as we can collect from history, he crossed, without any great difficulty, though, if *Livy* may be credited, *Scipio* had detached a body of troops to dispute the passage of that ridge of mountains with him. As the silver-mines (B) near *Bæcula* had supplied him with a very considerable quantity of treasure, upon his arrival in *Gaul*, he not only prevailed upon the *Gauls* to grant him a passage through their territories, but likewise to furnish him with a proper number of recruits. The *Ligurians* received him in the same manner, as would also the *Etruscans*, could he have advanced to their frontiers. *Asdrubal* therefore, meeting with as little opposition, and as many favourable circumstances, to facilitate and expedite his march, as he could hope for, arrived at *Placentia* sooner than either the *Romans*, or even his brother *Hannibal* himself, expected. But, sitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of sound policy, and continuing the siege of it, he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of assembling all their forces to attack him. At the same time, by his too great security, as well as the enterprize he had undertaken, he prevented *Hannibal* from joining him, as he had proposed to do, upon the first news of his having passed the *Alps*. Thus *Asdrubal* not only lost all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendship of the *Arverni*, and other *Gallic* nations, who had so greatly expedited his passage to *Italy*, by this single step, but likewise totally ruined the *Carthaginian* affairs in that country, as will soon most evidently appear [g].

Hannibal *receives several blows.*

As soon as *Hannibal* moved out of his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the *Salentines*, with an intention to ravage it, before the consul

[g] Liv. ubi supra, c. 41---43.

(B) *Polybius* tells us, that, near *New Carthage*, there was a silver-mine so rich, that the *Carthaginians* extracted out of it every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver. *Aletes*, the discoverer of this mine, was, according to the same author, deified by the *Spaniards* after his death, for the service he thereby did his country. *Aristotle* and *Posidonius* intimate, that *Spain*, in the most early ages, abounded with silver; insomuch that the *Phœnicians* exported vast quantities of that metal from thence, which they purchased for oil, and other trifles. Nay, the first author assures us, that the *Phœnicians*, by this means, had not only immense quantities of plate, but that even the very anchors of their ships were made of silver. But of this more, when we come to the history of *Spain* (2).

(2) *Polyb. l.* x. *c.* 10. *Posidon. apud Diod. Sic. l.* v. *Aristot. in mirab. auscult.*

Claudius could take the field. But this was prevented by the conduct and bravery of *C. Hoſtilius Tubulus*, who attacked the *Carthaginians* with a body of light-armed troops, and intirely defeated them, killing four thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. After this diſaſter, *Hannibal* retired into *Brutium*, to prevent his being hemmed in by the enemy, who began now to advance againſt him from ſeveral parts. In the mean time *Tubulus*, with his forces, joined the conſular army under *Claudius* at *Venuſia*. *Hannibal*, having drawn all his gariſons out of *Brutium*, and by this means reinforced his army, marched to *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, in order to recover ſome towns, that, through fear, had revolted to the *Romans*. As, immediately after the late junction, *Claudius* had ſent a detachment, under the command of *Tubulus*, to reinforce the proconſul *Fulvius* at *Capua*, and, with the remaining corps, conſiſting of forty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, had himſelf gone in queſt of *Hannibal*, he arrived at *Grumentum* ſoon after the *Carthaginian*, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. *Claudius*, by the ſtratagem formerly mentioned, and the bravery of *C. Aurunculeius*, tribune of the third legion, gave *Hannibal* another defeat here, cutting off eight thouſand of his men, and taking ſeven hundred priſoners. Four elephants were likewiſe killed, and two taken, in the action. Nine military enſigns, and ſome plunder, alſo fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who, according to *Livy*, loſt only five hundred men on this occaſion. *Hannibal*, ſoon after this blow, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few *Numidian* horſe in his intrenchments to amuſe the enemy, made good his retreat to *Venuſia*; but here the conſul came up again with him. At this place, in another renconnter, the *Carthaginians* loſt two thouſand men; upon which *Hannibal* retired, with great precipitation, to *Metapontum*, where he was joined by *Hanno*, and from thence made the beſt of his way to *Canuſium* [h].

The conſul Claudius moves towards his collegue;

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Aſdrubal*, being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Placentia*, began his march for *Umbria*. Of this the conſul *Claudius* being informed by a letter ſent from that general to his brother *Hannibal*, which was intercepted near *Tarentum*, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, the very flower of his troops, and poſted with incredible celerity to join his collegue *Livius*. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another, by the *Roman* laws; yet in a conjuncture of ſo delicate and important a nature as this, when the ſafety,

[h] Idem ibid. c. 43--45.

and even the very being, of *Rome* lay at ſtake, he thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no ſooner received the letter above-mentioned from *L. Virginius*, a legionary tribune, who had eſcorted the *Carthaginian* couriers with a *Samnite* detachment to him, and read it, than he ſent it to the ſenate, at the ſame time diſpatching his orders to the *Larinates*, *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, *Prætutiani*, &c. through whoſe territories he was to paſs, to procure a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and carriages for his troops, that he might purſue his march without the leaſt interruption. As nothing could ſave *Rome*, after the junction of the two *Carthaginian* armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to ſtrike ſuch a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy; which, he imagined, might be done, could he and his collegue vigorouſly charge *Aſdrubal* with their united forces. This reflection determined him to make the movement mentioned here, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to *Q. Catius*, one of his lieutenants [i].

and joins him.

CLAUDIUS gave not the leaſt hint of his deſign to any of his officers, till he was got at ſuch a diſtance from *Hannibal*, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill conſequence to him. He then only in general told them, "That "he was leading them to certain victory; that his collegue "wanted a reinforcement; that the bare rumour of their "arrival would diſconcert all the meaſures of the *Carthagi*-"*nians*; and that the whole honour of the day would fall to "them." He marched with incredible expedition, and arrived at *Sena*, where *Livius* lay encamped within half a mile of the *Carthaginians*. Soon after his arrival, *Aſdrubal*, taking a view of the *Roman* army, diſcovered ſeveral ſhields of an antient make, that he had never ſeen before, many thin, lean horſes, which had been greatly fatigued, and that the *Roman* army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By theſe, and ſeveral other circumſtances, that able general ſuſpected *Claudius* to have joined his collegue with a body of troops. This threw him into a ſort of melancholy, as imagining, that *Hannibal* had been overthrown, and conſequently that he came too late to ſupport him [k].

The Romans *defeat* Aſdrubal

BEFORE the arrival of *Claudius*, the præror *L. Portius Licinus* was encamped, with ſome forces, at a ſmall diſtance from the conſul *Livius*. Immediately after that important

[i] POLYB. l. xi. ſub init. LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 45----49. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 9.
[k] Iidem ibid. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 9.

event,

event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders preſided. *Livius* gave his opinion, that an action, for ſome days, ſhould be deferred, that *Claudius*'s troops might have time to refreſh themſelves, after ſo tedious and fatiguing a march. *Claudius* himſelf entertained different ſentiments, imagining, that nothing could prove more fatal to the republic, than the leaſt delay to give the enemy battle at this critical juncture. His advice was complied with, and the ſignal of battle accordingly given. However, *Aſdrubal*, under the apprehenſions above-mentioned, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his army began to march in great diſorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deſerting him, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the *Metaurus*, now the *Metaro*, and was preparing to croſs it, when the united forces of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did all things which could be expected from the preſence of mind and courage of a conſummate warrior. He ſeized an advantageous poſt, and drew up his forces on a narrow ſpot, which gave him an opportunity of poſting his left wing, compoſed of *Gauls*, and the weakeſt part of his army, in ſuch a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main battle, and right wing, conſiſting of *Spaniards*, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front. After this haſty diſpoſition of his forces, he poſted himſelf in the centre, and firſt moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the conſul *Livius*, well knowing, that all was at ſtake, and that he muſt either conquer or die. The battle laſted a long time, and was obſtinately diſputed by both parties. *Aſdrubal* eſpecially ſignalized himſelf in this engagement, and quite completed the glory he had acquired by a ſeries of ſhining actions. He led on his ſoldiers, who were trembling, and quite deſpirited, againſt an enemy ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. He animated them by his words, ſupported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to bring back thoſe who fled. But at laſt, ſeeing that victory declared for the *Romans*, and being unable to ſurvive the loſs of ſo many thouſand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he ruſhed at once into the midſt of a *Roman* cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the ſon of *Hamilcar*, and brother of *Hannibal*[1].

upon the banks of the Metaurus. Year of the flood 2154. Bef. Chriſt 194. Of Rome 554.

[1] Iidem ibid. Flor. ubi ſupra. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 18. Sil. Ital. l. xv. Appian. in Hannib. Sueton. in Tiber. Cic. in Brut. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Sex. Aurel. Vict. in Claud. & Aſd. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. Horat. l. iv. od. 4.

The victory chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of Claudius.

THIS victory, which *Livy* makes equal to that of *Cannæ*, was almoſt intirely owing to the bravery and activity of *Claudius*. That general, finding that his men did not exert themſelves, cried out to them in an angry tone, *To what purpoſe then have we made ſo long a march with ſuch expedition?* Then he made an effort to poſſeſs himſelf of an eminence, that covered the *Gauls*, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that ſide: but, finding this impoſſible, he drew out a detachment of ſome cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to ſuſtain *Livius*, he charged the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* in front, in flank, and in rear, almoſt at the ſame time. This changed the face of affairs, eſpecially as ſuch an attack was unexpected, and made with the utmoſt fury. The *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* therefore, not being able to ſuſtain ſo violent a ſhock, were ſoon put to the rout, and almoſt all cut to pieces; after which the *Gauls* were, for the moſt part, maſſacred without oppoſition. The leaders themſelves deſtroyed moſt of the elephants, to prevent the deſtruction they would have occaſioned amongſt their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to *Livy*, fifty-ſix thouſand of *Aſdrubal*'s men fell in this bloody action, and near ſix thouſand were taken priſoners; though *Polybius* makes the whole loſs of the *Carthaginians* not to have exceeded ten thouſand men. Be that as it will, the *Romans* ſeemed to have been weary of killing, ſince when a perſon told *Livius*, after the battle, that it would be an eaſy matter to cut off a body of *Ciſalpine Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who had either not been in the fight, or eſcaped out of it, then flying in great confuſion, with a ſmall detachment of horſe, he anſwered, *It is fit that ſome ſhould ſurvive, to carry the enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery.* *Livy* affirms, that the *Romans* carried off an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, as well as plunder of other kinds; but *Polybius* is ſilent on that head. This action proved deciſive, ſince we may juſtly eſteem it to have determined the fate of *Italy*, as the battle of *Zama* a few years afterwards did that of *Africa* [m].

The inhumanity of Claudius *cenſured.*

HANNIBAL received no intelligence of this blow, till *Claudius* advertiſed him of it, by throwing his brother *Aſdrubal*'s head into his trenches, immediately after he arrived at the *Roman* camp near *Canuſium*. This inhumanity was the more inexcuſeable, as *Hannibal* had given the *Romans* recent inſtances of a generous and noble diſpoſition, by treating with the utmoſt decency, not to ſay tenderneſs and reſpect, the

[m] POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſupra. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 7. ex. 15. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 7. ex. 4.

bodies

bodies of *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*. That treatment, in our opinion, demonstrates the great humanity of *Hannibal*, if not of the *Carthaginians* in general, on such occasions; as the savage barbarity of *Claudius* does that of the *Romans*. As *Claudius* sent two captives in chains, which, one should have imagined would have been mortifying enough, to inform *Hannibal* of his brother's fatal overthrow, nothing can equal, vindicate, or even palliate, the ferity of that barbarian. All the glory he had acquired by his late conduct in the battle of *Metaurus*, which certainly ought not to be denied, served only to render him more hateful and detestable, since nothing can be more monstrous, than such a contrast of qualities in the same person. That the fact, here alleged against him, was real, is allowed by the most prejudiced *Roman* historians themselves, who seem to relate it with pleasure, and thereby reflect an eternal dishonour both upon themselves and their republic, as intimating that they were pleased with it, and consequently of the same disposition with *Claudius*. The justness of this reflection is confirmed by the high encomium *Valerius Maximus* passes upon the noble and humane behaviour of *Hannibal* hinted at, which ought to be looked upon as a severe reprehension of the conduct of *Claudius*. In short, we think, a more lively instance of the *Roman* disposition at this juncture, with regard to humanity and greatness of soul, than that just hinted at, does not occur in history. It is pity but we had the *Carthaginian* annals for this particular period; they would doubtless have set the *Romans* in their true and proper light [n].

THE melancholy news, imparted to him by *Claudius*, filled Hannibal *Hannibal* with horror and sadness. He perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of *Carthage*: *It is done*, said he, according to *Horace*, in that beautiful ode, where this defeat is described: *I will no longer send triumphant messages to* Carthage! *In losing* Asdrubal, *I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune!* After this fatal event, *Hannibal* retired to the extremity of *Brutium*, where, assembling all his forces, he remained, for a considerable time, in a state of inaction, the *Romans* not daring to disturb him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck, and the *Carthaginian* affairs seemed not far from the verge of destruction. *Livy* tells us, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. Notwithstanding which, *Brutium* being at best but a small province, and many of its inhabitants being either

greatly affected at the news of his brother's defeat and death.

[n] POLYB. LIV. FLOR. VAL. MAX. ZONAR. &c. ubi supra. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 9. ex. 2.

forced into the ſervice, or forming themſelves into parties of banditti, ſo that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to ſubſiſt there, eſpecially as no manner of ſupplies were ſent him from *Carthage*. The people there were as ſolicitous of preſerving their poſſeſſions in *Spain*, and as little concerned at the ſituation of affairs in *Italy*, as if *Hannibal* had met with an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs, and not the leaſt diſaſter had befallen them ſince his firſt arrival in that country °.

The Carthaginians *worſted in* Spain.

AFTER *Aſdrubal*'s departure for *Italy*, *Hanno* was ſent to ſucceed him in *Spain*. The body of troops this general brought from *Africa*, in conjunction with that commanded by *Mago*, formed a conſiderable army. Theſe forces encamped at ſome diſtance from a ſpot where nine thouſand *Celtiberians* had poſted themſelves. *Scipio* ſent a detachment of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, under the command of *M. Silanus* the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity offered. The proprætor, receiving ample intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of both camps from ſome *Celtiberian* deſerters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was thereby enabled to gain a ſignal advantage over the enemy. He ſurpriſed the *Celtiberians*, being, for the moſt part, new-raiſed men, putting many of them to the ſword, and obliging the reſt to diſperſe in the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their reſpective habitations. *Hanno* and *Mago*, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewiſe defeated, and *Hanno* taken priſoner. *Mago*, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his eſcape, and, ten days afterwards, joined *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*. Theſe two commanders, with their united forces, continued, for ſome time, in the neighbourhood of *Gades* P.

The Carthaginian *affairs go to decay in* Spain.

ACCORDING to ſome authors, *Scipio*, being appriſed of *Aſdrubal*'s march for *Italy*, had ſent before a conſiderable reinforcement to the conſul *Livius*, to enable him to make head againſt the *Carthaginian* forces under *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal*, provided neither of the conſular armies could hinder their junction. But the greateſt part of the *Roman* hiſtorians have omitted this circumſtance; which ſeems to invalidate the authority of thoſe writers in this particular. Be that as it will, *Scipio* had no ſooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in *Italy*, than he put himſelf in motion, and began to meditate the intire conqueſt of *Spain*. His brother, *L. Scipio*,

° POLYB. l. x. LIV. l. xxviii. c. 12. APPIAN. in Hannib. HOR. ubi ſupra. P LIV. l. xxviii. ſub init. APPIAN. in Iberic. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

being

being detached with a body of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to take the city of *Aurinx*, on the confines of *Lower Bætica*, executed his orders with great bravery, making the *Carthaginian* gariſon, and three hundred of the inhabitants, who ſhut the gates againſt him, priſoners of war, with the loſs only of ninety men. *Livy* ſays, that the *Roman* detachment killed two thouſand of the enemy in the attack; and that *Lucius*, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the *Spaniards*, left the citizens in poſſeſſion of the town, and all their effects. The territory of *Aurinx* was extremely fruitful, and abounded with ſilver-mines. In the city itſelf, *Aſdrubal* had long had a good number of troops, who had not a little haraſſed the *Romans* and their allies, by their frequent incurſions into the mediterranean parts of the country. The *Carthaginians* therefore ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the reduction of that place. *Scipio* is ſaid to have complimented his brother highly upon this conqueſt, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of *New Carthage*. That general, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, and that he could make no impreſſion upon the province in which *Gades* was ſeated, ſince *Aſdrubal* had placed numerous gariſons in all the fortreſſes there, ſuſpended the military operations till the following ſpring. However, *M. Valerius Lævinus* the proconſul, who commanded in *Sicily*, committed great ravages on the coaſts of *Africa*, where he made a deſcent about this time. Having deſtroyed with fire and ſword all the country about *Carthage* and *Utica*, he returned to *Lilybæum*, defeating, in his paſſage, a *Carthaginian* ſquadron of ſeventy gallies. Of theſe he took ſeventeen, ſunk four, and diſperſed the reſt. Thus were the *Romans* victorious every-where this campaign, the *Carthaginians* not being able to cope with them either by ſea or land [q].

Lucania *ſubmits to the* Romans.

THE next year, *Hannibal* ſent a detachment of *Numidians* to obſerve the motions of the *Roman* army, under the command of the conſuls *Q. Cæcilius* and *L. Veturius*, in the territory of *Conſentia*. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a ſhort diſpute, routed it, and carried off the booty to *Hannibal*'s camp. But this ſmall advantage did not make amends for the loſs of *Lucania*, which ſubmitted to the *Romans*. Nothing further worth relating happened this campaign betwixt the forces of the two contending republics in *Italy* [r].

The Carthaginian *generals*

THE *Carthaginian* generals, that commanded this year in *Spain*, were *Mago* the ſon of *Hamilcar*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſon

[q] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 3. ex. 5.

[r] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 11.

and Maſiniſſa *overthrown in* Spain *by* Scipio.

of *Giſco*. Theſe two commanders, in the ſpring, moved from *Gades*, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter-quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, ſeventy thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe. Advancing with all expedition towards the *Romans*, whom they were determined to engage, they at laſt took poſt in the plains of *Silpia*, at no great diſtance from them. *Scipio*, being extremely alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable a power, diſpatched in all haſte *Silanus* to *Colcas*, a neighbouring prince, who had promiſed *Scipio* a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions. In the mean time he drew his forces out of *Tarraco*, and, being joined by ſome of his allies, advanced to *Caſtulo*, where he was ſoon met by *Silanus*, with a reinforcement of three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, from *Colcas*. From thence he marched to *Bætula*, or *Bæcula*, with an army of forty-five thouſand men. *Mago* and *Maſiniſſa*, at the head of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, fell upon the *Romans* as they were encamping, and had put them into diſorder, had not *Scipio* placed ſome troops of his horſe in ambuſcade behind an eminence, near the ſpot upon which he intended to encamp. Theſe, ſallying out upon the *Carthaginians*, obliged them at firſt to retire with precipitation; but, being afterwards duly ſupported, ſo puſhed them, that they betook themſelves to a downright flight. The light-armed troops on both ſides, for ſome time after this, ſkirmiſhed with one another; but without any conſiderable loſs. Both *Aſdrubal* and *Scipio*, for ſeveral days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though *Aſdrubal* appeared firſt in the morning, and retired the laſt in the evening. At length *Scipio*, reſolving to give the *Carthaginians* battle, ordered his men to refreſh themſelves before day-break; and then ſent his horſe and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. *Aſdrubal* poſted the *Spaniards* in the wings, the elephants in front, and the *Carthaginians*, intermixed with the other *Africans*, in the centre. After having made this diſpoſition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horſe in play. *Scipio* took care to protract the fight till towards noon, imagining that the *Carthaginians* muſt grow faint by that time, as being intirely void of ſuſtenance, and conſequently that he ſhould break them without much difficulty. Accordingly, then ordering his wings to advance, he attacked *Aſdrubal*'s *Spaniſh* auxiliaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the ſame time with the *velites*, ſuſtained by ſeveral cohorts, which were commanded to wheel about for that purpoſe. The *Spaniards*, after ſome reſiſtance, were routed, the *Carthaginian* and *African*

forces

forces not being able to support them, since the *Spaniards*, that formed *Scipio*'s main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants, as had frequently happened of late, occasioned greater confusion in the *Carthaginian* army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithstanding therefore *Asdrubal* did his utmost to animate his men, they were defeated, and pursued by the *Romans* to their camp, which had then been taken, had not a violent storm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action [s].

THE night after the battle, *Asdrubal* caused his camp to be strengthened by some additional works, as expecting the next day another visit from the enemy. In the mean time *Attanes*, regulus of the *Turdetani*, with a considerable body of troops, went over to the *Romans*. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortresses of note surrendered to *Scipio*, who made their garisons prisoners of war. As the victory lately gained by *Scipio* had intirely alienated the minds of the *Spaniards* from the *Carthaginians*, *Asdrubal* thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had just before so harassed his wearied and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inaccessible to the enemy. *Scipio*, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the *Carthaginian* general, who so galled him in his retreat, that the legionaries at last came up with him, and, after a faint resistance, put all his men, except seven thousand, to the sword. However, these, with *Asdrubal* at their head, gained an advantageous post; where, for some time, they defended themselves, till at last *Asdrubal*, finding them to desert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his escape to *Gades*. In the mean time *Silanus*, whom *Scipio* had left, with a detachment of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to block up the enemy's troops in the post above-mentioned, found means to draw *Masinissa* their commander off from the *Carthaginian* interest. *Mago*, after the example of *Asdrubal*, flying to *Gades*, the remainder of the *African* forces either gradually dispersed themselves in the neighbouring provinces, or deserted to the *Romans*. *Masinissa*, after his late conference with *Silanus*, by the connivance of that general, passed over into *Africa*, with some of the leading men of the *Massyli*, in order to dispose that nation to second his views. However, this was done in such a manner, as not to give any umbrage to the *Carthaginians*, nor induce that

Masinissa abandons the Carthaginian interest.

[s] POLYB. l. xi. LIV. l. xxviii. c. 12---16. APPIAN. in Iberic. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 1. ex. 1. & l. ii. c. 3. ex. 4. aliiq; auctor. sup. laudat.

crafty

crafty people to entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of the meaſures he was going to purſue [t].

MASINISSA, to ſerve more effectually the party he intended ſoon to declare himſelf in favour of, made but a ſhort ſtay in *Africa*. Having prevailed on his ſubjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he haſtened to *Gades*, to confer with *Mago* and *Aſdrubal* about the future operations. *Silanus* likewiſe retired with his body of forces to *Tarraco*, where *Scipio* had fixed his head quarters.

Scipio *brings over* Syphax *to the* Roman *intereſt.*

Scipio, ſoon afterwards paſſing into *Africa* with two quinqueremes, perſuaded *Syphax* king of the *Maſæſyli* to abandon the *Carthaginians*, and enter into an alliance with *Rome*. *Aſdrubal* was then at *Syphax*'s court, and did his utmoſt to traverſe the negotiation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of *Spain*, beſides *Gades*, in alliance with, or ſubject to, *Carthage*, were *Illiturgis*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*. *Illiturgis* the *Romans* took by ſtorm, leveled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. *Caſtulo*, in which was a *Carthaginian* gariſon, compoſed of the fugitives that eſcaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one *Cerdubellus* to *Marcius*, and *Himilco* the commandant, with his whole corps, made priſoners of war. *Marcius* then paſſing the *Bætis*, which the *Spaniards* called *Certis*, poſſeſſed himſelf of two opulent towns, which ſurrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Aſtapa*; and, after a warm diſpute, made himſelf maſter of it in the manner already related. In the mean time *Mago*, having received a reinforcement from *Africa*, as well as ſome *Spaniſh* troops levied by *Hanno*, made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithſtanding the melancholy ſituation of his affairs. A body of *Roman* forces, encamped upon the *Sucro*, during theſe tranſactions, mutinied; a report of *Scipio*'s death, that was induſtriouſly propagated, occaſioning that commotion. But the mutineers being, by a ſeaſonable puniſhment inflicted upon ſome of their ringleaders, brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, *Marcius* attacked four thouſand of the enemy encamped upon the *Bætis*, under the command of *Hanno*, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greateſt part of them. The alliance with *Syphax* was a point of great conſequence to *Rome*; though it was not effected without ſome difficulty. *Scipio* firſt ſent *Lælius*, with five quinqueremes, to make propoſals to that prince, which

[t] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 15, 16. POLYB. l. xi. c. 21. APPIAN. in Libyc. FLOR. l ii. c. 6, ſub fin. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. ex. 7. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l, viii. c. 16. ex. 7. ZONAR. l, ix. c. 10.

he

he ordered him to back with magnificent presents. *Lælius* executed his commission with great dexterity, putting *Syphax* in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the *Romans*. Notwithstanding which, *Scipio*, as we have just observed, found himself obliged to visit in person that prince's court; where, by his uncommon address, if we will believe *Livy*, he defeated the intrigues of *Asdrubal*, and put the last hand to the treaty [u].

Scipio *sends* Lælius *to attempt the conquest of* Gades.

SOON after the reduction of *Astapa*, some deserters arrived at *Gades* from *Scipio*'s camp. These fugitives promised that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the *Carthaginian* garison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to make him master of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. *Scipio* therefore detached *Lælius* with a body of light-armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time, the conspiracy being discovered to *Mago*, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to seize the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereme, in order to transport them to *Carthage*. *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to *Carteia*, he descried *Lælius*'s squadron coming out of that port. The *Carthaginian* could not, for some time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him to attack the *Romans*. But this state of suspense gave *Lælius* an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coasts of *Africa*, with only five triremes. However, *Lælius* missed his aim, since *Mago* had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to *Gades*; of which being apprised by the prisoners, he returned to *Carteia*. From thence he dispatched an express to *Marcius*, who was moving with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders therefore, judging the siege of *Gades* too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at present, laid aside that design, and, in a short time, rejoined *Scipio* at *New Carthage* [w].

Scipio *gives the* Spanish *reguli a great overthrow.*

THE disappointment the *Romans* had met with in their design upon *Gades*, together with the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*, and revolt of the legionaries above-mentioned, gave *Mago* hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head

[u] Iidem ibid. Vide & LIV. ubi supra, c. 17—31. POLYB. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

[w] LIV.

against

againſt the enemy. He therefore wrote to *Carthage* for a ſpeedy reinforcement, aſſuring the ſenate, that, if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had loſt in *Spain*. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the *Romans*, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, being offended at the *Romans* for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of *Scipio*'s death, pillaged the territories of the *Sedetani* and *Sueſſetani*, allies of *Rome*. Hearing afterwards of *Scipio*'s ſeverity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were *Romans*, they concluded, that *Spaniſh* revolters muſt be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by deſpair, they aſſembled a numerous army of *Celtiberians*, and advanced againſt *Scipio*. That general, moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at laſt found them poſted in a plain ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains, and ſcarce capable of containing ſuch a number of men. Having ſecured the defile leading into this valley, he detached *Lælius*, with the cavalry, to take a compaſs round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilſt he charged them in front with the legionaries. This diſpoſition being made, *Scipio* attacked the reguli, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almoſt their whole army to the ſword. What became of them afterwards, our readers will find in a former part of this hiſtory [x].

Scipio *holds a conference with* Maſiniſſa.

THOUGH *Silanus* and *Maſiniſſa* had ſettled the preliminaries, yet, by ſeveral intervening accidents, the concluſion of a treaty betwixt the *Numidian* and the *Romans*, was deferred to this time. The chief obſtacle to the ſigning of it was, that *Maſiniſſa* could find no opportunity of having an interview with *Scipio*, which he ardently deſired. *Scipio*, being informed of this, and that *Maſiniſſa* was at *Gades*, took a journey thither, with a good eſcort, purely out of a deſire to have a conference with him. *Maſiniſſa*, receiving intelligence of this from *Marcius*, prevailed upon *Mago* to ſend him, with a detachment from the iſland of *Gades*, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with *Scipio*. Every thing being afterwards ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, *Maſiniſſa*, in order to blind *Aſdrubal*, plundered ſome part of the adjacent country, and then returned to *Gades* [y].

[x] Iidem ibid. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 318---320. [y] LIV. POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi ſupra.

THE

THE *Carthaginians*, being disappointed in the diversion they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries, and the rebellion of the *Spaniards*, ordered *Mago* to abandon *Spain*, and sail with all possible expedition to *Italy*. That he might be enabled the more effectually to succour *Hannibal*, he received a large sum of money to make levies in *Gaul* and *Liguria*. Before he left *Gades*, he not only obliged the citizens to bring all their gold and silver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his passage to *Italy*, he made an attempt upon *New Carthage*; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence he sailed to the island *Pityusa*, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful supply of provisions, and a good number of recruits. Then he steered his course to the largest of the *Balearic* islands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in so violent a manner with their slings, that he found himself obliged to sheer off with considerable loss. However, proceeding to the lesser one near it, that was extremely fertile, though not so populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great strength, and possessed himself of the whole island without opposition. As the season was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he was the more strongly induced by the good disposition of the natives, who expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for the *Carthaginians*, supplying him, during his stay amongst them, with a body of two thousand men. We must not omit observing, that the people of *Gades* shut their gates upon *Mago* after his repulse at *New Carthage*; for which affront he whipped and crucified their suffetes, who were sent to excuse that conduct to him; nor that they surrendered to the *Romans* soon after he had abandoned them [z].

Gades surrenders to the Romans.

THE next summer, *Mago*, landing in *Liguria* with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, surprised *Genoa*. From thence he sailed to the coasts of the *Ligures Alpini*, to try whether he could not raise some commotions amongst them. The *Ingauni*, one of their cantons, were then at war with the *Epanterii*, a sort of highlanders, who likewise belonged to them. This gave *Mago* an opportunity of seizing upon the town and port of *Savo*, and stationing ten of his long ships there. The rest of his fleet he sent to *Carthage*, upon a rumour, that *Scipio* was going to transport a body of troops to *Africa*, in order to attack that capital. The plague broke out this year in *Brutium*,

Mago lands on the coast of Liguria.

[z] LIV. ubi supra, c. 36, 37. & ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10.

and

and made great havock there, in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* armies [a].

The Spaniſh *reguli receive a ſecond defeat.*

THE following year, advice was brought to *Carthage*, that an army formed of the *Auſetani*, *Ilergetes*, and ſeveral other *Spaniſh* nations, under the command of *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, &c. had been intirely overthrown by the *Romans*. *Indibilis*, it ſeems, being encouraged by *Scipio*'s departure out of *Spain*, had excited the people above-mentioned to a ſecond revolt, imagining, that now an opportunity offered of rendering himſelf, with all the other reguli, independent both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. To that end he aſſembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, with which he advanced into the country of the *Sedetani*. Here the *Roman* generals, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thouſand of them to the ſword, in which number was *Indibilis* himſelf, and taking eight thouſand priſoners. *Mandonius*, and the other authors of this revolt, being delivered up to the *Romans*, received capital puniſhment, after a confiſcation of all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the *Spaniards* upon reaſonable terms. The particulars of the laſt action, as well as a more circumſtantial account of the tranſactions this year in *Spain*, our readers will find in *Livy*, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction, we refer them [b].

Lælius *makes a deſcent in* Africa.

Year of the flood 2156. Bef. Chriſt 192. Of Rome 556.

AFFAIRS were ſcarce ſettled in *Spain*, when *Lælius* made a deſcent in *Africa* at *Hippo Regius*, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This ſo alarmed the inhabitants, that they diſpatched meſſengers in all haſte to *Carthage*, with advice, that *Scipio*, with the *Roman* fleet, was arrived on their coaſts, and had landed at *Hippo* a ſtrong body of forces. As a rumour had, for ſome time, prevailed at *Carthage*, that *Scipio* had already paſſed into *Sicily*, the people and ſenate were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this melancholy news. The great revolution, that had happened in their affairs, the deſtruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of *Syphax*, *Maſiniſſa*, and all their other allies, together with the fickleneſs and inconſtancy of the *Africans*, from whom their auxiliary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a moſt diſmal proſpect, now their metropolis was threatened with a ſiege. However, when they received intelligence, that only *Lælius*, with an inconſiderable

[a] POLYB. l. xi. LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 46. CÆLIUS & VAL. ANT. apud Liv. ibid. ZONAR. ubi ſupra, c. 11. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. ubi ſupra. [b] LIV. l. xxix. c. 2, 3. APPIAN. in Iberic. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſupra.

force,

force, had put in at *Hippo*, in order to make an incurſion upon their territories on that ſide, their fears began to ſubſide. As ſoon therefore as they had recovered themſelves from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. They ſent an embaſſy to *Syphax*, to attempt recovering that prince, as well as to ſeveral other *African* reguli, who ſhewed an inclination to ſide with the *Romans*. They remitted a ſum of two hundred talents of ſilver to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in order to engage him to make a diverſion either in *Italy* or *Sicily*. They diſpatched orders to their generals in *Italy* to make all poſſible efforts to keep *Scipio* at home. And they ſent *Mago* a reinforcement of ſix thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, ſeven elephants, and twenty-five long ſhips, together with a large ſum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer *Rome*, and join *Hannibal*. *Lælius*, having had a conference with *Maſiniſſa*, wherein that prince gave freſh aſſurances of his ſincere attachment to the *Romans*, and expreſſed an ardent deſire to ſee *Scipio* in *Africa*, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, where he ſafely arrived, with the immenſe booty acquired in this expedition [c].

Mago *receives a reinforcement.*

IN the mean time the veſſels, with the body of troops deſtined for *Italy* to reinforce *Mago*, ſailed from *Carthage*, and, after an happy voyage, put into the port of *Savo*, where they joined the other *Carthaginian* ſquadron. *Mago*, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* with the reinforcement and welcome diſpatches he had received from *Carthage*. Whereupon the *Gauls* ſent him proviſions, and the new levies for him went on briſkly in *Liguria*. But, notwithſtanding theſe happy beginnings, *Mago* met with the ſame fate in *Italy*, that *Aſdrubal* had done before in *Spain*, as will in a ſhort time appear [d].

Scipio *takes* Locri.

BOTH *Scipio*, and the *Roman* ſoldiery, expreſſed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence *Lælius* brought from *Maſiniſſa*, excited the general to this, as the plunder he carried off with him from *Africa* did the troops. However, they were prevented from undertaking this expedition for the preſent, by a ſucceſsful attempt upon the city of *Locri*. Some workmen, who had ſerved in the *Carthaginian* garriſon of one of the citadels there, being taken by a *Roman* party, and brought to *Rhegium*, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they ſhould expoſe themſelves. This being agreed to, the *Romans*, by the aſſiſtance

[c] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 3, 4, 5. [d] Idem ibid.

of theſe traitors, made themſelves maſters of that citadel, in which they were employed. But the *Carthaginian* gariſon in the other, commanded by one *Hamilcar*, defended itſelf with great bravery, till *Hannibal* advanced to its relief. Upon his approach, a warm action enſued, and the *Romans* would have been totally routed, notwithſtanding *Scipio* came to their aſſiſtance, had not the people of *Locri* ſupported them. But this happening, and *Hannibal* being wounded by a ſcorpion, the *Carthaginians* thought proper to draw off. *Scipio*, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed gariſons in them; and then immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying the war into *Africa* [c].

Scipio *lands in* Africa.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, the *Carthaginians* were under continual apprehenſions of *Scipio*'s making a deſcent in *Africa*. They had poſted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the ſea, to give them notice of the firſt appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every expreſs, for fear he ſhould bring news of the enemy's landing. In this diſtreſs, it was the general opinion, that all poſſible attempts ſhould be made to detach *Syphax* from the *Roman* intereſt. For both the ſenate and people thought, that a proſpect of aſſiſtance from him would be the chief inducement to the *Romans* to invade their dominions in *Africa*. In order to accompliſh this, a lucky incident intervened. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who was at *Syphax*'s court with *Scipio*, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquiſite charms, named *Sophoniſba*. At that time *Aſdrubal* offered this young lady in marriage to *Syphax*, thinking this would be a means of uniting him with the *Carthaginians*. He therefore now, with the ſame view, waited again upon *Syphax*; and, having inflamed him with a deſcription of the beauty he was to have for his conſort, ſent for her thither from *Carthage*, to haſten the marriage. Amongſt other things, it was ſtipulated on this occaſion, that an offenſive and defenſive league ſhould be concluded betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, in conſequence of which he ſhould aſſiſt them with all his forces. *Aſdrubal*, not ſatisfied with this, as being no ſtranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with *Rome*, nor to the variable temper of the *African* barbarians, thought proper to put him upon a meaſure, which would prevent *Scipio*'s landing in *Africa*, and conſequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the *Romans*. Whilſt therefore he was in his firſt amorous tranſports, the *Carthagi-*

[c] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxix. c. 6---9. APPIAN. in Hannib.

nian,

nian, by means of his daughter's ſoothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a threatening letter to *Scipio*. But this not having the deſired effect, that general ſet ſail with a formidable force for *Africa*, and landed at the *Fair Promontory* without oppoſition [f].

It is intimated by *Appian*, that *Sophoniſba* was betrothed to *Maſiniſſa*, who was educated at *Carthage*, and a prince of the fineſt accompliſhments. Animated by the paſſion he nouriſhed for a lady of ſuch attractive charms, according to the ſame author, he eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions in *Spain* againſt the *Romans*. But this poor prince being ſtripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any conſiderable aſſiſtance to the *Carthaginians*, *Sophoniſba*, for the reaſon hinted at above, though in defiance of juſtice, honour, and public faith, was given to *Syphax*. *Livy* is ſilent as to this particular, though that ſeems to us no ſufficient argument againſt the probability of it; ſince *Maſiniſſa*'s future long uninterrupted fidelity to the *Romans* is a proof, that he was of a noble diſpoſition, and therefore could not abandon his firſt friends the *Carthaginians* without ſome grievous provocation. Poſſibly the *Roman* hiſtorian's great regard for his hero *Scipio*, whoſe character, he might think, would a little ſuffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, *Maſiniſſa* ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and contributed not a little to the deſtruction of their republic, as will moſt evidently appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But to proceed to the war in *Africa* [g]:

The Carthaginians thrown into a great conſternation upon the news of Scipio's landing in Africa.

As the *Carthaginians* had ſeen no *Roman* army in *Africa* for fifty years paſt, the alarm that *Scipio*'s deſcent occaſioned over the whole country, was inexpreſſible. Where-ever that general moved, he ſcattered terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects; and *Carthage*, in particular, was extremely crouded on this melancholy occaſion. The gates there were ſhut in the utmoſt hurry, detachments poſted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a ſurprize; in ſhort, the ſame diſpoſitions were made, as would have been proper in caſe of an immediate ſiege. They had no commander of any repute, but *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who had been defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw,

[f] Polyb. l. xiv. Liv. l. xxix. c. 23. Appian. in Libyc. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 20. Polyæn. ubi ſupra. [g] Appian. ubi ſupra. Vid & Val. Max. l. ix. c. 13. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11.

undiſciplined troops were incapable of oppoſing the *Roman* legionaries. Being appriſed of *Scipio*'s arrival at *Utica*, with his fleet and land-forces, they detached *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* nobleman, to reconnoitre the enemy, with a body of five hundred horſe; who, falling in with a detachment of the *Roman* cavalry, ſent by *Scipio* out to plunder, immediately attacked them; but, after a ſhort diſpute, he was cut off, with a conſiderable number of his men, and the reſt diſperſed. After this action, *Scipio* laid the country waſte to the very gates of *Carthage*; and poſſeſſed himſelf of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thouſand of its principal citizens priſoners. Theſe firſt inſtances of ſucceſs greatly heightened the confuſion, that had before begun to reign in *Carthage*, eſpecially when it was known there, that *Maſiniſſa* had joined *Scipio* with a body of two hundred, or, as others ſay, two thouſand *Numidian* horſe. We might here give our readers an account of the family of *Maſiniſſa*, as well as of the principal events that had happened to him before this period, together with a deſcription of the kingdom his father governed; but all this we chooſe to reſerve for the hiſtory of *Numidia* [h].

Maſiniſſa *defeats* Hanno.

In the room of the horſe lately cut to pieces, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raiſed with all poſſible expedition, and the command of it given to another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, who advanced towards *Utica*, to obſerve the enemy's motions. But, being too weak to undertake any thing againſt them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he thought proper to remain inactive, till he was reinforced by ſome new levies, that his officers were making both in the *Carthaginian* territories, and thoſe of the neighbouring princes independent of them. At laſt, finding his troops to amount to four thouſand men, he took poſt in a town called *Salera*, fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp. Out of this place, *Maſiniſſa*, who was ſent to *Salera*, with a detachment of horſe, by *Scipio*, for that purpoſe, found means to draw him; and then, in conjunction with a choice body of *Roman* cavalry, commanded by *Scipio* himſelf, that lay in ambuſcade, charged him with ſuch vigour, that he was put to flight, a thouſand of his men falling in the action, and two thouſand being either killed or taken priſoners in the purſuit. Moſt authors relate, that *Hanno* was ſlain; but *Cælius* and *Valerius Antias* affirm, that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this, *Scipio* put a gariſon into *Salera*, and puſhed on the

[h] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 28. Polyb. l. xxiv. Appian. ubi ſupra. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. ubi ſupra.

ſiege

siege of *Utica*. In the mean time *Asdrubal* assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; but durst not approach the enemy, till the arrival of *Syphax*, who soon joined him with an army of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. *Scipio*, being informed of this junction, raised the siege of *Utica*, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the space of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in such a manner, as to fear no insults of the enemy. This a little revived the drooping spirits of the *Carthaginians*, who now saw their own forces, in conjunction with those of *Syphax* their ally, superior to the *Romans* in the field [i].

State of affairs in Italy.

In *Italy* this year, *Hannibal* gained an advantage over the consul *Sempronius*; but was himself soon after defeated by that general. The loss the *Carthaginians* sustained on this occasion was, above four thousand of their men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken prisoners, besides forty horses, and seven standards, that fell into the victors hands. *Hannibal*, upon this disaster, retired with his army to *Croton*. The other consul *Cethegus* in the mean time kept *Etruria* in awe, and prevented *Mago* from approaching his brother *Hannibal*. As the *Etruscans* were generally disposed to a revolt, and kept a close correspondence with *Mago*, *Cethegus* found it a difficult matter to execute the province assigned him. The *Brutians*, hearing of the great success of *Scipio* in *Africa*, for the most part abandoned the *Carthaginian* interest. Some of *Hannibal*'s garisons amongst them they put to the sword, others they expelled; and, in many places, where they could not openly declare for the *Romans*, they found means to inform the senate of their aversion to the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time *Hannibal* came to *Petelia*, and expostulated with the citizens upon their sending ministers to *Rome*; but pretended to be satisfied with their conduct, when they strenuously denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of suspicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arrest, committing them to the care of a guard of *Numidians*; and, disarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the slaves. He treated other cities likewise with equal severity, *Thurii* in particular, with its district, which he gave up to his soldiers to be plundered, sparing only three thousand of the citizens, and five hundred peasants, whom he knew to be closely attached to the *Carthaginians*. These he transplanted to *Croton*, where he fixed his head-quarters, erected his principal magazine, and took care effectually to cover it from all attempts of the *Romans* [k].

[i] Liv. ubi supra, c. 34, 35. Appian. ubi supra. [k] Liv. ubi supra, c. 36. Appian. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 18.

Scipio *routs* Syphax *and* Aſdrubal.

SCIPIO having fortified his camp, the *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; ſo that both ſides continued in a ſtate of inaction, till the return of the ſpring. During the winter, *Scipio* attempted to draw off *Syphax* from the *Carthaginians*, but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided *Scipio* would agree to this preliminary, to wit, that both parties ſhould recal their armies home; which, he intimated, would ſerve as a baſis for a future treaty, and effectually ſecure the repoſe of their reſpective dominions. This propoſal the *Roman* general, at firſt, rejected; but afterwards ſeemed to liſten to it, in order to amuſe the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, *Scipio* was informed, that the *Carthaginian* camp, which conſiſted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very ſlightly fortified; and that the *Numidian* quarters, which were at ſome diſtance from the other, were intirely defenceleſs, the ſoldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other ſuch-like combuſtible materials. To which his ſpies added, that the troops obſerved no order or diſcipline, but lay in a careleſs manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt forcing their camp by ſome ſtratagem, ſince he found himſelf too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, eſpecially as the ſpot they were encamped upon was a ſmooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry, much ſuperior to that of the *Romans*, to act in. Having maturely weighed theſe particulars, he ſent embaſſadors to the camp, to renew, as was given out, the conferences, but, in reality, to make ſuch diſcoveries as would favour the execution of his ſcheme. Theſe embaſſadors were attended by ſome of his veteran ſoldiers, diſguiſed like ſlaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and obſerve all the avenues leading to and from it, its form and ſituation, how far *Aſdrubal* was from *Syphax*, how all the poſts were occupied, and whether it would be eaſier to ſurpriſe it in the daytime, or by night. Having informed himſelf of all theſe particulars, he immediately broke off the conferences, letting *Syphax* know, "That as his officers had, in a council of war, "declared themſelves averſe to all pacific meaſures, and preſſ-"ed him to puſh on the war with vigour, he found himſelf "obliged, in compliance with their deſire, to purſue the mi-"litary operations." Such a declaration could not but extremely mortify both *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*, who looked upon the treaty to be as good as concluded. However, they ſoon recovered themſelves, and reſolved to draw, if poſſible, the enemy

enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they ſhould be able to give a good account of them; or, if they ſhould fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to beſiege their camp both by ſea and land; which they imagined themſelves capable of doing. But *Scipio* took his meaſures ſo well, that he ſurpriſed them in the manner already related. *Lælius* and *Maſmiſſa* burnt *Syphax*'s camp, as *Scipio* himſelf did that of *Aſdrubal*. Their army was intirely ruined, only two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, with the two commanders, eſcaping out of ſo great a multitude. According to *Livy*, this complete victory was, in a great meaſure, owing to the wiſe diſpoſitions of *Maſmiſſa*. The ſcene exhibited on this melancholy occaſion, *Polybius* tells us, was inconceivably dreadful; which indeed may eaſily be admitted, if we conſider the terrible havock made of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* troops. *Appian* relates, that *Syphax*, having, ſome time before, ſhamefully abandoned the *Carthaginians*, when he had advanced as far as *Utica* to their aſſiſtance, under the pretext of repelling a foreign invaſion, returned ſoon after to ſuccour them, and endeavoured to bring over *Maſiniſſa*, by promiſing to give him which of his three daughters he pleaſed, and to fix him on the throne of the *Maſſæſyli*. The ſame author tells us, that *Scipio* offered ſacrifices to the deities *Audacia* and *Pavor*, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be ſtruck with any panic terrors in the night, ſince they were then to begin the attack. *Aſdrubal* made his eſcape to *Anda*, where he rallied the remains of his ſhattered army, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries and *Numidians*; and, having, by his own authority, preſented a good number of ſlaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a conſiderable corps. *Syphax* retired to an advantageous poſt, about eight miles from the field of battle, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of. *Appian* relates, that *Aſdrubal* was condemned to be crucified for his ill ſucceſs; which is improbable, if what *Livy* ſays be true; to wit, that, ſoon after the laſt diſaſter, he went to *Carthage*, in order to prevent the ſenate and ſuffetes from coming into any pacific meaſures. Be that as it will, the ſuffetes having convened the ſenate, three motions were made: firſt, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Scipio*, to treat of a peace with that general; ſecondly, that *Hannibal* ſhould be recalled out of *Italy*; thirdly, that, in imitation of the *Roman* reſolution in adverſity, they ſhould depend upon themſelves, and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to *Syphax* for further ſuccours. This laſt, being backed by *Aſdrubal*, and the *Barcinian* faction, was carried; in

in conſequence of which, the new levies went on briſkly, and miniſters were diſpatched in all haſte to *Syphax*, who was prevailed upon, by the intreaties and endearments of his beloved *Sophoniſba*, to join *Aſdrubal* with a large body of forces. In the mean time *Scipio* advanced to the walls of *Carthage*, and offered the citizens battle; which they thought proper to decline. As ſoon as *Aſdrubal* had left *Anda*, it ſurrendered to the *Romans*. Two other towns of note likewiſe in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make reſiſtance, *Scipio* carried by aſſault, and gave them up to his ſoldiers to be plundered. After this, he ſat down again before *Utica*, and puſhed on the ſiege of that place with the utmoſt vigour. In the mean time *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*, being joined by a good number of *Celtiberian* troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thouſand ſtrong, with which they moved towards *Scipio*, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a ſufficient number of troops to defend his lines, roſe from before *Utica*, and advanced to meet them. The *Roman* army was diſpoſed in the uſual manner. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* poſted his *Carthaginian* forces in the right wing; *Syphax*, with his *Numidians*, in the left; and the *Celtiberians* in the centre. The *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were routed at the firſt onſet; but the *Celtiberians*, being animated by deſpair, fought with ſuch reſolution, that they were almoſt all to a man killed upon the ſpot. As *Scipio* had treated them with the utmoſt lenity after their late revolt, they were ſenſible the black ingratitude to him, they were now guilty of, deſerved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and, finding it impoſſible to eſcape by flight, they reſolved to die in the field. The obſtinacy with which they, for ſome time, maintained the diſpute, gave many of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* an opportunity of ſaving themſelves, who muſt otherwiſe have been inevitably cut off. The day after the battle, *Scipio* detached *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, with the horſe and light-armed troops, to purſue *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*; whilſt he himſelf, with the main body, reduced moſt of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage* [1].

The Carthaginians *ſue to* Scipio *for peace.*

IMMEDIATELY after this defeat, the ſenate and ſuffetes of *Carthage* came to a reſolution to recal *Hannibal* from *Italy*, upon whoſe veteran troops, and their fleet, together with the powerful aſſiſtance of *Syphax*, they were convinced, their pre-

[1] LIV. l. xxx. c. 4----10. POLYB. l. xiv. APPIAN. in Libyc. DIO CASS. in excerpt. Valeſ. OROS. l. iv. c. 18. S. JUL. FRONT. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 3. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 12.

ſervation

ſervation did abſolutely depend. Their fleet therefore having, in the main, failed in the important enterprize above-mentioned, *Syphax* being taken priſoner, his country conquered, and *Hannibal* as yet at a great diſtance, they had no other reſource left, than to ſue to *Scipio* for peace. To this they were farther excited, by that general's encamping again at *Tunes*, within ſight of their capital. They therefore deputed thirty of their principal ſenators, who were ſelected for that purpoſe out of the centumvirate, to wait upon *Scipio*. Being introduced into the *Roman* general's tent, they all threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth, kiſſed his feet (in conformity, as *Livy* obſerves, to the practice of their anceſtors the *Tyrians*), and ſpoke to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. They accuſed *Hannibal*, and the *Barchinian* faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confeſſed themſelves to have broken the peace concluded betwixt them and the *Romans*, and that they deſerved whatever puniſhment that nation ſhould think proper to inflict upon them. They begged, however, that their city, which had twice merited deſtruction by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the *Roman* clemency, promiſing at the ſame time an implicit obedience to his commands. *Scipio* replied, "That though he "had come into *Africa*, not for peace, but conqueſt, which "he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all nations might "ſee the ſtrict juſtice of the *Romans*, both in undertaking "and concluding their wars, he would grant them a peace "upon the following terms." 1. They ſhall deliver up all the *Roman* priſoners and deſerters to him. 2. They ſhall recal their armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*. 3. They ſhall never ſet foot again in *Spain*. 4. They ſhall retire out of all the iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*. 5. They ſhall put the victors in poſſeſſion of all their ſhips, twenty only excepted, which they ſhall be allowed to keep for their own uſe. 6. They ſhall give to the *Romans* five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, three hundred thouſand of barley, and pay five thouſand talents, or, as others will have it, five thouſand pound weight of ſilver. He gave them three days to conſider of theſe conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till *Hannibal*'s arrival. A truce being granted the *Carthaginians*, they immediately ſent deputies to *Rome*, and at the ſame time diſpatched an expreſs to *Hannibal*, to haſten his return to *Africa*. *Appian* intimates, that, beſides the articles above-mentioned, *Scipio* inſiſted upon a compliance with the two following: That *Maſiniſſa* ſhould not only keep poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, but as many of *Syphax*'s territories, as he ſhould be able to conquer; and

that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not extend their dominions beyond the *Foſſa Punica*. But theſe, and other points, wherein that author differs from *Livy* and *Polybius*, ſeem not ſo agreeable to truth, as what has been tranſmitted to poſterity by thoſe two celebrated hiſtorians [m].

Mago *overthrown in* Inſubria.

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Mago* advanced into *Inſubria*, where he met with the *Roman* forces under the command of *M. Cornelius* and *P. Quintilius Varus*. A general action ſoon happened between the two armies, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated. However, *Mago* performed the part of a conſummate general, diſtinguiſhing himſelf greatly throughout the whole action; but, being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, which threw his troops into ſuch confuſion, that a good part of them betook themſelves to flight. Five thouſand *Carthaginians* fell on the field of battle, and eighteen of their ſtandards were taken. But this victory coſt the *Romans* dear; for they loſt two thouſand three hundred men, beſides the beſt part of the twelfth legion. *Mago*, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the *Ingauni*, which was one of the maritim parts of *Liguria*, where he met a courier bringing him orders to return directly to *Carthage* [n].

Hannibal *recalled from* Italy. Year of the flood 2158. Bef. Chriſt 190. Of Rome 558.

THE *Romans* being thus every-where victorious, *Conſentia*, *Uffugium*, *Vergæ*, *Beſidiæ*, *Hetriculum*, *Syphæum*, *Argentanum*, *Dampetia*, and other towns of leſs note in *Brutium*, opened their gates to the conſul *Cn. Servilius*. This was the ſituation of affairs, when *Hannibal* was commanded to return to *Africa*. *Valerius Antias* wrote, that, juſt before his departure, *Hannibal* was defeated by *Servilius* not far from *Croton*; and that, on this occaſion, he loſt five thouſand men. But *Livy*, partial as he is, looks upon this as little better than a downright fiction. When the meſſengers from *Africa* informed *Hannibal* of the ſenate's pleaſure, he expreſſed the utmoſt concern and indignation, groaning, gnaſhing his teeth, and being ſcarce able to refrain from tears. "Now, ſaid he, "thoſe perſons, who have long endeavoured to drag me out "of *Italy* by denying me proper ſupplies, ſend me direct "and explicit orders to return home. *Hannibal* is not vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, but by the ſenate of *Carthage*. "*Scipio* has not ſo much reaſon to exult and plume himſelf "at my being forced from *Italy*, as *Hanno*, who, for want "of other means of effecting it, has completed the ruin of "my family by the deſtruction of *Carthage*." As he had

[m] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi ſupra. [n] POLYB. & APPIAN. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. XXX. c. 18.

foreſeen

foreſeen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of veſſels to tranſport his forces to *Africa*; which he did, after having maſſacred a body of *Italian* troops, that refuſed to accompany him, in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*. Such an inſtance of cruelty, at that time, was not ſo much to be wondered at, ſince *Hannibal* muſt have been exaſperated almoſt to madneſs to ſee himſelf thus forced to quit a country he had been ſo long contending for. Never baniſhed man, according to *Livy*, ſhewed ſo much regret in leaving his native country, as *Hannibal* did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wiſhfully to *Italy*, accuſing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thouſand curſes, if we will credit the ſame author, upon himſelf, for his not having, after the battle of *Cannæ*, advanced to the walls of *Rome* at the head of his army, ſtill reeking with the blood of its citizens. *Appian* writes, that *Aſdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general, committed unparalleled cruelties in all the cities allied with *Carthage*, before *Hannibal*'s departure, permitting his men to raviſh their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all reſpects to them, as the moſt inhuman enemy does to the inhabitants of all towns carried by aſſault. But as *Livy*, whoſe authority, in the main, we prefer to that of *Appian*, is ſilent as to this particular, we own ourſelves inclined to pay no great regard to it[o].

THE *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, about this time, arrived at *Rome*, where they met with but a very indifferent reception. The conſcript fathers, greatly diſſatisfied with the excuſes made by theſe embaſſadors in vindication of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of *Lutatius*, thought proper to refer the deciſion of the whole to *Scipio*, who, being upon the ſpot, could beſt judge what ſuited the welfare of the ſtate. However, the *Romans* plainly diſcovered, from the conduct of their miniſters on this occaſion, as well as the recalling of their troops home, that, notwithſtanding their pretended deſire of peace, the *Carthaginians* would be averſe to an accommodation, as ſoon as they received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s landing in *Africa*. They were confirmed in the ſentiments they had entertained, by the news, which, in a few days, arrived at *Rome*; to wit, that the *Carthaginians*, in violation of the truce which they themſelves had ſo earneſtly deſired, had ſeized a great number of ſhips on the coaſt of *Africa*, near the iſland *Ægimurus*. Nay, they received advice, that the enemy had even attacked the gally, which carried the *Roman* embaſſadors to *Carthage*, in

The Carthaginians break the truce Scipio granted them.

[o] POLYB. l. xv. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 20. & ſeq. APPIAN. in Hannib.

the

the river *Bagrada*, within ſight of *Scipio*'s camp. Such a procedure could not but exaſperate the two nations one againſt the other more than ever; the *Romans*, from the ſtrong deſire they muſt have had to revenge ſo black a perfidy; and the *Carthaginians*, from a perſuaſion that they were not now to expect a peace. For the particulars of thoſe infamous actions, as well as *Scipio*'s great generoſity and politeneſs to the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, notwithſtanding ſuch a flagrant violation of the law of nations, we muſt refer our readers to the *Roman* hiſtory [p].

Hannibal *makes propoſals of peace to* Scipio.

HANNIBAL had no ſooner landed in *Africa*, than he ſent out parties to get proviſions for the army, and buy horſes to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the *Areacidæ*, a *Numidian* tribe not far from *Adrumetum*. Four thouſand of *Syphax*'s horſe, then in the ſervice of *Maſiniſſa*, came over in a body to him; but as he did not think it proper to repoſe any confidence in them, he put them all to the ſword, and diſtributed their horſes amongſt his troops. *Vermina*, one of *Syphax*'s ſons, and *Meſetulus*, another *Numidian* prince, likewiſe joined him with a very conſiderable body of horſe. Moſt of the fortreſſes in *Maſiniſſa*'s kingdom either ſurrendered to him upon the firſt ſummons, or were taken by ſtorm. *Narce*, a city of conſiderable note there, he made himſelf maſter of by a ſtratagem. *Tychæus*, a *Numidian* regulus, and faithful ally of *Syphax*, whoſe territories were famous for an excellent breed of horſes, reinforcing him alſo much about the ſame time with two thouſand of his beſt cavalry, *Hannibal* advanced to *Zama*, a town about five days march from *Carthage*, where he encamped. He thence ſent out ſpies to obſerve the poſture of the *Romans*. Theſe being brought to *Scipio*, he was ſo far from inflicting any puniſhment upon them, which he might have done by the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the *Roman* camp, in order to take an exact ſurvey of it, and then diſmiſſed them. *Hannibal*, admiring the noble aſſurance of his rival, ſent a meſſenger to deſire an interview with him; which by means of *Maſiniſſa* he obtained. The two generals therefore, eſcorted by equal detachments of horſe, met at *Nadagara*, where, by the aſſiſtance of two interpreters, they held a private conference. *Hannibal* flattered *Scipio* in the moſt refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all thoſe topics, that, he thought, could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms: amongſt other things, that the *Carthaginians* would willingly confine themſelves to

[p] LIV. l. xxx. c. 24, 25. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. ubi ſupra.

Africa,

Africa, ſince ſuch was the will of the gods, in order to procure a laſting peace, whilſt the *Romans* would be at liberty to extend their conqueſts to the remoteſt nations. *Scipio* anſwered, That the *Romans* were not prompted by ambition, or any ſiniſter views, to undertake either the former or preſent war againſt the *Carthaginians*, but by juſtice, and a proper regard for their allies. He alſo obſerved, that the *Carthaginians* had, before his arrival in *Africa*, not only made him the ſame propoſals, but likewiſe agreed to pay the *Romans* five thouſand talents of ſilver, reſtoreall the *Roman* priſoners without ranſom, and deliver up all their gallies. To which he added, that the late perfidious actions of the *Carthaginians* ought to be ſo far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the *Romans* thought themſelves authorized from thence to impoſe more rigorous conditions upon them; which if he would ſubmit to, a peace would enſue; if not, the deciſion of the diſpute betwixt them muſt be left intirely to the ſword [q].

The diſpoſition of the Roman and Carthaginian armies at the battle of Zama.

THIS conference, betwixt two of the greateſt generals the world ever produced, thus ending without ſucceſs, they both retired to their reſpective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of *Rome* and *Carthage*, but that of the whole world, was to be determined by them the next day. Accordingly in the morning both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after endeavouring to animate their men to make their utmoſt efforts, by all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great reſolution in the plains of *Zama*. *Scipio* poſted the haſtati, divided into ſmall battalions, with proper ſpaces between them, in front; after them, the principes divided in the ſame manner; and the rear was brought up by the triarii. The *Italian* horſe, under the conduct of *Lælius*, he placed in the left wing; and the *Numidian*, commanded by *Maſiniſſa*, in the right. By this diſpoſition, which differed ſomething from that which the *Romans* uſually made, a proper precaution was taken againſt the violence of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwiſe have undoubtedly borne down the principes. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire into the void ſpaces between the battalions, if they found themſelves overcharged by the enemy, or puſhed by their elephants, the moſt expeditious part of them continuing their retreat, till they came behind the army. This he thought an opportunity to their wounded, or more ſlow companions, of ſaving themſelves in the interval between the haſtati and principes, or that between the principes and triarii. *Hannibal*, on the other ſide, poſted

[q] POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29---32. APPIAN. in Libyc.

eighty elephants in front. Behind them he placed his vanguard, conſiſting of *Ligurian*, *Gallic*, *Balearic*, and *Mauritanian* mercenaries. Then followed the main battle, compoſed of four thouſand *Africans* and native *Carthaginians*, ſuſtained by a body of four thouſand *Macedonian* veterans, ſent him by king *Philip*. And, at a furlong's diſtance from them, moved thoſe brave troops, that had ſerved under him in *Italy*, forming his rear, in whom he repoſed his greateſt confidence. The *Carthaginian* cavalry were oppoſed to *Lælius*; and the *Numidian*, under *Tychæus*, *Meſetulus*, &c. to *Maſiniſſa*[r].

The battle of Zama.

SOME time before the beginning of the action, the *Numidian* horſe on both ſides ſkirmiſhed with inconſiderable loſs. After which, purſuant to *Hannibal*'s orders, the elephants advanced againſt the enemy; but thoſe diſtributed in the left wing, being frightened by the ſound of the trumpets, and the other martial muſic, fell foul upon the *Numidian* horſe, and put them into diſorder. *Maſiniſſa* immediately took advantage of this confuſion, and, without giving them time to recover themſelves, charged them with ſuch fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants, that attacked the *Roman* light-armed troops, being likewiſe repulſed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the *Carthaginian* horſe poſted in the right wing, and made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they met with the ſame rough treatment from *Lælius*, that the *Numidians* had before done from *Maſiniſſa*. In the mean time the infantry on both ſides engaged with unparalleled bravery. *Hannibal*'s mercenaries at firſt repulſed the legionaries. But theſe laſt, being duly ſupported by the principes, not only recovered themſelves, but routed the mercenaries, and puſhed them on the *Carthaginians*; which occaſioned the defeat of both bodies, and, in a great meaſure, determined victory to declare for the *Romans*. The *corps de reſerve*, formed of *Hannibal*'s veterans, that had ſerved under him in *Italy*, behaved with inexpreſſible intrepidity and reſolution; but *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, returning from the defeat of the enemy's horſe, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before ſeemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore put to the rout, and the ground ſtrewed with their dead bodies, moſt of them being killed either in the battle or the purſuit. *Appian* relates, that, during the heat of the action, *Hannibal* firſt engaged *Scipio*, and afterwards *Maſiniſſa*, in ſingle combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the ſame author, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-five thouſand men ſlain, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. *Livy* and *Polybius* affirm, that twenty thouſand of *Hannibal*'s

[r] Iidem ibid.

men were killed, and as many taken priſoners; as likewiſe, that an hundred and thirty ſtandards fell into the enemy's hands. Some ſay, the *Romans* loſt only two thouſand men; others, that two thouſand five hundred *Romans*, and a greater number of *Maſiniſſa*'s ſoldiers, fell in this engagement. Be that as it will, *Scipio* got a complete victory, and made himſelf maſter of *Hannibal*'s camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thouſand five hundred of ſilver, and an immenſe quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work[s].

Hannibal's *excellent conduct at that battle.*

HANNIBAL, having eſcaped to *Thon*, was ſoon joined by ſome *Brutian* and *Spaniſh* fugitives, who had been too ſwift for their purſuers; but, not caring to truſt himſelf in their hands, he fled privately to *Adrumetum*. The ſurpriſing military genius of that moſt renowned general never more eminently diſplayed itſelf than at the battle of *Zama*, as we learn from *Polybius*, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occaſion. *Scipio* himſelf likewiſe, according to *Livy*, paſſed an high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement. But, being vaſtly inferior to the enemy in horſe, and the ſtate of *Carthage* obliging him, at no ſmall diſadvantage, to hazard a battle with the *Romans*, he met with the fate above-mentioned. Some conſolation, however, it muſt have been to him to hear, that *Scipio* not only approved of his conduct, but openly declared, that he outſhined himſelf in this glorious, though unfortunate, action[t].

A peace concluded between the Romans *and the* Carthaginians.

THE ſenate of *Carthage*, hearing of *Hannibal*'s arrival at *Adrumetum*, diſpatched meſſengers to him, with orders to return to *Carthage*. He obeyed theſe orders, and adviſed his countrymen to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon the terms they ſhould think proper to preſcribe them. To this they were the more ſtrongly excited by the news they received of a defeat given *Vermina*, the ſon of *Syphax*, their ally. This blow was very conſiderable, fifteen thouſand of that prince's men being laid dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made priſoners, and fifteen hundred *Numidian* horſes, together with ſeventy-two military enſigns, taken. After this overthrow, the *Carthaginians* ſent ten of their principal citizens, as embaſſadors, to implore *Scipio*'s clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, That they might meet with him at

Year of the flood 2160. Bef. Chriſt 188. Of Rome 560.

[s] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. FLOR. AUR. VICT. CORN. NEP. ubi ſup. ZONAR. ubi ſupra, c. 14. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 23. PLUT. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 19. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 332, 333. [t] POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 35. APPIAN. in Libyc.

Tunes.

Tunes. However, thirty *Carthaginian* ſenators, ſelected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon *Scipio*, and ſuing for peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that general thought proper to dictate to them the following conditions: 1. The *Carthaginians* ſhall be governed by their own laws, and remain in poſſeſſion of all their *African* dominions. 2. The *Carthaginians* ſhall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the *Italians*, whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. This ſhall be done within thirty days after the treaty is ſigned. 4. They ſhall alſo deliver up all their ſhips of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and ſhall train up no more of thoſe animals for the ſervice. 5. The ſenate and people of *Carthage* ſhall not engage in any war without the conſent of the *Romans*. 6. They ſhall ſupply the *Roman* troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſhall ſend to *Rome*. 7. They ſhall pay the *Romans*, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand *Euboic* talents, at equal payments, at equal payments. 8. They ſhall deliver up to *Scipio* an hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of whom ſhall not be under fourteen, and the oldeſt above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor truce ſhall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have reſtored to the *Romans* the ſhips and effects taken from them during the laſt truce. 10. The *Roman* armies ſhall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. 11. The *Carthaginians* ſhall reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 12. They ſhall never for the future make any levies in *Gaul* or *Liguria*. 13. They ſhall aſſiſt the *Romans* both by ſea and land, whenever they are called upon ſo to do. Theſe terms, which *Scipio* thought proper to grant the *Carthaginians*, in caſe the ſenate and people of *Rome* would ratify them, appeared ſo intolerable to the populace of *Carthage*, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houſes of the nobility. But *Hannibal*, having aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, at *Marthama*, prevented an inſurrection, and, by his influence, completed the accommodation. However, *Giſco*, an enemy to the *Barchinian* faction, made a ſpeech to the ſenators, in order to diſſuade them from accepting ſuch a ſhameful peace. *Hannibal*, being highly incenſed at his preſumption, dragged him from his ſeat; which giving great offence, in order to vindicate, or, at leaſt, to palliate, ſo precipitate an action, *Hannibal* made an apology for it to the following effect: "As I left your "city at nine years of age, and did not return till after thirty-"ſix years abſence, I had full leiſure to learn the military art,

"and

" and flatter myſelf, that I have made good improvement in " it; but, with regard to your conſtitution, it is no wonder " that I am a ſtranger to it, and therefore I muſt deſire you " to inſtruct me in every branch of it." He then inſiſted upon the neceſſity of concluding a peace; adding, " that they " ought to return the gods thanks for having diſpoſed the *Ro-* " *mans* to grant them ſuch favourable conditions." He likewiſe repreſented to the ſenators the importance of uniting in their ſuffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal conſequence to the ſtate, if, by their diviſions, they ſhould throw more weight into the popular ſcale, which already did but too much preponderate. That whole venerable aſſembly therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking ſuch an affair under their cognizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms propoſed by *Scipio* were accepted. Ample ſatisfaction having been made the *Romans* for the outrages offered their miniſters, and the infraction of the late truce, the *Carthaginians* diſpatched an embaſſy, at the head of which was *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *Hædus*, or *The Kid*, to *Rome*. As he was an irreconcileable enemy to *Hannibal* and his family, he endeavoured to excuſe the people of *Carthage*, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the *Barchinian* faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of *Hanno*, towards the *Romans*. He likewiſe expatiated upon the generoſity, magnanimity, wiſdom, and humanity of the *Romans*; whilſt his companions endeavoured to move the ſenate to compaſſion, by exhibiting to their view the calamitous ſtate of *Carthage* in the moſt lively colours. By theſe methods of perſuaſion, they not only prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to grant them their requeſt, but likewiſe to ſend two hundred of their priſoners then at *Rome* to *Scipio*, with orders that they ſhould be reſtored, without any pecuniary conſideration, as ſoon as he ſhould receive from the *Carthaginians* their ratification of the treaty. The late truce for three months, which the *Carthaginians* obtained of *Scipio*, upon the return of their embaſſadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the terms that general had preſcribed. They then, in purſuance of the treaty, delivered up to *Scipio* above five hundred ſhips, all which he burnt in ſight of *Carthage*, to the inexpreſſible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewiſe delivered up into the hands of the *Romans* all their elephants, all the ſlaves, deſerters, and priſoners of war. The number of theſe laſt amounted to above four thouſand men. *Scipio* treated both the *Latin* and *Roman* deſerters with extreme ſeverity, ordering all the heads of the former to be ſtruck off, and the latter to be crucified. The public funds at *Carthage* being exhauſted

by

by ſo long and expenſive a war, the ſenate found it vaſtly difficult to raiſe a ſum ſufficient for the payment of the firſt tax impoſed by the treaty. This threw them into a melancholy ſilence, and many could not even refrain from tears. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, laughing on this occaſion, was reproved by *Aſdrubal Hædus*, for inſulting his country in the time of its affliction, which, he inſinuated, was owing to his conduct. *Hannibal*, in reply, apologized for his behaviour to that auguſt aſſembly. Thus ended the ſecond *Punic* war. *Zonaras*, from ſome authors not now extant, tells us, it laſted only ſixteen years; but *Livy* and *Polybius*, whoſe authority is more to be depended upon, make it to have included eighteen campaigns, and intimate it to have been terminated eighteen years after *Hannibal* came to a rupture with the *Romans* [u].

The Romans *force the* Carthaginians *to clap up a diſhonourable peace with* Maſiniſſa.

THE year after the concluſion of the laſt treaty, *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* captain, left in thoſe parts either by *Aſdrubal* or *Mago*, excited the *Inſubres*, *Cænomani*, and the *Boii*, together with the *Sallyi*, *Ilvates*, and other cantons of *Liguria*, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies of *Rome*. Of this the ſenate immediately informed the ſtate of *Carthage*, threatening at the ſame time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not delivered up to them. What anſwer the *Carthaginians* returned to this menace, we no-where find; but the death of *Hamilcar*, who was ſoon after killed in a battle he fought with *Fulvius Purpureo* the prætor, put an end to all farther diſpute betwixt the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans* on this head. The peace betwixt *Carthage* and *Rome* was ſcarce ſigned, when *Maſiniſſa*, at the inſtigation of the *Romans*, unjuſtly made himſelf maſter of part of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Africa*, under pretence, that thoſe territories formerly belonged to his family. The *Carthaginians*, through the villainous mediation of the *Romans*, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourſe, found themſelves under a neceſſity of ceding thoſe countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good underſtanding afterwards betwixt theſe two powers continued many years; but at laſt *Maſiniſſa*, through the intrigues and dark cabals of the *Romans*, as there is great reaſon to believe, violated the treaties ſubſiſting betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, and not a little contributed to the ſubverſion of the *African* republic, as will ſoon moſt evidently appear [w].

[u] LIV. l. xxx. c. 36. & ſeq. POLYB. APPIAN. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. &c. ubi ſupra. [w] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 10, 11, 32. & l. xl. c. 34. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 15. APPIAN. in Libyc.

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THE following year, in the conſulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*, the *Carthaginians* ſent fifty *Euboic* talents of ſilver to *Rome*, in purſuance of the late treaty. But the ſilver not being good, the quæſtors refuſed it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the *Carthaginian* miniſters were obliged to borrow a ſum of money at *Rome*, to make up the deficiency. At their requeſt, an hundred of their hoſtages were releaſed, and hopes given them, that the other hundred ſhould ſoon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engagements. In the mean time, the remaining hoſtages deſiring leave to be removed from *Norba*, which they repreſented as a place very inconvenient for them to reſide in, the ſenate immediately ſent them to *Signia* and *Ferentinum*. From hence they were removed to *Setia*, where their domeſtics occaſioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill conſequence to the *Romans*; but how this accident affected the ſtate of *Carthage*, is no-where ſaid. According to *Appian*, the trade of the *Carthaginians* began, even at this time, to flouriſh, notwithſtanding all their ſhipping had ſo lately been, in a manner, deſtroyed. A glaring inſtance this of the ſurpriſing genius of that people for commerce, even in their moſt depreſſed and miſerable condition [x]!

The Carthaginians *ſend fifty* Euboic *talents to* Rome, *in purſuance of the late treaty.*

NOT long after the tranſactions juſt hinted at, *Livy* tells us, that one *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* general, commanded an army of *Gauls*, that was defeated by *Cethegus*; and that this general himſelf was taken priſoner in the action. But whether any, or how many, *Carthaginian* troops aſſiſted the *Gauls* on this occaſion, or what influence that event had upon the *Carthaginian* affairs, hiſtory informs us not. In the mean time *Hannibal* kept up his credit at *Carthage*. Notwithſtanding he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite ſcheme, the republic gave him the command of an army deſtined to act againſt ſome neighbouring *African* powers; and from *Cornelius Nepos* it ſeems probable, that he made ſome campaigns after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war. This gave ſuch umbrage to the *Romans*, that, notwithſtanding the *Carthaginians* made them a preſent of a golden crown, and thanked them in a moſt polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refuſed to releaſe the *Carthaginian* priſoners ſtill detained in *Italy*. The ſenate indeed, at the requeſt of the embaſſadors, who came with the compliment to *Rome*, gave leave to the *Carthaginian* hoſtages ſtill with them to reſide in what city of *Italy* they pleaſed; and aſſured the embaſſadors, that this inſtance of their republic's friendſhip was very acceptable to them. But, with regard to the priſoners,

Hannibal reforms ſome abuſes at Carthage, *and afterwards flies to* Antiochus *king of* Syria.

[x] LIV. l. xxxii. c. 2, 26. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 16. APPIAN. ubi ſup.

the conſcript fathers declared, that they could not diſmiſs them, as long as *Hannibal*, their moſt avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in *Africa*. Upon this remonſtrance, the *Carthaginians* recalled *Hannibal* home, and conferred upon him the office of prætor; which ſeems to have been an employment of great conſideration and authority. In this poſt *Hannibal* behaved ſo as to gain univerſal applauſe. He regulated the finances in ſuch a manner, that, notwithſtanding the deplorable ſtate to which *Carthage* was reduced, conſiderable ſums were laid up yearly for the public ſervice, after the payment of the tax to the *Romans* impoſed by the laſt treaty, and all other deductions made. As ſuch a laudable conduct muſt have been founded upon a reformation of many abuſes, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many perſons concerned therein. But neither this, nor the animoſity of the old *Hannonian* faction, which was far from being extinguiſhed, prevented him from purſuing the meaſures he thought neceſſary for the ſervice of the republic with zeal and reſolution. But he was not ſatisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a good footing. He was equally impatient of rectifying the irregularities, which had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice. As the judges exerciſed the moſt cruel rapine with impunity, diſpoſing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of the citizens, without the leaſt controul, ſince they held their offices for life, and mutually ſupported one another, *Hannibal* reſolved to redreſs ſo crying an evil. He therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity acquired thereby, effected the paſſing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond their year. This ſtep greatly irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleaſed the populace, of *Carthage*. His reputation and authority amongſt the latter were raiſed to a higher pitch by the method he made uſe of to complete the regulation of the finances. The public revenues had been embeziled by thoſe, who had the management of them, and ſome of the leading men in the city. This obliged the ſenate and ſuffetes to think of levying the annual tribute due to the *Romans* upon the people; which ſcheme *Hannibal* prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the colluſions of thoſe poſſeſſed of the other lucrative poſts. It is no wonder therefore, that perſons of this complexion ſhould exert their utmoſt malice to ruin a man, however laudably diſpoſed to the public, who, they had the aſſurance to pretend, deprived them of their lawful property; for in that light they conſidered their long-continued peculation. In order to gratify their reſentment, they excited the *Romans* to purſue *Hannibal* to deſtruction. Ac-

cordingly *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culleo* were sent to *Carthage*, as was pretended, to accommodate all differences betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Maſiniſſa*, but, in reality, to ruin *Hannibal*, who, they aſſerted, carried on a ſecret intelligence with king *Antiochus*, in order to concert with him the proper meaſures for proſecuting the war againſt the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, upon their arrival, notwithſtanding their ſpecious pretexts, knew the ſubject of their commiſſion, and thought it prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times. Having therefore made all the proper diſpoſitions for his departure, in order to blind his countrymen, in the duſk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dreſs, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his deſign. That he might travel with the greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the aſſiſtance of which, paſſing the *Vocanian* diſtrict, he arrived at a caſtle, or palace, of his own between *Acholla* and *Thapſus*. From hence he was wafted over in a veſſel, that waited for him, to the iſland *Cercina*. Here he had recourſe to a ſtratagem, to conceal his retreat from *Carthage*; which had the deſired effect. The populace of *Carthage*, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city. Some thought he was fled, others, that he had been aſſaſſinated by the *Roman* faction. However, at laſt time diſcovered the truth, the ſenate receiving certain intelligence, that he was ſeen in the iſland *Cercina*. No ſooner did this news come to hand, than the *Roman* embaſſadors inſiſted upon the *Carthaginians* making a public declaration of their diſlike of the project he was gone upon. In order to impoſe upon the maſters of ſhips at that time in the iſland *Cercina*, he gave out, that the republic of *Carthage* had ſent him their embaſſador to *Tyre*. *Livy* tells us, that he was not ſo much affected with the proſpect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities, which threatened his country. From *Cercina* he ſteered his courſe for *Tyre*, where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of diſtinction due to his exalted merit. After ſtaying ſome days here, he ſet out for *Antioch*, and had a conference with *Antiochus*'s ſon at *Daphne*, where he was celebrating ſome ſolemn diverſions. From hence he poſted to *Epheſus*, where he met with a moſt kind reception from that prince himſelf, whom he determined to enter upon a war with *Rome*, after he had been, for ſome time, in a fluctuating condition on that head. *Tully* informs us, that, during his reſidence here, a philoſopher, named *Phormio*, eſteemed the beſt orator in *Aſia*, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, *Hannibal* was aſked his opinion of it. To which the *Carthaginian* frankly replied, "That, in his time, he had ſeen many old dotards, but

"none that came up to *Phormio*." *Stobæus* informs us, that this *Phormio* was a *Stoic* philoſopher; and that when he undertook to prove, that a wiſe man only was fit to be a general, *Hannibal* laughed, as being convinced, that a ſkill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but practice. The *Carthaginians*, being apprehenſive, that, by *Hannibal*'s intrigues, they might be embroiled with the *Romans*, thought proper to ſend them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of *Antiochus*. This news not a little alarmed them; and the king might have turned ſo lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper uſe of it [y].

Hannibal endeavours to embroil his countrymen with the Romans, *but in vain*

HANNIBAL's conſtant opinion was, that *Italy* ſhould be made the ſeat of the war. To enforce this, he obſerved to *Antiochus*, that *Italy* would ſupply a foreign invader both with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the *Romans* were permitted to tranſport their *Italian* forces into any foreign country, no prince or ſtate in the world could make head againſt them. He offered to ſail to *Carthage*, and did not doubt but he ſhould perſuade his countrymen to take up arms againſt the common enemy, provided the king would truſt him with the command of a fleet of an hundred ſhips, and a body of eleven thouſand land-forces. With theſe troops, he propoſed making a deſcent in ſome part of *Italy*; whilſt the king himſelf ſhould aſſemble a numerous army, and put himſelf in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it ſhould be thought convenient. Had this ſalutary advice been followed, *Antiochus* would not have been obliged ſoon after to ſubmit to ſuch conditions of peace, as the *Romans* thought fit to impoſe upon him. But, notwithſtanding that prince's wrong conduct, at firſt he approved very much of *Hannibal*'s propoſal; which induced that general to diſpatch one *Ariſto*, a *Tyrian*, to *Carthage*, in order to engage the ſenate there more ſtrongly in his intereſt. To ſecure the fidelity of this perſon, *Hannibal* made him ſome valuable preſents, after he had furniſhed him with proper inſtructions, and promiſed him great rewards in *Antiochus*'s name, in caſe he happily executed his commiſſion. *Ariſto* was no ſooner arrived at *Carthage*, than the people began to ſuſpect the errand he came upon. As he aſſociated only with the members of the *Barcinian* faction, the ſuſpicions, that had been entertained, were turned into a violent preſumption of his guilt. So that he was ſeized, and called upon to clear himſelf; which not having the good fortune to do to the ſatisfaction of the dominant party, great debates aroſe in the ſenate concerning

[y] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 30. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 32--35. & c. 46, 47. CIC. de orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76. STOB. ſerm. 52. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 3. JUSTIN. l. xxi. c. 2.

him. Some members of that auguſt aſſembly were for treating him as a ſpy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as no evidence could be produced againſt him. Beſides, they obſerved, that as ſuch an action could be conſidered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, the *Tyrians* would not fail making repriſals upon the ſubjects of *Carthage* reſiding in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till the next day; which gave the crafty *Tyrian* an opportunity of making his eſcape privately in the night. Before his departure, he left in the public hall, where juſtice was adminiſtred, a writing that fully declared the reaſon of his coming to *Carthage*. The ſenate, to ſhew how religiouſly they intended to obſerve the laſt treaty, immediately ſent advice of this to the *Romans* [z].

THE *Romans*, ſoon after the arrival of the expreſs with this news, nominated *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius* their embaſſadors to *Antiochus*, ordering them to take *Pergamus* in their way, that they might confer with *Eumenes*, who reſided there, a violent enemy of *Antiochus*. *Sulpicius* was detained at *Pergamus* by an indiſpoſition; but *Villius*, in purſuance of his orders, came to *Epheſus*, where he found *Hannibal*. He had many conferences with him, paid him ſeveral viſits, and ſpeciouſly affected to ſhew him a particular eſteem on all occaſions; but his chief aim, by all this inſidious behaviour, was to render him ſuſpected, and leſſen his credit with the king; in which he ſucceeded but too well, as afterwards manifeſtly appeared. This we learn both from *Livy* and *Polybius*; the latter of which hiſtorians repreſents this application of *Villius* to *Hannibal* as a premeditated deſign, in order to deſtroy his intereſt with king *Antiochus*; and the former owns, that the affair took a turn that exactly anſwered ſuch a deſign. However, the firſt author, for a very obvious reaſon, tells us, that the only end of *Villius*'s converſation with *Hannibal* was to ſound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehenſions he might be under from the *Romans*. *Claudius*, on the authority of the *Greek* annaliſt *Acilius*, affirmed, that *Scipio* was joined with *Sulpicius* and *Villius* in this embaſſy, and even tranſmitted to poſterity ſome of the particulars that paſſed in converſation betwixt the *Roman* miniſters and *Hannibal*. According to theſe authors, *Scipio* deſired *Hannibal* to tell him, who, in his opinion, was the moſt celebrated general in hiſtory. To which the *Carthaginian* general replied, *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, becauſe, with an inconſiderable body of troops, he had defeated moſt numerous armies, and extended his conqueſts into countries ſo widely diſtant, that it ſeemed impoſſible for any man even to traverſe them. Being then aſked, who was the next to him,

Hannibal *confers with* Villius *and* Scipio.

[z] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 59, 60.

he answered, *Pyrrhus*, who first understood the art of encamping to advantage. Nor did ever any commander, continued he, make a more judicious choice of posts, or better understood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind to him. *Scipio* then demanding of him, whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no scruple of mentioning himself. Here *Scipio* not being able to refrain from laughing, But what would you have said, added he, had you vanquished me? I would, replied *Hannibal*, have ranked myself above *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, and all the generals the world ever produced. *Scipio* was not insensible to this artful and delicate flattery; which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him. This answer of *Hannibal* is much more probable and ingenious, than that mentioned by *Plutarch*, who makes that general to have given the first place to *Pyrrhus*, the second to *Scipio*, and to himself the third; which is low, jejune, and quite destitute of that elegance and vivacity, which *Livy*'s relation, in conformity to *Hannibal*'s character, is seasoned with [a].

Hannibal removes some suspicions Antiochus *had entertained of him.*

ANTIOCHUS, having entertained a suspicion of *Hannibal*, ever since his late conferences with *Villius*, would not, for some time, admit him into his councils. This slight, at first, *Hannibal* took no notice of. But afterwards, judging it expedient to inquire into the cause of such a sudden change in the king's conduct towards him, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself, he intreated that prince to discover to him the reason of his late coldness; which having learnt, he addressed himself to *Antiochus* in the following terms: "My father *Hamilcar*, *An-*
"*tiochus*, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, to
"take an oath always to bear an implacable aversion to the
"*Romans*. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war with
"them six-and-thirty years; prompted thereto by it, I have
"abandoned my native country in times of peace, and taken
"sanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, should you frustrate
"my expectations, I will fly to every part of the globe, and
"endeavour to rouse up all nations against the *Romans*. If any
"of your favourites therefore would raise their credit with you
"by calumniating me, let them seek other methods of advancing
"themselves. I hate mortally the *Romans*, and am equally
"hated by them. For the truth of this I appeal to the manes
"of my father *Hamilcar*, and all the deities, who were witnesses
"of my oath. So long therefore as you are disposed to come
"to a rupture with the *Romans*, you may rank *Hannibal* amongst

[a] LIV. l. xxxv. c. 14, & seq. POLYB. l. iii. p. 166, 167. PLUT. in Flamin. & in Pyrr.

"your

" your beſt friends. But, if any conſiderations ſhould incline " you to a peace, I deſire to be intirely excluded your councils." This ſpeech, uttered with ſuch force and energy, and expreſſive of ſo much ſincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; ſo that *Hannibal* was not only reſtored to favour, but preparations made to execute the ſcheme he had formed [b].

Antiochus deſerts Hannibal.

THOUGH the king had come to a reſolution to give *Hannibal* the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his miniſters, the equipment of it was not only at firſt retarded, but even the expediency of putting the *Carthaginian* in that poſt debated in council. In fine, the malicious ſuggeſtions of *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, the effect of pure envy, made ſuch an impreſſion upon *Antiochus*'s low and groveling mind, in which a ſordid jealouſy had extinguiſhed all generous ſentiments, that he dropt the aforeſaid deſign, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embaraſſed the *Romans*. Some time after, the *Carthaginians* offered to ſupply the *Romans* with million of buſhels of wheat, and five hundred thouſand buſhels of barley, as a free gift. They alſo propoſed to equip a fleet at their own expence for their ſervice; and to remit to *Rome* at once the whole remainder of the ſum impoſed upon them by the late treaty. The *Romans* gave their embaſſadors a kind reception, and told them, " That they ſhould only require " from their principals the ſhips, which their late engagements " obliged them to furniſh; that they would pay ready money " for whatever ſupplies of corn they ſhould ſend them; and " that the ſum, due to them from *Carthage*, ſhould be paid in " the manner ſtipulated by the laſt treaty." From this incident, we may form ſome ſort of an idea of the incredible induſtry of the *Carthaginians*, as well as of their ſurpriſing genius for trade. For it appears from hence, that, tho' they had been exhauſted by a moſt ruinous war, ſtript of almoſt all their dominions, deprived of their ſhips, and ſeemingly reduced to the extremeſt miſery, they yet found means, in ten or twelve years time, to become wealthy and powerful. This certainly could only have been the effect of a flouriſhing and extenſive trade. At what an exalted pitch of power therefore muſt they have arrived, had *Hannibal* either been duly ſupported in *Italy*, or contended with a nation of not ſuch an invincible reſolution for the dominion of the world [c]!

Hannibal's *advice to him.*

SOME time after, *Antiochus* found his affairs in ſuch a perplexed ſituation, that he was at a loſs what meaſures to purſue. In this emergency, his miniſters were obliged to have recourſe

[b] LIV. l. xxxv. c. 19. POLYB. l. xv. & l. iii. SEX. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 7. JUST. l. xxxi. c. 4, 5. [c] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 42. & l. xxxvi. c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. JUST. ubi ſup.

to *Hannibal*. That renowned general, forgetting the ill uſage he had met with, appeared as much diſpoſed to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations taken place. He drew up for him a ſcheme, that would probably have extricated him out of all difficulties, had it been immediately put in execution. But, tho' the ſpeech *Hannibal* made on this occaſion was received by the *Syrian* miniſtry with great applauſe, yet they ſtill proved deaf to all his ſalutary admonitions[d].

Hannibal *defeated in a ſea-engagement.*

AFTER *Antiochus* was forced to abandon *Europe*, by the victorious arms of the *Romans*, he retired to *Epheſus*. Here he, for ſome time, took up his reſidence, without any apprehenſions of danger, his flatterers perſuading him, that the enemy never durſt purſue him into *Aſia*. *Hannibal*, being now in great eſteem at that prince's court, thought it but juſt to undeceive him in a point of ſuch importance. In conſequence of which, *Antiochus* made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unſucceſsful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great *Hannibal* himſelf, was defeated by that of the *Rhodians*, commanded by *Eudamus*, off of *Sida*, on the coaſt of *Pamphylia*, and miſerably ſhattered. However, the *Rhodians* ſuffered extremely in the action, ſuſtaining almoſt as great a loſs of men and ſhips as *Hannibal*. The bad ſucceſs of this engagement was intirely owing to the ill conduct of *Apollonius*, one of *Antiochus*'s admirals, who fled, with the ſquadron he commanded, almoſt in the beginning of the fight. Notwithſtanding which, *Hannibal* made an excellent retreat, the enemy being ſcarce in a condition to purſue him. However, the *Rhodians* detaching *Chariclitus* with twenty beaked ſhips to *Patara*, and *Megiſte*, a ſmall iſland, with a commodious port, in the ſea of *Lycia*, prevented the junction of *Hannibal*'s ſhattered gallies with the other diviſions of the *Syrian* ſquadron; which was a great mortification to the *Carthaginian*. In ſhort, after a ſeries of misfortunes, *Antiochus* found himſelf obliged to ſend *Zeuſis*, the governor of *Lydia*, and his ſon *Antipater*, with a *carte blanche*, to the *Roman* camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly inſiſted upon was, that *Hannibal* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*; with which *Antiochus*, being unable to defend himſelf, was forced to comply. However, *Hannibal*, foreſeeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the iſland of *Crete*. It appears from *Scipio Naſica*'s ſpeech in *Livy*, that *Hannibal* was a general in the *Syrian* army at the battle of *Magneſia*; from whence, as well as from other circumſtances, we have reaſon to believe, that he

Hannibal *is obliged to fly to* Crete;

[d] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 7.

was

was preſent in all the principal actions, that happened between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* [e].

HANNIBAL, upon his arrival in *Crete*, took ſanctuary amongſt the *Gortynii*. But having brought great treaſure with him, and conſidering the avarice of the *Cretans*, he judged it would be proper to have recourſe to ſome ſtratagem, in order to ſecure himſelf; eſpecially as he had reaſon to apprehend, that the *Cretans* were adverti ſed of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled ſeveral veſſels with molten lead, juſt covering them over with gold and ſilver; which he depoſited in the temple of *Diana*, in the preſence of the *Gortynii*, with whom, he ſaid, he truſted all his treaſure. *Juſtin* tells us, that he left this there as a ſecurity for his good behaviour, and lived for ſome time very quietly in thoſe parts. However, he took care to conceal his riches in hollow ſtatues of braſs, which, according to ſome, he always carried along with him, or, as others will have it, expoſed to view in a place of public reſort, as things of little value. At laſt he retired to the court of *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, with whom he found means to unite ſeveral neighbouring princes and ſtates, and ſo formed a powerful confederacy againſt *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a profeſſed friend to the *Romans*. A rupture ſoon commenced betwixt them, which was followed by a great effuſion of blood on both ſides. During this war, *Hannibal* is ſaid to have given *Eumenes* ſeveral defeats, and reduced him to great ſtreights, more by force of genius, and dint of conduct, than ſuperiority of ſtrength [f].

and afterwards to Pruſias *king of* Bithynia.

THE *Romans*, receiving intelligence of the important ſervices *Hannibal* had done *Pruſias*, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, ſent *T. Quintius Flaminius* thither as their embaſſador. *Flaminius*, at his firſt audience, complained of the protection *Pruſias* gave *Hannibal*, repreſenting that famous general "as the moſt inveterate and implacable enemy the *Romans* "ever had; as one who had ruined both his own country and "*Antiochus*, by drawing them into a deſtructive war with "*Rome*." *Pruſias*, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the *Romans*, immediately ſent a party of ſoldiers to ſurround *Hannibal*'s houſe, that he might find it impoſſible to make his eſcape. The *Carthaginian*, having before diſcovered, that no confidence was to be repoſed in *Pruſias*, had contrived ſeven ſecret paſſages from his houſe, to evade the machinations of the enemies, even if they could carry their point at the *Bithynian* court. But guards being poſted on theſe, he could not fly,

And poiſons himſelf, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

[e] LIV. l. xxxvi. c. 41. l. xxxvii. c. 23--25. & l. xxxviii. c 58--60. FLOR. l. ii. c. 8. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 20. [f] CORN. NEP. in Hannib. c. 9, 10. JUSTIN. l. xxxii. c. 4. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 51. GEORG. SYNCEL. in chronograph. p. 285. VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 7.

tho',

tho', according to *Livy*, he attempted it. Perceiving therefore no poſſibility of eſcaping, he had recourſe to poiſon, which he had long reſerved for this melancholy occaſion. This taking in his hand, "Let us, ſaid he, deliver the *Romans* from the diſ-" quietude, with which they have long been tortured, ſince " they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. *Fla-*" *minius* will not acquire any reputation or glory by a victory " gained over a betrayed and defenceleſs perſon. This ſingle " day will be a laſting teſtimony of the degeneracy of the *Ro-*" *mans*. Their anceſtors gave *Pyrrhus* intelligence of a deſign " to poiſon him, that he might guard againſt the impending " danger, even when he was at the head of a powerful army " in *Italy*; but they have deputed a perſon of conſular dignity " to excite *Pruſias* impiouſly to murder one, who has taken " refuge in his dominions, in violation of the laws of hoſpi-" tality." Then he denounced dreadful imprecations againſt *Pruſias*, and his kingdom, and invoked the gods preſiding over the ſacred rights of hoſpitality; after which, drinking off the poiſon he had prepared, he expired, at ſeventy years of age. *Cornelius Nepos* intimates, that *Hannibal* deſtroyed himſelf by a ſubtle (C) poiſon, which he carried about with him in a ring for that purpoſe. *Plutarch* relates, that, according to ſome writers, he ordered a ſervant to ſtrangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others will have it, that, in imitation of *Midas* and *Themiſtocles*, he drank bulls blood. Be that as it will, his death reflected an eternal ignominy and diſgrace upon the *Romans*, whoſe inſatiable thirſt after empire had extinguiſhed all generous ſentiments, and every ſpark of virtue, in their minds [g].

His character. THUS died *Hannibal*, the greateſt general perhaps, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, that any age ever produced; a general,

[g] LIV. ubi ſup. & c. 65. PLUT. in Flamin. CORN. NEP. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 21.

(C) *Zonaras* relates, that *Hannibal* was under no apprehenſion of a ſudden violent death, tho' he took ſuch precautions to ſecure himſelf. This was occaſioned by an anſwer the oracle gave him, when conſulted on a certain emergency, to wit, that he ſhould die in *Libya*. However, adds that author, the prediction was fulfilled; ſince the ſpot of ground, on which he took the fatal draught, was called *Libya*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Hannibal* died in a village of *Bithynia* called *Libyſſa*, ſituated near the ſea, where he was buried in a wooden coffin, with this inſcription upon his tomb, *Here lies* Hannibal; and that this was ſtill remaining in his time (3).

(3) *Zonar. l.* ix. *c.* 18. *Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. ſub fin.*

who

who would have utterly ſubverted the haughty *Roman* republic, had he not been ſacrificed to the reſentment of an envious, wicked, and moſt abandoned faction. *Polybius* ſeems to make him a pattern for all ſucceeding commanders; and *Livy*, notwithſtanding his partiality, owns himſelf aſtoniſhed at his wonderful conduct, after the defeat of his brother *Aſdrubal*. No other general, after ſo terrible a blow, could have maintained himſelf in one of the pooreſt ſpots of *Italy*, for ſeveral years, without any reinforcement of troops, or ſupplies of proviſions, from *Carthage*. The perfect harmony kept up in his army, compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, to wit, *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, &c. differing in laws, manners, language, genius, and almoſt every other particular, even after fortune had declared againſt him, and when they were in want both of money and proviſions, was a full demonſtration of his conſummate abilities. The inviolable attachment of his new allies to him, when he was reduced to the neceſſity of making them ſuſtain almoſt the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their reſpective countries, clearly evinces the ſame thing. *Polybius* obſerves, that he over-reached moſt of the generals that oppoſed him, but was himſelf never outwitted by any of them; and ſeems to inſinuate, that it would have been much more fatal to the *Carthaginians* to have loſt him, than any of the armies he ever commanded. And indeed, it ſufficiently appears, from the preceding part of this hiſtory, that he was the life and ſoul not only of the army, but likewiſe of the *Carthaginian* ſtate. In fine, by his own ſurpriſing capacity, he carried on a war againſt the moſt martial people in the world many years, in a remote country, in ſpite of the violent oppoſition made by a powerful domeſtic faction, which refuſed him ſupplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occaſions. With regard to his political character, we ſhall only obſerve, that the ſecret intelligence he held with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the wiſe counſels he gave *Antiochus*, the double regulation he introduced at *Carthage*, the potent confederacy he formed in favour of king *Pruſias*, beſides many other inſtances, that will occur to our readers, evidently prove him to have made as great a figure in the cabinet, as the field. What we have already obſerved of his facetious diſpoſition, and love for the muſes, is confirmed by *Gellius* and others. His religious and moral conduct *Livy* paints in the blackeſt colours. But the humanity with which he treated the bodies of *Marcellus* and *Sempronius Gracchus*; the high reverence he expreſſed for the gods on all occaſions; his ſingular continence, and uncommon wiſdom; his contempt of riches; the extraordinary temperance he was famous for, even in the midſt of the greateſt affluence, when at the head of the ſtate of *Carthage*; theſe

ſhining qualities, we ſay, and others, atteſted by the beſt authors, will not permit us to give any attention to the unfair repreſentation of that prejudiced hiſtorian. *Polybius* however intimates, that he was accuſed at *Carthage* of avarice, and of cruelty at *Rome*; and that people were much divided in their ſentiments concerning him. This cannot appear ſtrange to any one, who conſiders, that, as he had many implacable enemies in both cities, he muſt, of courſe, have been drawn by ſome of them in the moſt diſadvantageous light. But though, adds *Polybius*, we ſhould allow ſome of the defects he has been charged with true, yet it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with which he was obliged to ſtruggle during the courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a war, than to his own natural diſpoſition. Beſides, he might be forced frequently to fall in with the inclinations of his officers, when they were oppoſite to his own, in order to excite them to a chearful diſcharge of their duty. Theſe, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he could not always keep within proper bounds, conſidering the natural bent of his countrymen, any more than the ſoldiers, who fought under them. Be that as it will, *Polybius* looked upon *Hannibal* to have been a general of ſo noble and ſublime a genius, that, in his opinion, had he at firſt attacked other powers, and reſerved the *Romans* for the laſt nation to have contended with, he muſt have intirely overthrown their republic, and conſequently rendered *Carthage* miſtreſs of the world [h].

Diſputes between the Carthaginians *and* Maſiniſſa.

It has been already obſerved, that, by one of the articles of the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were to reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the beginning of the war. To theſe *Scipio* annexed part of *Syphax*'s dominions, in order to reward the zeal and affection that prince had diſcovered for the *Romans* on all occaſions, ever ſince the commencement of his alliance with them. After *Hannibal*'s flight to *Antiochus*, and his emiſſary *Ariſto*'s eſcape related above, the *Romans* began to look upon the *Carthaginians* with a ſuſpicious eye, though, to prevent all diſtruſt, the latter of theſe ſtates had ordered two ſhips to purſue *Hannibal*, confiſcated his effects, raſed his houſe, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed likewiſe to notify to the *Romans Ariſto*'s commiſſion, as well as

[h] Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l. v. c. 5. Polyb. l. xi. & alib. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12. & alib. paſſ. Just. l. xxxii. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. & alib. in excerptis Valeſ. Corn. Nep. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſup. Plut. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. Valer. Max. Polyæn. S. Jul. Frontin. paſſ. Appian. in Libyc. in Iber. & in Hannib. Oros. & Zonar. paſſ. Vide etiam Polyb. in excerp. legat. 33. Liv. l. xxv. c. 17. Lucan. Sil. Ital. paſſ. aliosq; quamplurim. ſcriptor. Græc. & Latin.

eſcape,

eſcape, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation of *Hannibal*'s deſign, by the deputies they diſpatched to *Rome*, to complain of *Maſiniſſa*'s unjuſt pretenſions. That prince, being appriſed that *Carthage* was miſerably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the *Romans*, on account of the two events above-mentioned, ſeized upon part of a maritim territory, which was extremely rich and fruitful, ſituated near the *Leſſer Syrtis*, called *Emporia*. Both ſides ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* on this occaſion, to ſupport the titles of their reſpective maſters to the diſtrict in diſpute. The *Carthaginians* alleged, "That this was "within the limits of their *African* dominions, as ſettled by "*Scipio*. This, they obſerved, had been acknowleged by *Ma*-"*ſiniſſa* himſelf, who, when he had purſued one *Aphires*, a "*Numidian* prince, lurking about the borders of *Cyrenaica*, "would not paſs through *Emporia*, without aſking leave of the "*Carthaginians*, looking upon it then as a territory indiſputably "belonging to them." To which the *Numidian* miniſters replied, "That what they ſo confidently advanced about *Scipio*'s "ſettling the limits, was falſe; and that the *Carthaginians*, in "ſtrictneſs and equity, ought only to have the ſpot of ground, "on which *Byrſa* ſtood, every other part of their *African* domi-"nions being taken from the natives by fraud and violence. "To which they added, as to the diſtrict in queſtion, the *Car*-"*thaginians* could not prove themſelves to have been in poſſeſſion "of it ſince the infancy of their republic; nay, that it had "been any conſiderable time under their juriſdiction. They "concluded therefore, that as the *Carthaginians* and *Numi*-"*dians* had been maſters of it by turns, juſt as ſucceſs attended "their reſpective arms, it would be but equitable in the ſenate "to permit things to remain in their preſent ſituation." Hereupon the conſcript fathers thought proper to ſend *Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Minutius Rufus*, to examine the controverſy upon the ſpot. However, they returned without coming to any reſolution, leaving the buſineſs in the ſame uncertain ſtate in which they found it. Whether the commiſſioners acted in this manner of their own head, or by order of the ſenate, is not ſo certain, as that the intereſt of the *Romans* rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper. For otherwiſe *Scipio*, who had deſerved ſo well of both of them, could, by his own ſingle authority, have put an end to the diſpute [i].

MASINISSA, not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the diſtrict he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped, over-ran a province, that his father *Gala* had taken from the *Carthaginians*, and *Syphax* from him, *The Romans accommodate*

[i] POLYB. in excerpt. legat. 118. LIV. l. xxxiv. c. 61. APPIAN. in *Libyc.*

from

the differences between them.

from whom it had returned to its former masters, through the charms and endearments of *Sophonisba*. The *Carthaginian* deputies pleaded the cause of their principals, and *Masinissa* his, before the *Roman* commissioners, with exceeding heat. The *Carthaginians* reclaimed this territory, "as having originally be-"longed to their ancestors, and afterwards restored to them by "*Syphax*." On the other hand, *Masinissa* insisted, "that it "was formerly part of his father's kingdom; that, in con-"sequence of this title, he had taken possession of it; and that "his pretensions were so indubitable, that he only feared, lest "the modesty of the *Romans*, which might render them timorous "of indulging a friend and ally in his just claims upon their "common enemy, should prove prejudicial to him." The commissioners, in conformity to the disposition of their republic, referred this dispute, which happened ten years after the former, to the decision of the senate, and consequently left it undetermined. However, in the consulate of *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*, the *Romans* effected an accommodation betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*, confirming the former in the possession of his unjust acquisitions, and restoring to the latter an hundred hostages they had till that time detained [k].

Masiniſſa *endeavours to embroil the* Carthaginians *with the* Romans.

MASINISSA, grasping at farther conquests, endeavoured soon after to embroil the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. In order to this, he concerted measures with the *Roman* embassadors in *Africa*, to prejudice the conscript fathers against them. The latter did not scruple to affirm, that, to their certain knowlege, *Perseus*, king of *Macedon*, with whom the *Romans* then were upon the verge of a war, had privately sent embassadors to *Carthage*, to negotiate an alliance with that state; and that the senate was assembled by night in the temple of *Æsculapius*, to confer with them; whilst the former, in as strong a manner, asserted, that the *Carthaginians* had dispatched ministers to *Perseus*, to conclude a treaty with him. *Livy* seems to intimate, that the *Carthaginians* would not own this; but that the *Romans*, always attentive to the insinuations of their enemies, believed it to be true. The future conduct of that people towards *Carthage* renders *Livy*'s authority, in this point, indisputable [l].

And makes an irruption into the province of Tysca.

NOT long after this *Masinissa* made an irruption into the province of *Tysca*, where he soon possessed himself of above seventy, or, as *Appian* will have it, fifty towns and castles. This obliged the *Carthaginians* to apply, with great importunity, to the *Roman* senate for redress, their hands being so tied up by an article of the last treaty, that they could not repel force by force, in case of an invasion, without the consent of the *Romans*.

[k] LIV. l. xl, c. 17. & c. 34. Vide & APPIAN. ubi sup. [l] LIV. l. xli. c. 22.

The

The *Carthaginian* miniſters at *Rome* repreſented the miſerable condition of their republic in the moſt moving terms. They declared, "That *Maſiniſſa* was intirely void of honour; that, "without the interpoſition of that auguſt aſſembly, to whom "they then addreſſed themſelves, no limits could be preſcribed "to his cruelty, inſolence, avarice and ambition. They there- "fore begged the conſcript fathers either themſelves to determine "the point in debate betwixt their principals and *Maſiniſſa*, or "to ſuffer the former to diſlodge the latter from his conqueſts "by force of arms; or laſtly, if they were reſolved to ſupport "the *Numidian* in all his unjuſt pretenſions, to ſpecify, once "for all, what territories the *Carthaginians* were to cede to "him, that they might know what hereafter they had to depend "upon." To this they ſubjoined, "That, if the *Carthaginians* "had incurred the diſpleaſure of the *Romans* in any point in- "advertently ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace, they begged "they would puniſh them for the offence themſelves, and not "leave them expoſed to the inſults and vexations of *Maſiniſſa*, "ſince they preferred an utter extinction to the barbarities and "depredations they were forced to ſuffer from ſo mercileſs a "tyrant." Then proſtrating themſelves upon the earth, they burſt out into tears; which making a deep impreſſion upon the ſenate in their favour, *Guluſſa*, *Maſiniſſa*'s ſon, being then preſent, and called upon to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: "That he had received no in- "ſtructions from his father how to act in the preſent emergency, "ſince it could not be foreſeen, that any thing would be laid to "his charge. That the *Carthaginians* had had ſeveral clandeſtine "meetings by night in the temple of *Æſculapius*, the object of "whoſe conſultations was kept ſecret from him, after which "deputies were diſpatched to *Rome*. That the ſole deſign of "his father's ſending him to *Rome* was, to intreat the ſenate "not to pay any regard to the inſinuations of the common "enemy againſt him, ſince the implacable hatred they bore "him was occaſioned by the inviolable fidelity, with which he "had ſo long been attached to the *Romans*." The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, "That it would be proper for "*Guluſſa* to ſet out immediately for *Numidia*, in order to ac- "quaint his father with the complaints of the *Carthaginians* "againſt him. That he ought to ſend deputies to *Rome*, to "remove all difficulties that obſtructed an accommodation be- "tween him and them. That they would continue to ſerve "him as they had hitherto done, but not to the prejudice of the "*Carthaginians*. That it was but juſt the antient limits ſhould "be preſerved. That the *Carthaginians* ought to be maintained "in the poſſeſſion of thoſe territories, which the late treaty had "allotted them." The deputies of both powers were then diſ-

Year of the flood 2186. Bef. Chriſt 162. Of Rome 586.

miſſed

miſſed with the uſual preſents. The *Romans* were prompted to act after this perfidious manner, partly by that implacable hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, and partly by the hopes of receiving ſuccours from *Maſiniſſa* in the *Macedonian* war, which they were juſt going to enter upon. The *Numidian* anſwered their expectations; for he did not only ſupply them with corn, but likewiſe was upon the point of ſending a body of troops, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, and as many foot, with twenty-two elephants, under the command of his ſon *Miſagenes*, to their aſſiſtance. However, this proceeded rather from a motive of policy than gratitude; for he conſidered, that if the *Romans* were victorious in this war, his affairs could but remain in the ſame ſituation; whereas, ſhould they be overcome, he doubted not reducing *Carthage*, and making himſelf maſter of *Africa*[m].

The villainous behaviour of the Romans *to the* Carthaginians.

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the lamentable ſlavery under which they groaned, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome*, who acquainted the ſenate, "That their ſtate would immediately "tranſport a million of buſhels of wheat, and five hundred thou- "ſand buſhels of barley, into what part of the world the *Romans* "pleaſed. That they were ſenſible ſuch a ſupply was not pro- "portioned to thoſe happy effects of the *Roman* generoſity and "goodneſs, which their principals had ſo long experienced, "neither did it come up to their inclinations. But that they "hoped it would be conſidered, by way of atonement for this "defect, that, during the proſperity of both republics, in "former times, they had given frequent inſtances of their being "true and faithful allies." *Maſiniſſa*'s embaſſadors not only offered the ſame quantity of corn, but likewiſe to reinforce the *Roman* army with another body of twelve hundred horſe, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the ſenate's commands with the utmoſt alacrity. But neither could the *Carthaginians*, by ſuch an abject and mean-ſpirited behaviour, a ſufficient indication of that low and groveling mind, which ſeems to have been the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of their nation, prevail upon the *Romans* to diſcontinue their chicane. They ſpun out matters to a tedious length, not permitting the miniſters they employed to adjuſt all diſputes betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, to arrive at a deciſion. By this conduct they enabled the former to exhauſt the latter, and conſequently paved the way to the immediate deſtruction of a ſtate, which to them, of all others, ſtill appeared the moſt formidable[n].

Cato *bears an implacable*

WHATEVER villainous deſigns the *Romans* might have formed, they affected to ſhew a great regard to the principles of juſtice and honour. They therefore ſent *Cato*, a man famous for com-

[m] LIV. l. xlii. c. 23, 24. & c. 29. APPIAN. in Libyc. p. 37.
[n] POLYB. ubi ſup. LIV. l. xliii. c. 6. APPIAN. in Libyc.

mitting

mitting enormities under the ſpecious pretext of public ſpirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*. The latter very well knew their fate, had they ſubmitted to ſuch a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty, which had been concluded by *Scipio*, as the only rule, by which both their conduct, and that of their adverſary, ought be examined. This *unreaſonable* appeal ſo incenſed the *righteous Cato*, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that *upright* perſon was not ſo much to forward the obſervation or concluſion of treaties, as to widen breaches, diſcover the ſtrength and condition of *Carthage*, which was then very flouriſhing, notwithſtanding the many blows it had received, and gratify the *Roman* ambition by all poſſible means, it is not ſo ſtrange, that he ſhould, even in the moſt abſurd, though moſt virulent manner, preſs the ſenate, after his return home, to deſtroy that city. It is much more wonderful, that a *Frenchman* ſhould cenſure this conduct, when it ſo exactly quadrates with that of a certain court, which he cannot poſſibly be a ſtranger to, for above a century paſt. However, as we have more than *a bare jealouſy of the growing power*, as well as ambitious deſigns, of that court, we may, without offence, give it as our opinion, that, in order to ſecure the liberties of *Europe*, as well as to introduce public faith, juſtice, and honour once more into the world, it is neceſſary, *that the ſtate repreſented by that court ſhould be humbled, if not deſtroyed* °.

hatred to the Carthaginians.

SOME years before this time, *Carthage* was miſerably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the *Romans* was headed by one *Hanno*, a deſcendent, as may be ſuppoſed, of the perſon, who ruined his country by not ſupporting *Hannibal*; that in the intereſt of *Maſiniſſa* by *Hannibal*, ſurnamed *Paſſer*; and that formed of the populace by *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Sannis*, and *Carthalo*. But, of late, two powerful parties had ſtruggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called *the popular faction*, prevailed over the other, compoſed of the grandees, and their adherents, and expelled forty of the ſenators. They retired to the court of *Maſiniſſa*, to excite him to a war with the *Carthaginians*, who ſent *Guluſſa* and *Micipſa*, two of his ſons, to *Carthage*, to ſolicit their return. However, the gates were ſhut upon them at their approach, leſt the people, moved by the tears of thoſe related to the exiles, ſhould grant their requeſt. Nay, *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Sannis*, one of the *Carthaginian* generals, cloſely purſued *Guluſſa*, and cut off ſome of his retinue. This occaſioning a freſh rupture, *Maſiniſſa* beſieged *Oroſcopa*,

Maſiniſſa *defeats the* Carthaginians.

° LIV. in epit. 47, 48, 49. APPIAN. ubi ſup. c. 38. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15. VELL. PATERC. l. i. ſub fin. PLUT. in Caton. Vide & hiſtoire des Carthagin. par M. ROLLIN, tom. i. p. 421.

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in violation of the laſt treaty. *Aſdrubal*, another *Carthaginian* general, advanced to the relief of *Oroſcopa*, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, and was immediately joined by a body of ſix thouſand men, under the conduct of *Aſaſis* and *Suba*, two *Numidian* captains, who deſerted from *Maſiniſſa*. Animated by this acceſſion of ſtrength, *Aſdrubal* approached the *Numidian*, and ſkirmiſhed ſucceſsfully with ſome of the advanced guards. *Maſiniſſa*, obſerving the eagerneſs of the *Carthaginian*, retired before him, as though he was afraid of his ſuperior force, and inſenſibly drew him into a large and deſolate plain, ſurrounded with precipices, and void of all kinds of ſuſtenance. *Aſdrubal*, finding himſelf thus decoyed, poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately enſuing, and ending in favour of *Maſiniſſa*, the *Carthaginians* ſued for peace. In order to terminate their conteſts with that prince, the *Carthaginians* offered to yield up the territory of *Emporia*, to pay down two hundred talents of ſilver, and remit eight hundred more at a ſtipulated time to him. But *Maſiniſſa* inſiſting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any deciſion. It is obſervable, that the *Roman* deputies, who arrived in the *Numidian* camp ſoon after the engagement, had orders to inſiſt upon a peace, in caſe the *Carthaginians* defeated *Maſiniſſa*; but to aſſure that prince of the continuance of their friendſhip, and puſh him on to the war, in caſe he was victorious. This they did, in order to complete the ruin of the *Carthaginians*. How, through the vindictive diſpoſition of *Guluſſa*, and the breaking out of the plague amongſt them, the *Carthaginian* forces were almoſt utterly deſtroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we muſt alſo beg leave to refer them for the particulars of the action juſt hinted at [p].

Cato *prevails upon the* Roman *ſenate to declare war againſt* Carthage.

EVER ſince *Carthage* had rejected the mediation of the *Romans*, *Cato* had made his utmoſt efforts to prevail upon the conſcript fathers to deſtroy that city. But *Scipio Naſica*, having a ſuperior influence in the ſenate, had hitherto, notwithſtanding the grievous provocation he met with from the *Carthaginians*, already related, prevented a rupture. However, the people of *Carthage*, knowing the *Romans* to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had met with from them ever ſince the commencement of their diſputes with *Maſiniſſa*, were under great apprehenſions of a viſit from them. To prevent this, as much as in them lay, by a decree of the ſenate, they impeached *Aſdrubal* general of the army, and *Carthalo* commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their

[p] LIV. in epit. xlviii. APPIAN. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 66--69.

accomplices, as guilty of high treaſon, for being the authors of the war waged againſt the king of *Numidia*. They ſent a deputation to *Rome*, to diſcover what ſentiments were entertained there of their late conduct, and to know what ſatisfaction the *Romans* required. Theſe miniſters meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were diſpatched, who returned with the ſame ſucceſs. This made the unhappy citizens of *Carthage* believe, that their deſtruction was reſolved upon; which threw them into the utmoſt deſpair. And indeed they had but too juſt grounds for ſuch a melancholy apprehenſion, the *Roman* ſenate now diſcovering an inclination to fall in with *Cato*'s meaſures. It is ſaid, that, in order to excite the conſcript fathers to a vigorous reſolution againſt the *Carthaginians*, that incendiary, after one of his moſt virulent ſpeeches, threw out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome *African* figs, whoſe ſize and beauty obſerving the ſenators to admire; *Know*, ſaid he, *that it is but three days ſince theſe figs were gathered*; *ſuch is the diſtance between the enemy and us*. About the ſame time the city of *Utica*, being the ſecond in *Africa*, and famous for its immenſe riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, ſubmitted to the *Romans*. As the poſſeſſion of ſo important a fortreſs, which, by reaſon of its vicinity to *Carthage*, might ſerve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the *Romans* to put the deſign they had been ſo long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*, without the leaſt heſitation. In conſequence of which declaration, the conſuls *M. Manilius Nepos* and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* were diſpatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hoſtilities with the utmoſt expedition. The land-forces, deſtined to act againſt the *Carthaginians*, conſiſted of eighty thouſand foot, and four thouſand choſen horſe; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, beſides a vaſt number of tranſports. The conſuls had ſecret orders from the ſenate, not to conclude the operations but by the deſtruction of *Carthage*, without which, the republic pretended, ſhe could not but look upon all her poſſeſſions as inſecure and precarious. Purſuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops firſt at *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, from whence, after receiving a proper refreſhment, it was propoſed to tranſport them to *Utica* [q].

The Romans demand three hundred hoſtages of the Carthaginians;

THE anſwer brought by the laſt embaſſadors to *Carthage* had not a little alarmed the inhabitants of that city. But they were not yet acquainted with the reſolutions taken at *Rome*. They therefore ſent freſh embaſſadors thither, whom they inveſted with full powers to act as they ſhould think fit for the good of the re-

[q] LIV. APPIAN. PLUT. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 26. PLIN. l. xv. c. 18. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15.

Year of the flood 2199. Bef. Chriſt 149. Of Rome 599.

public, and even to ſubmit themſelves, without reſerve, to the pleaſure of the *Romans*. But the moſt ſenſible perſons amongſt them did not expect any great ſucceſs from this condeſcenſion, ſince the early ſubmiſſion of the *Uticans* had rendered it infinitely leſs meritorious than it would have been before. However, the *Romans* ſeemed to be, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied with it, ſince they promiſed them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and, in ſhort, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This threw them into a tranſport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the *Romans*. But the conſcript fathers immediately daſhed all their hopes, by declaring the next inſtant, *Roman* like, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would ſend three hundred young *Carthaginians* of the firſt diſtinction to the prætor *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, within the ſpace of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the conſuls. *Giſco*, ſurnamed *Strytanus*, *Hamilcar*, *Miſdes*, *Gillicas*, and *Mago* (for ſo were the embaſſadors called) durſt not make the leaſt remonſtrance againſt the ſeverity of theſe conditions, but immediately ſet out for *Carthage*, to impart them to the ſenate there. That auguſt aſſembly was filled with inexpreſſible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hoſtages, which were conſidered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the nobleſt families in *Carthage*. They found themſelves likewiſe extremely perplexed at the ſilence of the *Romans* with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions they ſeemed willing to make, and at the vague expreſſion of *ſubmitting to all the orders of the conſuls*. However, being abſolutely incapable of coping with ſo formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almoſt every thing, *Mago Bretius*, in a brave and eloquent ſpeech, exhorted them, for the preſent, to obey. No ſcene can be conceived more moving, than that exhibited by *Carthage*, when the hoſtages were delivered up: nothing was to be ſeen but tears, all parts, at the ſame time, echoing with groans and lamentations. But, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a moſt mournful ſpectacle, bathing themſelves in tears, tearing their diſhevelled hair, beating their breaſts, and exclaiming in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage hearts to compaſſion. When the fatal moment of ſeparation was come, they accompanied their children to the ſhip, bid them a long, laſt farewel, perſuaded that they ſhould never ſee them more, embraced them with the utmoſt tenderneſs, claſped them ſtrongly in their arms, and could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the ſailors. Nay, many of them ſwam a long time after the ſhip, fixing their eyes immoveably upon it. As the embaſſadors delivered them to the conſuls, and they to *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, before the thirty days were expired, they were not intirely without hopes of ſoftening

ening their hard-hearted enemy. But the consuls only told them, that, upon their arrival at *Utica*, they should learn the farther orders of the republic [r].

and oblige them to deliver up all their arms.

THOSE ministers no sooner received intelligence of the *Roman* fleet's appearing off of *Utica*, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The consuls however did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, lest they should appear so harsh and severe, that the *Carthaginians* would have refused a compliance with them. They first therefore demanded a sufficient supply of corn for the subsistence of their troops. Secondly, that they should deliver up into their hands all the triremes they were then masters of. *Thirdly*, that they should put them in possession of all their military machines. And, fourthly, that they should immediately convey all their arms into the *Roman* camp. As care was taken, that there should be a certain interval of time betwixt each of these demands, the *Carthaginians* found themselves ensnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they submitted to the last, which *Censorinus* insisted upon, notwithstanding the powerful reasons urged against it, with the utmost reluctance and concern [s].

The Romans *command the* Carthaginians *to abandon their city.*

THE gaining of these points paved the way to the destruction of *Carthage*, though it reflected an eternal dishonour upon the *Roman* name. *Censorinus*, now imagining the *Carthaginians* not capable of sustaining a siege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as *Zonaras* will have it, to demolish it, permitting them to build another eighty stadia from the sea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the embassadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of *Carthage*, when they were apprised of it, by their gestures and complaints, demonstrated the greatest emotions of grief on this tragical occasion. But the *Romans* remained inflexible, not shewing the least regard to the tears and intreaties of a people reduced to the extremes of despair. The embassadors, at one time, supplicated the gods with the greatest fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all possible means, to excite the compassion of the *Romans*; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whose severe eyes are ever open to fraud and villainy. The senators and people, upon receiving the report of the embassadors, for some time, intirely abandoned themselves to despair; which was heightened by the frantic disposition of the women, whose children had been sent to *Rome*. In short, *Carthage* was nothing now but a scene

[r] POLYB. l. xxxiii. in excerpt. legat. 142. LIV. in epit. xlix. APPIAN. & FLOR. ubi sup. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 10. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 26. [s] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 27. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 369--373.

of horror, madneſs, and confuſion. The citizens curſed their anceſtors for not dying gloriouſly in the defence of their country, rather than concluding ſuch ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cauſe of the deplorable condition, to which their poſterity was then reduced. They likewiſe condemned themſelves in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo tamely, as well as ſtupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blaſphemouſly taxed the gods themſelves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make an impreſſion upon the *Romans* in their favour. But as, in a former part of our hiſtory, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we ſhall only beg leave to obſerve farther here, that, when the firſt tranſports of grief were over, and their paſſions began to ſubſide, they unanimouſly reſolved to die upon the ſpot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the *Romans*; and, in conſequence of this reſolution, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital city [t].

M. Rollin *cenſured.*

A certain polite [u] author takes ſome pains to ſhew, that the *Romans* did not act according to the maxims of juſtice and honour in the point before us; and conſequently ſeems to inſinuate, that ſome proof, beſides the notoriety of the facts, is requiſite to evince the iniquity of their conduct on the preſent occaſion. This perhaps may be looked upon as an argument of ſome good-nature, and delicacy of ſentiments; but can never be deemed one of that boldneſs, and inflexible attachment to truth, eſſential to a good hiſtorian. A writer of this kind will paint every ſpecies of vice, particularly thoſe of a moſt public and enormous nature, in their moſt proper, that is, in the moſt odious colours. He will eſteem a perſon, who endeavours to palliate, or even touches but lightly upon any flagrant villainy, be the actors of it who they will, as one who either inwardly approves of it, or is afraid of expoſing it; and conſequently as one ſo far diſqualified for tranſmitting to poſterity the tranſactions of former ages. It is not ſufficient, in our opinion, in order to expreſs our deteſtation of that execrable perfidiouſneſs and barbarity the *Romans* were guilty of, to ſay, "I can never believe, that ſo "ſenſible, rational and juſt a man as *Polybius*, could have ap- "proved of the proceedings of the *Romans* on the preſent oc- "caſion.—We do not find here any of the characteriſtics, which "diſtinguiſhed the *Romans* antiently, that greatneſs of ſoul, that "rectitude, that utter abhorrence of mean artifices, frauds, and "impoſtures, which, as is ſomewhere ſaid, formed no part of

[t] Idem ibid. FLOR. ubi ſup. PAUL. OROS. l. iv. c. 22. [u] M. ROLLIN. in hiſt. des Carthagin. tom. i. p. 432, 433, & ſeq. à Amſterdam, 1733. Vide & orat. PONTII TELESINI, apud Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 27.

"the

" the *Roman* genius.—Why did not the *Romans* attack the *Car-*
" *thaginians* by force? Why ſhould they declare expreſly in a
" treaty, that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their
" liberties and laws, and underſtand, at the ſame time, certain
" private conditions, which proved the intire ruin of both?
" Why ſhould they conceal, under the ſcandalous omiſſion of
" the word *city* in this treaty, the black deſign of deſtroying
" *Carthage*, as though, beneath the cover of ſuch an equivo-
" cation, they could juſtly ruin it? In fine, why did the *Ro-*
" *mans* not make their laſt declaration, till after they had ex-
" torted from the *Carthaginians*, at different times, their hoſtages
" and arms, that is, till they had abſolutely rendered them in-
" capable of diſobeying their unjuſt commands?—*It is very*
" *dangerous to be poſſeſſed of ſo much power, as may enable one to*
" *commit injuſtice with impunity, and with a proſpect of being a*
" *gainer by it. The experience of all ages ſhews, that ſtates ſeldom*
" *ſcruple to commit injuſtice, when they think it will turn to their*
" *advantage.*" Our readers will here obſerve, that, with regard to the *Roman* nation in general, this author's reflections ſcarce carry with them more of ſatire than panegyric; and that, as to the very perſons guilty of one of the greateſt violations of public faith, attended with the moſt aggravating circumſtances, that perhaps ever happened, he only ſeems to intimate, that they did not come up to the virtues of their anceſtors; nay, he puts them upon a level with thoſe at the head of other ſtates. Such a palliation of one of the moſt atrocious public crimes to be met with in hiſtory, would be inexcuſeable in an author of any other nation than that to which he belongs. But as for his countrymen, if we ſuppoſe them to pay any deference to the conduct of their ſuperiors for above a century paſt, it is as natural for them to *talk* in this ſtrain now, as it was for the *Romans* to *act* the part they did at the time *Carthage* was deſtroyed.

The perfidious conduct of the Romans *expoſed.*

In whatever light we view the villainous conduct of the *Romans* at this juncture, it muſt appear as the reſult of a complication of all the bad qualities, that can be inherent in any ſtate. Perjury, cruelty, injuſtice, pride, meanneſs of ſpirit, and even cowardice itſelf, in the higheſt degree, are ſome of the principal of them. Neither can we conceive how it ſhould enter into the head of the author juſt cited, as well as of many others, that even the anceſtors of that profligate ſet of men we are now ſpeaking of, were ſo eminent for their *rectitude*, *greatneſs of ſoul*, and *public ſpirit*; at leaſt any of them but thoſe, who flouriſhed in the earlieſt times of the republic. Can any ſtate, that is continually graſping at univerſal empire, and aims at nothing but enſlaving all its neighbours, deſerve ſuch a ſhining character? And that the *Roman* republic had this ſolely in view, even almoſt from its very infancy, is evident from the moſt

partial of its own hiſtorians. That *public ſpirit*, if any criminal paſſion deſerves ſuch a noble appellation, which ſerves only to cement the members of a community together, in order to enable them the more effectually to plunder and maſſacre all the reſt of their ſpecies, is, at moſt, no better than that principle, which unites a gang of robbers and aſſaſſins. And whether the *Romans* in general were not, from very remote times, actuated by ſuch a *public ſpirit* as this, will eaſily be determined by thoſe who have been but moderately converſant with their writers. The beſt therefore, in our opinion, that can be ſaid of the *Romans* of the age we are now upon, is, that they were worſe than any preceding generation of one of the moſt hypocritical, tyrannical, ambitious, and conſequently worſt nations, we read of in hiſtory. We muſt leave it to the conſideration of our readers, whether their conduct has not been ſince equalled by that of a neighbouring nation, which has, for the beſt part of a century, been taught to diſtinguiſh between the *letter* and *ſpirit* of treaties, and which, with its liberty, ſeems to have loſt the very notion of all public virtues.

The operations of the Romans *againſt* Carthage.

BUT to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: the *Carthaginians*, having pacified *Aſdrubal*, one of their generals, who, for ſome contumelious treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thouſand men, almoſt to the gates of *Carthage*, in order to beſiege it, reduced moſt of the open country to their obedience. *Aſdrubal*, with his forces, poſted himſelf advantageouſly before the town, ſupplying the inhabitants daily with vaſt quantities of proviſions. At laſt the *Roman* army inveſted it, not doubting but it would fall an eaſy prey to them. *Manilius* attacked it by land, as *Marcius* did by ſea; and both of them puſhed on the ſiege with all the vigour they were capable of. But *Aſdrubal* greatly retarded their approaches, by cutting off their parties ſent to collect materials for framing the military machines; which he did, by drawing them inſenſibly into ambuſcades prepared for that purpoſe. *Manilius* therefore could make no conſiderable impreſſion on the city by land; and as *Marcius*, with the fleet, lay near the *ſtagnum* or great moraſs, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the ſeaſon, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The gariſon likewiſe repulſed the *Romans* in all the attacks they made, with the loſs of abundance of men, and, by their vigorous ſallies in the night, deſtroyed moſt of their works and battering-engines. *Aſdrubal* alſo, by his detachments, prevented their excurſions, and intercepted their foragers; ſo that their cavalry was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. As for *Maſiniſſa*, a miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the *Romans* hindered the junction of their forces; ſo that the conſuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at preſent, to draw off

off from before the town. *Marcius*, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coasts of *Africa*; but not being able to execute his design, he attacked the island *Ægimurus*, which surrendered to him. In the mean time *Manilius* moved towards the sea-coasts, to favour, as should seem, the operations of *Marcius*. But finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of *Carthage*, having been harassed in his march by *Himilco*, surnamed *Fabeas*, or, according to *Appian*, *Phameas*, general of the *Carthaginian* horse. However, the siege went on very slowly, *Asdrubal* closely attending him, and destroying great numbers of his men on one side, whilst the besieged made an equal havock of them on the other, by their continual sallies. The *Romans* were only in possession of *Saxus*, *Leptis*, *Cholla*, and *Utica*; so that they were not a little straightened for want of provisions. We are told by *Appian*, that *Censorinus* played one vast ram against the walls with six thousand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whose officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement. However, though a great breach was made, he could not storm the place, the *Carthaginians*, after having repulsed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the *Carthaginians* afterwards burnt the *Roman* fleet, and *Scipio Æmilianus* saved the *Roman* army, when it was upon the very brink of destruction, may be learnt from *Appian*, as well as a former part of this history [w].

In the mean time *Masinissa*, drawing near his end, dispatched a courier to *Æmilianus*, to apprise him of it, and to divide the dominions he was possessed of betwixt his three sons, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Mastanabal*, as well as to assist them with his advice. This *Scipio* executed in the most prudent and equitable manner, as we shall see in the *Numidian* history. Whilst this was transacting, *Manilius* reduced the strong city of *Tezaga*, and gave the enemy a great defeat there, putting twelve thousand of them to the sword, and taking six thousand prisoners. Some other places of strength he likewise made himself master of before the conclusion of the campaign [x].

The Carthaginians, about this time, sustained a considerable loss by the desertion of *Phameas*, one of their best commanders, who went over to the *Romans*, after he had had an interview with *Æmilianus*, at the head of a body of two thousand two hundred horse. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the destruction of *Carthage*. For the particulars of this transaction, we must refer our readers to *Appian* [y].

Phameas *deserts the* Carthaginians.

[w] Liv. Appian. Flor. Plut. Aurel. Vict. de vir. illustr. 58. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. ubi sup.
[x] Polyb. in excerpt. Vales. p. 175. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2. Appian. Zonar. Oros. ubi sup. [y] Appian. ubi sup. Vide & Liv. epit. l. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 10. & Zonar. ubi supra.

The

The Carthaginians *obtain ſome advantages over the* Romans.

THE next campaign, the conſul *Calpurnius Piſo*, and his lieutenant *Mancinus*, conducted the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* were ſo ſtrong this year, that they obtained ſeveral advantages over the *Romans*, and, towards the cloſe of it, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Hippo Zaritus*, which they had carried on the whole ſummer, after having burnt all their military machines. As for the ſiege of *Carthage*, that, for the preſent, ſeemed to be at a ſtand. The beſieged applied to *Andriſcus*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*, for aſſiſtance, or at leaſt for a diverſion in their favour, by purſuing the war he was then engaged in againſt the *Romans* with vigour. In order the more ſtrongly to excite him to this, they promiſed him powerful ſupplies both of money and ſhips. However, they received no aſſiſtance from that quarter, the reaſon of which, as well as all the moſt important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place [z].

Bithyas, *with a body of* Numidian *horſe, comes over to the* Carthaginians.

THE *Carthaginian* army, having been reinforced the preceding year with a body of eight hundred *Numidian* horſe, whoſe leader *Bithyas* had prevailed upon them to deſert *Guluſſa*, and the acceſſion of ſome other troops from *Carthage*, began to move very early out of its winter-quarters. As it had been obſerved, that neither *Micipſa* nor *Maſtanabal*, *Maſiniſſa*'s other ſons, had ſent any ſupplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithſtanding they had, for a long time paſt, promiſed them ſuch ſupplies, the *Carthaginians* reſumed their former courage, ſcoured the open country, and put all their places of ſtrength in the beſt poſture of defence. The advantages they had gained at *Nepheris* and *Hippo*, and the enemy's inability to puſh on the ſiege of *Carthage*, though the city was, in a manner, diſmantled, and the inhabitants diſarmed, inſpired them with a reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood. They ſent embaſſadors to *Micipſa*, *Maſtanabal*, and the independent *Mauritanian* princes, in order to form a powerful alliance againſt the *Romans*, inſinuating to thoſe princes, that, ſhould the *African* republic be once ſubverted by that haughty people, they muſt ſoon expect to meet with the ſame fate. *Aſdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general without the town, about this time, deſiring the command of the troops within the city, poſſeſſed by another *Aſdrubal*, *Guluſſa*'s nephew, accuſed him falſly of a deſign to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent perſon was ſo thunder-ſtruck with the accuſation, which came intirely unlooked for, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; ſo that he was inſtantly diſpatched upon the ſpot, without any further proceſs [a].

[z] APPIAN. ubi ſupra. LIV. epit. I. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 29, 30.
[a] APPIAN. ubi ſup. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 30.

SOON

Soon after *Piſo*, with a body of troops, reduced ſome of the inland towns, leaving *Mancinus*, with the other part of the army, to continue the ſiege of *Carthage*. *Mancinus*, obſerving one part of the wall, which, by reaſon of its rocky ſituation, ſeemed inacceſſible, not guarded, found means to ſcale it, and take poſt in the town, with three thouſand five hundred men. But the *Carthaginians* not only prevented any ill conſequences from this lodgment, but likewiſe cut off his retreat, and ſo ſurrounded him, that he muſt either have been deſtroyed, or ſtarved to a ſurrender, had not *Æmilianus* in the critical moment relieved him. This ſo diſheartened the *Carthaginians*, that they abandoned ſeveral poſts; which encouraged *Æmilianus* to make an attack upon *Megara*, a part of the city, which our readers will find already deſcribed. This was begun at midnight, by a ſelect body of troops, who had provided themſelves with axes, levers, and ſcaling-ladders, being led by the general himſelf. They advanced ſeveral ſtadia without the leaſt noiſe; but at laſt gave a ſudden and general ſhout, which ſtruck the enemy, who did not expect a viſit at ſo unſeaſonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themſelves, they oppoſed the aſſailants with ſuch bravery, that *Æmilianus* found it impoſſible to mount the ramparts. But at laſt perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence deſcending into *Megara*, they immediately broke down the gates. Upon which *Æmilianus* entering with four thouſand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themſelves obliged to retreat to *Byrſa*, in as great a conſternation as if the whole city had been taken, being followed even by the forces, that were encamped without the town. *Aſdrubal*, finding the next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined; and, either to gratify his reſentment, or to reduce the beſieged to a ſtate of deſperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of reſolution in the defence of the place, maſſacred all the *Roman* priſoners he had taken, in the manner we have already related [b].

Æmilianus takes Megara.

Whilst *Aſdrubal* was thus venting his fury upon the *Roman* captives, and even murdering many *Carthaginian* ſenators, who had been ſo brave as to oppoſe his tyranny, *Æmilianus* was buſy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation croſs the iſthmus, which joined the peninſula, whereon *Carthage* ſtood, to the continent of *Africa*. That part of theſe lines, which fronted the city of *Carthage*, was ſtrengthened by a wall twenty-

And fortifies his camp.

[b] Polyb. in excerptis Valeſii, p. 179. Appian. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 377, 378.

five

five ſtadia long, and twelve feet high, flanked at proper diſtances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be ſeen whatever was doing in the city. The enemy, who were within a dart's caſt of it, made their utmoſt efforts to put a ſtop to the work; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermiſſion, it was finiſhed in twenty-four days. The *Carthaginians* were doubly incommoded by this work; firſt, as it ſecured the *Roman* forces againſt their ſallies; and ſecondly, as *Æmilianus* thereby cut off all proviſions from them; which diſtreſſed them exceedingly. *Bithyas* indeed, who had been ſent out to collect corn before *Æmilianus* made himſelf maſter of *Megara*, arrived ſoon after the conſul had perfected his lines; but he durſt not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by ſea ſome ſmall quantities to *Aſdrubal*, who diſtributed what he received amongſt his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general ſeems to have been induced to this by the oppoſition he met with from the ſenators, who, being highly incenſed at his enormous cruelty to the *Roman* priſoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and, inſtead of encouraging, diſheartened the troops, cried out, *That ſuch an unjuſtifiable proceeding was highly unſeaſonable at a juncture, when they were ready to ſink under the preſſure of the public calamities*. A famine therefore enſued, which not a little contributed to the deſtruction of the city [c].

The Carthaginians again worſted.

THE beſieged found themſelves already reduced to great ſtreights. But the progreſs *Æmilianus* had lately made in an attempt to ſtop up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already ſhut up by the *Roman* fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy proſpect, than any thing that had yet happened to them. Being extremely alarmed, they reſolved to take ſuch meaſures, as might, if poſſible, defeat the enemy's deſign. Setting therefore all hands to work, with an induſtry ſcarce to be paralleled, they dug a new baſon, and opened a communication with the ſea; which enabled them to make head againſt the enemy once more upon that element. For, with the ſame diligence, they fitted out a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vaſt number of other veſſels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch an impenetrable ſecrecy, that *Æmilianus* entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it, till he ſaw their ſquadron appear at ſea. Then his ſurprize was ſo great, thinking it impoſſible, that ſo weak an enemy ſhould, as it were, in an inſtant become ſo formidable, that, *Appian* believes, the *Carthaginians* might have totally ruined the *Roman*

[c] Idem ibid.

fleet, had they immediately attacked it. This seems to have been no unreasonable supposition, because, as no such blow was expected, and every man otherwise employed, the *Carthaginians* would have found the *Roman* vessels destitute of rowers, soldiers and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to an action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preserving every thing dear and valuable to them, the other of finishing a conquest, which had cost them such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the *Carthaginian* brigantines, gliding along under the large *Roman* ships, broke to pieces many of their sterns, rudders, and oars; and, if at any time they found themselves pushed, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. The dispute continued with equal success till the evening, when the *Carthaginians* thought proper to retire, not under any apprehension of the enemy's superiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter vessels, being extremely swift and numerous, soon occupied the harbour, and, by their multitude, shut up the mouth of it. So that those of a larger size were excluded from thence, and obliged to take shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, and on the side whereof a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but at last, by the conduct and bravery of five gallies of *Sida*, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to retire, and sail for shelter to the city. The next morning *Æmilianus* attacked the terrace; but was repulsed with prodigious slaughter by the besieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by assault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built close to those of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finished, he commanded four thousand men to mount it, and discharge showers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to insult and annoy them. As the troops on each side were upon a level, there was scarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The last action concluded the military operations of this campaign [d].

Lælius gives Diogenes a great overthrow.

In order the more effectually to cut off supplies of every kind from the besieged, *Æmilianus* formed a design to reduce the places of strength the *Carthaginians* had still in their hands, particularly *Nepheris*. Here they had a numerous body of forces strongly encamped, commanded by *Diogenes*, one of *Asdrubal's*

[d] Iidem ibid. & Liv. in epit. li. Flor. l. ii. c. 15.

intimate

intimate friends, who, by means of the new baſon above-mentioned, ſent continual convoys of proviſions to *Carthage*. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by perſons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accompliſhed by a body of troops under the conduct of *Lælius*, ſupported by *Guluſſa*'s *Numidian* horſe. By the activity of theſe laſt, and the violence of the *Numidian* elephants, the whole *Carthaginian* army, conſiſting of eighty-four thouſand men, was either cut to pieces, or taken priſoners, except four thouſand, who diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring villages. This happened before *Æmilianus* reſumed the operations againſt the city of *Carthage*, and induced the *Africans*, who were kept in awe by *Diogenes*, to abandon the *Carthaginians* [e].

Æmilianus takes Byrſa, and deſtroys Carthage.

Year of the flood 2202. Bef. Chriſt 146. Of Rome 602.

SOON after *Æmilianus* formed two attacks, one againſt *Byrſa*, and the other againſt the *Cothon*. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall, which ſurrounded the port or *Cothon*, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city, that was near it; but the night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his ſoldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thouſand men from the camp, who, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of *Apollo*, which was immenſely rich, and divided the booty amongſt themſelves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance againſt the enemy. *Æmilianus*, by the occupation of this ſquare, and poſſeſſion of the wall, being maſter of every part of the city, but *Byrſa* or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this laſt with inexpreſſible bravery. The *Carthaginians* having been greatly weakened by a famine, inſomuch that they had been obliged to feed, for ſome time, upon human fleſh, and had ſcarce ſtrength to handle their arms, he, in ſix days, effected this. However, in the conteſt he loſt a vaſt number of men, and gained his point with the utmoſt difficulty. Moſt of thoſe who had fled into *Byrſa*, were ſo intimidated at the approach of the *Roman* army, that they ſurrendered upon the proconſul's granting them their lives. *Aſdrubal*, the commandant, ſoon after abandoned the reſt of them, and put himſelf into the hands of the *Romans*. His wife could not ſurvive ſuch an inſtance of perfidiouſneſs, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred *Roman* deſerters, to whom *Æmilianus* had denied mercy, committed herſelf, as well as her children, to the flames, that deſtroyed both the citadel, and the famous temple of *Æſculapius* upon it. *Appian* tells us, that, before ſhe acted this tragedy, ſhe appeared in ſplendid attire, with her children, upon the walls, and addreſſed herſelf to *Scipio* in terms to the following effect: "May the

[e] LIV. & APPIAN. ubi ſupra.

"gods,

" gods, *Roman*, be propitious to you, who act according to the " rules of war! but may you, and the *Genius* of *Carthage*, " take vengeance of that miſcreant *Aſdrubal*, the betrayer of " his wife, children, country, and religion!" Then turning to *Aſdrubal*, who ſtood by *Æmilianus*, " Abandoned villain, " ſaid ſhe, and moſt cowardly of mortals! both I, and theſe " my children, ſhall be ſoon buried in theſe flames; but as for " you, great general of *Carthage*, what a ſplendid triumph will " you be reſerved to grace! What tortures may you not expect " to ſuffer!" This put a period to the ſtate of *Carthage*, and conſequently to the diſpute for the empire of the world, which had continued, almoſt without intermiſſion, betwixt two of the moſt famous republics to be met with in hiſtory, for the ſpace of an hundred and eighteen years. *Carthage*, after this, was demoliſhed, in purſuance of the orders ſent by the conſcript fathers to the proconſul. The cities confederated with it were diſmantled, and thoſe that had declared for the *Romans* rewarded. *Africa Propria* was alſo reduced to the form of a *Roman* province. But of theſe things, as well as of the cataſtrophe we are now upon, our readers will find a full and ample account in the *Roman* hiſtory [f].

THUS fell *Carthage*, in the conſulate of *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*, about an hundred and forty-ſix years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra; a city, whoſe deſtruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, compoſed of the moſt profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its villainous rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The treaſure *Æmilianus* carried off, even after the city had been delivered up to the ſoldiers to be plundered, according to the *Roman* military law, was ſo immenſe, that it exceeded all belief, *Pliny* making it amount to four (D) millions *He carries off an immenſe quantity of plunder to* Rome.

[f] *Iidem* ibid. ut & ZONAR. ubi ſup. Vide etiam VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. OROS. l. iv. c. 23. FLOR. & AUREL. VICT. ubi ſup. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 12. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 378--385.

(D) This was not the only treaſure *Æmilianus* met with now in *Carthage*. According to *Salluſt*, he preſerved from the flames ſeveral valuable libraries, which he preſented to the ſons of *Micipſa*. The works of all the moſt noted *Phœnician* and *Punic* authors were undoubtedly included in theſe collections, ſome of the principal of which, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were the following:

1. *Dius*, a celebrated *Phœnician* hiſtorian, a fragment of whoſe work, relating to the friendly intercourſe betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, has been preſerved to us by *Joſephus*, in the eighth book of his antiquities, and the firſt of his treatiſe againſt *Apion*.

2. *Eu-*

millions four hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds weight of ſilver. The iniquity of the *Roman* conduct at the commencement, as well as through the whole courſe, of this war, is acknowleged by *Velleius*, and other hiſtorians, who cannot be ſuſpected of the leaſt partiality in favour of the *Carthaginians*. In fine, *Rome*, though in a manner, miſtreſs of the world, could

2. *Eumachus*, a *Carthaginian* writer, cited by *Phlegon*, who, amongſt other things, related, that, whilſt the *Carthaginians* were drawing a line round *Africa Propria*, they diſcovered two human ſkeletons, depoſited in two coffins, of an enormous ſize. One of theſe, according to *Phlegon*, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto diſcovered.

3. *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, who, according to *Freculphus Lexovienſis*, a chronological hiſtorian, that lived near nine hundred years ago, wrote a hiſtory of *Phœnicia*. For a further account of him, we muſt refer our readers to *Voſſius*.

4. *Hiſtiæus Mileſius*, a compiler of *Phœnician* hiſtory, taken notice of by *Joſephus*, in the firſt book of his *Jewiſh* antiquities.

5. *Hypſicrates*, a native, as ſhould ſeem, of *Phœnicia*, who compoſed a hiſtory of that country in the *Phœnician* language. A *Greek* tranſlation of this author, done by one *Chætus*, if not the original itſelf, was extant in the time of *Tatian*. He is likewiſe taken notice of by *Euſebius*, in the tenth book of his *Præparatio evangelica*.

6. *Iolaus*, a compiler of *Phœnician* hiſtory, whoſe works were all loſt, except a few fragments, which ſeem intirely fabulous. From what *Bochart*, *Geſner*, and *Voſſius*, have related of him, the loſs of his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. *Mochus* or *Moſchus*, a *Phœnician*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country in his mother-tongue. *Chætus* above-mentioned tranſlated this piece into *Greek*. *Joſephus*, *Tatian*, and *Athenæus*, ſupply us with the ſhort account we have of him.

8. *Moſchus Sidonius*, a native of *Sidon*, who, according to *Strabo*, ſeems to have been the founder of the atomical philoſophy.

9. *Procles*, a *Carthaginian* hiſtorian, ſome of whoſe fragments have been preſerved to us by *Pauſanias*.

10. *Sanchoniatho*, a *Phœnician* hiſtorian, who, according to the moſt received opinion, lived a little before the ſiege of *Troy*. He extracted his hiſtory, which was written in the *Phœnician* language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the ſacred writings depoſited in temples. *Philo* of *Byblus*, who, according to *Suidas*, lived in the reign of *Hadrian*, tranſlated this hiſtory into *Greek*, ſome extracts of which we find in the firſt book of *Euſebius*'s *Præparatio evangelica*. *Suidas* informs us, that he wrote one treatiſe of the religious inſtitutions of the *Phœnicians*; another of *Hermes*'s phyſiology; and a third of the *Egyptian* theology. *Porphyry* makes him to have been of *Berytus*; but he was of *Tyre*, if we will give credit to *Athenæus*.

11.

could not imagine herſelf in a ſtate of ſecurity, as long as even the name of *Carthage* remained; ſo true is it, that a riveted antipathy, fomented by long and bloody wars, continues even after all cauſe for fear is removed, and does not ceaſe, till the object that occaſions it is no more. The *Romans* ordered it never to be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any part of it, eſpecially *Byrſa* and *Megara*. However, all perſons who deſired it, were admitted to ſee *Carthage*, nothing affording *Æmilianus* a higher ſatisfaction, than to have people view the ruins of a city, which had contended with *Rome* for ſuperiority ſuch a number of years. The *Carthaginian* priſoners, ſent to *Rome*, were diſtributed in the various provinces of *Italy*, as already related. In confirmation of what we have advanced above concerning the duration of *Carthage*, we muſt here beg leave to obſerve, that *Syncellus* aſſerts this city to have ſtood ſeven hundred and forty-eight years; which almoſt intirely correſponds with Sir *Iſaac Newton*, *Salmaſius*, *Petavius*, &c. and therefore may be conſidered as an additional argument in favour of what thoſe great men have offered on that head [g].

ABOUT twenty-four years after this ſtately metropolis had been laid in aſhes by *Æmilianus*, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate, *C. Gracchus*, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himſelf with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, to that end, conducted thither a colony of ſix thouſand *Roman* citizens. The workmen, according to *Plutarch*, were terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations, of the new city; which the ſenate being informed of, would have ſuſpended the attempt. But the

Carthage *afterwards rebuilt by the* Romans *themſelves.*

[g] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxxiii. c. 11. VELL. PATERC. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. POLYB. in excerpt. legat. cxviii. APPIAN. ubi ſup. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. GEORG. SYNCELL. in chronograph. p. 293. Vide D. AUGUST. de civ. Dei, iii. 41. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 324. AUG. de civ. Dei, iii. 21. THEMIST. in orat. x. de pac. ad Valent. alioſq; mult.

11. *Theodotus*, a writer of *Phœnician* hiſtory, whoſe performance *Chœtus* tranſlated into *Greek*. Our readers will find every thing relating to him, that antiquity has ſupplied us with, in *Bochart* and *Voſſius* (4).

(4) *Strab. l.* xvi. *& alib. Joſeph. antiq. & cont. Apion. paſſ. Euſeb. in præp. evang. paſſ. Heſtiæus Mileſius apud Joſeph. in antiq. Judaic. l.* iii. *Phlegon. Trallian. de reb. mirabil. c.* 18. *Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* iii. iv. *& alib. Tatian. in orat. adverſ. gent. Voſſ. de art. hiſtor. c.* 7. *& de hiſt. Græc. l.* iii. *Geſn. in biblioth. & Bochart. in Chan. Suid. paſſ. Porphyr. adverſ. Chriſtian. l.* iv. *Vide etiam Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. Bochart. in Chan. Caſaub. animadverſ. in Athen. Reinec. hiſt. Jul. Chriſt. Hendr. de repub. Carthagin. paſſ. alioſq; ſcript. quamplurim.*

tribune, little affected with ſuch preſages, continued carrying on the work, and finiſhed it in a few days. From hence it ſeems probable, that only a ſlight kind of huts were erected, eſpecially ſince we are told by *Velleius*, that *Marius*, after his flight into *Africa*, lived in a poor, mean condition amidſt the ruins of *Carthage*, conſoling himſelf by the ſight of ſo aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle, and himſelf at the ſame time ſerving, in ſome meaſure, as a conſolation to that ill-fated city. But whether *Gracchus* executed his deſign, as *Plutarch* intimates, or the work was intirely diſcontinued, in compliance with the ſenate's orders, as *Appian* ſuggeſts, it is certain this was the firſt *Roman* colony, that ever was ſent out of *Italy* [h].

And, after various turns of fortune, is at laſt raſed by the Saracens.

APPIAN relates, that *Julius Cæſar*, having landed his forces in *Africa*, to put an end to the war with *Pompey*'s adherents there, ſaw, in a dream, an army compoſed of a prodigious number of ſoldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him. Being ſtruck with the viſion, he wrote down in his pocket-book the deſign he formed, on this occaſion, of rebuilding *Carthage* and *Corinth*. But, being murdered ſoon after in the *curia* at *Rome* by the conſpirators, he was not able to execute it. However, ſays the ſame author, *Auguſtus Cæſar*, his adopted ſon, finding this memoir amongſt his papers, built a city at ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſpot on which antient *Carthage* ſtood, which he called by the ſame name, in order to avoid the ill effects of thoſe imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its deſtruction. Thither he ſent a colony of three thouſand men, who were ſoon joined by conſiderable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by *Appian*, is not ſo conſiſtent with what we find advanced by *Strabo*, who intimates, that both *Carthage* and *Corinth* were rebuilt at the ſame time by *Julius Cæſar*. It is certain this laſt author, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Tiberius*, affirms *Carthage* in his time to have been equal, if not ſuperior, to the largeſt city in *Africa*; which can ſcarce be admitted, if we ſuppoſe it to have been built by *Auguſtus*, after the concluſion of all his wars; and, till that time, it is not natural to ſuppoſe him to have built it. Be that as it will, *Plutarch* follows *Strabo*, and therefore, in oppoſition to *Appian*, gives a ſanction to his authority. *Pliny* mentions it as a very conſiderable colony in his days, though the town then was not of ſo large an extent, as that deſtroyed by *Æmilianus*. *Solinus* gives us to underſtand, that the town built by *Gracchus* was called *Junonia*, and, for ſome time of little note, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the conſulate of *M.*

[h] APPIAN. ubi ſup. PLUT. in Gracch. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 19. LIV. in epit. lx.

Antonius

Antonius and *P. Dolabella*, it made ſuch a figure, that it was eſteemed the ſecond city in the *Roman* dominions; which, in our opinion, adds ſome weight to the laſt obſervation of *Strabo*. It was looked upon as the capital of *Africa* for ſeveral centuries after the commencement of the Chriſtian æra. *Maxentius* laid it in aſhes about the ſixth or ſeventh year of *Conſtantine*'s reign. *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, took it *A. C.* 439. but, about a century afterwards, it was reannexed to the *Roman* empire by that renowned commander *Beliſarius*. At laſt the *Saracens*, under *Mohammed*'s ſucceſſors, towards the cloſe of the ſeventh century, ſo completely deſtroyed it, that no other traces or footſteps of it are now to be diſcovered, than thoſe we have already taken notice of in the firſt ſection of the *Carthaginian* hiſtory [1].

[1] APPIAN. in Libyc. ſub fin. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 833. PLUT. in Cæſ. DIO CASS. l. xliii. & l. lii. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. SOLIN. c. 27. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 21. OROS. l. v. c. 12. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 229. MARMOL. l. ii. c. 9, 10. De BERN. ALDRET. in var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. Afric. y otras provinc. l. iv. c. 25. p. 619, 620.

CHAP. XIV.

The Hiſtory of the Numidians, *to the Conqueſt of their Country by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Numidia.

THE limits of the region, called *Numidia*, have been differently defined by the antient geographers. *Pliny* gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers *Tuſca* and *Ampſaga*; which includes the *Numidia Nova* of *Ptolemy*, together with the diſtrict of the *Cirteſii*. *Mela* affirms it to have extended from the river *Molochath* or *Mulucha*, to the borders of *Africa Propria*, which he ſeems to have fixed at a ſmall diſtance from the city of *Cirta*. But its boundaries are certainly the beſt aſcertained by *Strabo*, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Dio*, makes it to have comprehended the kingdoms of the *Maſſyli* and *Maſæſyli*, the laſt of which was bounded on the weſt by the *Mulucha*, as the firſt was on the eaſt by the *Tuſca*. *Dionyſius Afer*, *Silius Italicus*, and *Appian*, as well as the former hiſtorians, add no ſmall weight to *Strabo*; for which reaſon, our readers will permit us to give a *The limits of* Numidia.

geographical deſcription of *Numidia* upon the plan he has laid down [a].

Numidia *had different bounds aſſigned it at different times.*

NUMIDIA then was limited on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the ſouth by *Gætulia*, or part of *Libya Interior*; on the weſt by the *Mulucha*, which ſeparated it from *Mauritania*; and on the eaſt by the *Tuſca*, a boundary it had in common with *Africa Propria*. If we ſuppoſe *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Mulucha*, *Molochath*, and the preſent *Mullooïah* of the *Algerines* to be the ſame river, and the modern *Zaine* to correſpond with the antient *Tuſca*, as the learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* ſeems to have rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length. For *Twunt*, the weſtern *Algerine* frontier, about fifty miles to the eaſt of the former river, was in 0° 16′ W. long. from *London*, and *Tabarka*, the antient *Tabraca*, upon the latter, in 9° 16′ to the eaſt of that city. The breadth cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained. But, ſuppoſing it to have been nearly the ſame with that of the preſent kingdom of *Algiers*, as there is good reaſon to apprehend it was, in the narroweſt part it muſt have been about forty miles, that being the diſtance near *Tlemſan* from the deſert or *Sahara* to the ſea-coaſt, and above a hundred in the broadeſt, *Jijel* being in N. lat. 36° 55′, and *Lowtaiah*, ſituated amongſt the mountains of *Atlas*, in 34° 50′. In the *Carthaginian* times, *Numidia* contained two conſiderable nations, the moſt powerful of which, according to *Strabo*, was called the *Maſſyli*, and the other the *Maſæſyli* or *Maſſæſyli*. The country inhabited by the *Maſſæſyli* is, by ſome authors, eſteemed a part of *Mauritania*; but *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Straba*, whoſe authority will bear down that of all other writers, in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was conſidered as appertaining to *Mauritania* in after-ages by the *Romans*, we learn from *Dio*, who not only intimates this, but likewiſe aſſerts, that it had the name of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* given it by the emperor *Claudius* [b].

The extent of Numidia.

NUMIDIA, including *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, or that of the *Maſæſyli*, extended from 34° 5′ to 37° N. lat. and from 1° 15′ W. to 9° 16′ E. of *London*. *Ptolemy* is as inaccurate and erroneous in his geography of this country, as we have before ſhewn him to be in that of *Africa Propria*. For he places *The Great*

[a] PLIN. l. v. c. 3. PTOL. l. iv. c. 2. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 6. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. POLYB. l. iii. c. 33. LIV. l. xxiv. c. 48. & l. xxviii. c. 17. DIO CASS. l. xli. p. 172. DIONYS. PERIEG. ver. 187. SIL. ITAL. l. xvi. ver. 170, & 183. APPIAN. in civil. l. iv. p. 995, & alib. [b] PLIN. MEL. STRAB. PTOL. &c. ubi ſup. DIO CASS. l. lx. p. 671. Is. VOSS. in Mel. ubi ſup. Dr. SHAW's geographical obſervations of Algiers, c. 1.

Promontory in 35°, and the *Ampſaga* in 31° 45′ N. lat. and ſo in proportion of the interjacent places, whereby that part of the coaſt is laid down nearly in an E. S. E. direction; whereas, according to the lateſt obſervations, to the *Promontorium Apollinis* it is N. E. and from thence to the *Ampſaga* inclining to the N. In ſhort, according to the ſame obſervations, *Ptolemy* differs ſo widely from the truth in the whole, that thoſe places, which he has fixed in a ſouthern inclination, ſhould have had a northern one; and *The Great Promontory*, which he has placed 3° 15′ to the northward of the *Ampſaga*, is really 1° 37′ S. of it. Several places likewiſe of this country he has put five degrees farther ſouth, than, in fact, they are found to be. The region formerly poſſeſſed by the *Maſſyli*, from the moſt accurate obſervations of the moderns, in conjunction with the hints given us by the antients, ſeems to have extended itſelf from 34° 50′ to 37° N. lat. and from 6° 30′ to 9° 16′ E. long. from *London*. From hence the ſituation and extent of the *Maſæſylian* kingdom may likewiſe be eaſily determined [c].

THE country of the *Maſſyli*, *Numidia Propria*, or, as ſome authors call it, *Terra Metagonitis*, was ſeparated from the proper territory of *Carthage* by its eaſtern boundary the river *Tuſca*, from the kingdom of the *Maſæſyli*, or *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, if we will believe *Pliny*, by the *Ampſaga*. It ſeems to correſpond with that part of the province of *Conſtantina* lying between the *Zaine* and the *Wed el Kibeer*, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The ſea-coaſt of this province is, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky, anſwering appoſitely enough to the appellation given it by *Abulfeda*, viz. *El Adwah*, *the high* or *lofty*. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories, that formed the kingdom of the *Maſæſyli*, though this nation is repreſented as leſs potent than the *Maſſyli* by *Strabo*. We ſhall only mention ſuch of the principal places ſeated in it, as have been taken the greateſt notice of by the antients, the bounds we have preſcribed ourſelves obliging us, at preſent, to paſs over all the reſt [d]. *The country of the Maſſyli.*

THE capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was *Cirta*, a place of very conſiderable note amongſt the antients. It ſtood about forty-eight miles from the ſea, and at a ſmall diſtance from the *Ampſaga*. According to *Strabo*, it was a fortreſs of great ſtrength, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of *Micipſa*, who invited a good number of *Greeks* to come and reſide in it. *Mela* and *Pliny* intimate, that it was likewiſe known by the name of Cirta.

[c] PTOL. & SHAW, ubi ſup.
PTOL. ubi ſup. ABULFED. in geogr. ex traduct. V. C. I. Gagnier.
SHAW, ubi ſup. c. 7. & alib.

[d] STRAB. l. ii. PLIN. MEL.

Sittianorum Colonia in their time, and in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, when under the dominion of *Syphax*. The latter name it received from the colony ſettled there by *P. Sittius*, who, having been of ſingular ſervice to *Cæſar* in the *African* war, received a great extent of territory in thoſe parts, which formerly belonged to *Manaſſes*, one of *Juba*'s confederates, from that prince, as we learn from *Appian* and *Dio*. For which reaſon we find it called *Cirta Julia* by *Ptolemy*, who names the territory adjacent to it, *the diſtrict of the* Cirteſii, which he ſeparates from *Numidia*, making it to include the cities of *Vaga*, *Miræum*, *Lares*, *Ætara*, and *Azama*. That *Cirta* was one of the largeſt, as well as ſtrongeſt, cities of *Numidia*, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, and its ſituation. For the greateſt part of it was built upon a kind of peninſular promontory, inacceſſible on all ſides, except towards the ſouth-weſt. This promontory was a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the ſouthward, but terminating in a precipice of a northern direction, and above an hundred fathom in perpendicular. Here a beautiful landſkip aroſe from a moſt agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themſelves to a great diſtance. To the eaſtward the proſpect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the ſouth-eaſt, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of *Cirta* with a diſtant view of the high mountain, called at preſent *Ziganeah*, as well as thoſe large and fertile eminences, whoſe modern name is *Seedy Rougeiſe*. The peninſular promontory above-mentioned, in the direction we are now upon, was ſeparated from the neighbouring plains by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both ſides, where a rivulet, that ſeems to have been a branch of the *Ampſaga*, the modern *Rummel* of the *Algerines*, conveyed its ſtream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of moſt excellent workmanſhip. The iſthmus, near which ſtood the principal gate of the city, is about half a ſtadium broad, being intirely covered at preſent with a ſeries of broken walls, ciſterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a ſmall plain paralled to the valley above deſcribed. The moſt eminent fragments of antiquity ſtill remaining are, 1. A particular ſet of ciſterns near the centre of the city, being about twenty in number, and forming an area of fifty yards ſquare. 2. The aqueduct, whoſe remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the ciſterns, ſufficiently demonſtrate the wealth, public ſpirit, and magnificence of the *Numidian* princes, who held their reſidence here. 3. Part of a large and noble edifice, four of whoſe baſes, ſeven foot in diameter, ſtill in their places, ſeem to have formed part of the portico. This ſtands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the

place

place where the *Turkiſh* gariſon of *Conſtantina* is always poſted. That name was given *Cirta* in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, who repaired and adorned it, according to *Aurelius Victor*. *Cirta* was the metropolis of *Maſiniſſa*'s dominions, that prince himſelf, his father *Gala*, and ſeveral other kings of the ſame family, reſiding there, as we learn from *Polybius*, *Livy*, and others. *Strabo* informs us, that *Micipſa* took care to render it ſo large, populous, and flouriſhing, that, in his time, it could ſend into the field an army of twenty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. From its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, and founded by the *Phœnicians*, even before *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa*. For *Cirta* or *Certa* ſeems to have ſignified *city* in the *Phœnician* language when *Hercules* built *Carteia*, about the time that he firſt came into theſe parts, as we learn from *Heſychius*, who tells us, that one of his names was *Melicerta*, i.e. *king of* Certa, Cirta, or *the city*. We have likewiſe already obſerved, that the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, when expelled their native country by *Joſhua*, fled into *Numidia*; and that ſeveral proper names of places here were *Phœnician*. Nay, we have, from ſome good authors, rendered it probable, that the *Phœnicians* ſettled in *Numidia* and *Mauritania* long before the *Iſraelites* made themſelves maſters of the land of *Canaan*. It may not be improper to add, that the antient *Cirta* was much larger than the modern *Conſtantina*, which is about 6° 36′ eaſt of *London*, and in north latitude 36° 20′ [e].

VAGA, a large city, according to *Ptolemy*, ſtood a few miles eaſt of *Cirta*. *Plutarch* calls it *Baga*, and *Salluſt Vacca*; which is the name likewiſe given it by *Silius*, *Pliny*, and St. *Auſtin*. The *Romans* placed a ſtrong gariſon here under the command of *Turpilius*, as we learn from *Salluſt* and *Plutarch* [f]. Vaga.

LARES, a town ſouth-eaſt of *Cirta*, has been taken notice of by *Ptolemy*. Some think it different from that in the itinerary called *Laribus Colonia*, or, according to *Schottus*, *Laribum Colonia*. This place is mentioned by *Salluſt*, and other antient authors [g]. Lares.

AZAMA, a town which *Ptolemy* makes to be fifteen days journey diſtant from *Carthage*, lay ſouth-eaſt of *Cirta*. Some Azama.

[e] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. MEL. ubi ſup. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. DIO CASS. l. xliii. ſub init. APPIAN. in civil. l. iv. p. 996. LIV. l. xxx. c. 12, & alib. SALLUST. in Jugurth. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 259, & alib. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 3. SHAW ubi ſup. c. 8. Vide etiam PLUT. in Mario, p. 409. HESYCH. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 2. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 233. [f] SALLUST. PLUT. & PTOL. ubi ſup. Vide etiam D. AUGUST. cont. Donatiſt. l. iii. c. 6. [g] SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 90. PTOL. ubi ſup. D. AUGUST. cont. Donatiſt. l. vi. c. 28.

authors imagine this to be the ſame with *Zama*, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the ſignal defeat *Hannibal* received near it. But this is rendered improbable by *Livy* and *Polybius*, who fix *Zama* on a ſpot much nearer *Carthage*. *Miræum* and *Ætara*, the other two places in the diſtrict of the *Cirteſii*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, are ſo obſcure, that it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned them [h].

Collops Magnus.

ABOUT eighteen miles from the *Ampſaga*, at the weſtern bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, or, as it is now called, the gulph of *Stora*, ſtood the *Cullu*, or *Collops Magnus*, of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. There is nothing remaining at preſent of this antient city, but a few miſerable houſes, and a ſmall fort. The modern name is *Cull*, which, as well as the antient, might be derived from a ſmall port before it, *Culla* in *Arabic* and *Phœnician* ſignifying *a port*. At the eaſtern extremity of the ſame gulph was the *Kuſicada* of *Ptolemy*, the *Sgigata* or *Stora* of the moderns. A few ciſterns, converted at preſent into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity diſcernible in it. The antient geographers have fixed it fifty or ſixty *Roman* miles from *Cullu*; whereas in reality it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet ſeems to be the *Tapſas* of *Vibius Sequeſter* [i].

Tacatua.

NOT many miles to the north-eaſt ſtood the *Tacatua* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary, the *Tuckuſh* of the *Algerines*, at preſent a pleaſant village, with a fruitful country round about it. At ſome diſtance from it, in an eaſtern direction, was the *Sulluco* or *Collops Parvus* of *Ptolemy*, the modern ſmall port of *Tagodeite* [k].

Hippo Regius.

AT the weſtern extremity of the gulph of *Hippo*, upon the river *Armua*, was the citty of *Hippo Regius*, a place we have had occaſion to mention frequently in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* hiſtory. Upon the ſpot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is ſtill to be ſeen. According to *Leo Africanus*, the city of *Bona*, or, as the *Moors* call it, *Blaid el Aneb*, *Town of Jujebs*, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of theſe ruins. This ſeems to be confirmed by the name *Bona*, which is undoubtedly a corruption of *Hippo* or *Hippona*. It is probable, that *Bona* has the ſame ſituation which *Ptolemy*'s *Aphrodiſium* had, ſince he places it fifteen miles to the north of *Hippo*. The ruins of *Hippo* take up a ſpace about half

[h] POLYB. l. xv. c. 5. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29. SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 57. HIRT. in B. Afr. c. 91. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. PTOL. ubi ſup. & inſcript. vet. apud Gruter. p. 364. [i] PLIN. l. v. c. 3. SOLIN. c. 26. VIB. SEQUEST. de flumin. PTOL. ubi ſup. & Itinerar. ANTONIN. SHAW ubi ſup. c. 7. [k] PLIN. PTOL. Itiner. & SHAW, ubi ſup.

a league

a league in circumference, consisting, as usual, of large broken walls and cisterns. This city was called *Hippo Regius*, because it was, for some time, the seat of the *Numidian* kings, as *Silius Italicus* informs us. And indeed its commodious situation both for hunting and commerce, the salubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, and the delightful prospect they enjoyed, demonstrate this city to be as worthy of such an honour, as any other in the *Numidian* dominions. It has been before observed, that the word *Hippo* was of *Phœnician* extraction. We shall reserve the description of *Bona* for the history of *Algiers*, to which it will more properly belong [l].

THABRACA or *Tabraca* was a maritim city of *Numidia* Tabraca. *Propria*, seated on the western bank of the *Tusca*. *Mela*, *Juvenal*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Austin*, all mention of it. *Pliny* insinuates, that it was a *Roman* colony in the latter ages. The ruins of it are still remaining, and out of them has sprung the modern *Tabarca*, where there are several broken walls and cisterns, with a small fort and garison of *Tunisseens*. *Bochart* says, that *Thabraca* was a *Phœnician* word, and equivalent to the *Latin Frondosa*, which, he shews, might be properly enough applied to this place, from that verse of *Juvenal:*

Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus. Sat. x. ver. 194 [m].

NARAGARA or *Nadagara*, a very antient town, south-west Naragara. of *Tabraca*, was situated on the confines of *Africa Propia*. Here, towards the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, *Scipio* is said to have encamped for the benefit of the water, *Hannibal* at the same time taking post upon an eminence four miles distant from him. *Polybius* seems to have called this place *Margaron*. It is supposed, that some fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this antient city, are still to be seen [n].

SOMEWHERE in this tract we are to look for *Sicca*, *Sicca* Sicca. *Venerea*, or *Venerea*. But, since we have taken notice of this place elsewhere, as well as the lewd custom prevailing in it, and since its situation cannot, with any precision, be ascertained, we shall drop all farther particulars relating to it [o].

THIRMIDA was a town of this province, where *Hiempsal*, Thir- according to *Sallust*, lost his life. But whether it stood on the mida.

[l] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. LIV. l. xxix. c. 3. PLIN. & MEL. ubi sup. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 259. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 4. I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 211. SHAW ubi sup. & Geogr. Nubiens. p. 88.
[m] PLIN. l. v. c. 3. POMP. MEL. l. i. c. 7. PTOL. ubi sup. I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 287. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW ubi sup.
[n] POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29. SHAW ubi sup. [o] Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 295. Vide & SALLUST. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup.

borders

borders of the *Maſſyli*, or remote from them, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, we ſhall not take upon us to determine [p].

Suthul. SUTHUL ſeems to have been a place of ſome ſtrength. For here *Hiempſal*'s treaſure was depoſited, as we are informed by the ſame hiſtorian. It is probable, from ſome hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from *Thirmida* [q].

Madaura. MADAURA had its ſituation in the neighbourhood of *Sicca Venerea*, *Tagaſte*, and *Hippo Regius*. It was famous for the birth of *Apuleius* the *Platonic* philoſopher; which is all we can ſay of it [r].

Sava, &c. As for *Sava*, *Gemellæ*, *Calama*, *Lambeſa*, *Theveſte*, *Tadutti*, *Sigus*, *Tipaſa*, *Simiſthu*, *Lamaſba*, and an infinite number of other obſcure places, they deſerve not the leaſt attention. For they have been mentioned chiefly, if not ſolely, by *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, *Peutinger*'s table, the *Notitia*, *Æthicus*, *Oroſius*, and others, who lived below that period of time, to which we muſt here confine ourſelves. Since, therefore, they cannot improve our idea of any ſingle fact or circumſtance relative to the hiſtory we are now upon, our readers will not only excuſe a deſcription, but even a bare enumeration of them. It will be ſufficient, in order to complete our geographical deſcription of this province, to give a ſuccinct account of the moſt remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, iſlands, and ſome of the principal curioſities of it, to which we ſhall beg leave to premiſe a word or two concerning the mediterranean part of it [s].

The ſea-coaſt of this province mountainous. WE have already obſerved, that the ſea-coaſt of this province was, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky. To which we ſhall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diverſified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew leſs capable of culture in proportion as it approached the *Sahara*. In many places, for ſeveral leagues together, nothing was to be ſeen but a ſolitary deſert, void both of all animals, and every thing proper for their ſupport. In others fruitful diſtricts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the moſt delicious pomgranates, apples, &c. afforded a moſt delightful proſpect to travelers. But the natural hiſtory, both of *Numidia Propria*, and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, our readers may expect in a proper place [t].

The mountains of it. THE firſt ridge of mountains we ſhall take notice of, is that upon the borders of *Gætulia*, which terminated the country

[p] SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 12. [q] Idem ibid. c. 37. [r] APUL. MADAURENS. in metamorphoſ. l. xi. de Platon. philoſ. l. iii. & in apol. D. AUG. in confeſ. l. ii. c. 3. [s] Vide PTOL. Itinerar. ANTONIN. PEUTING. tab. NOT. ÆTHIC. OROS. &c. [t] ABULFED. & SHAW, ubi ſup.

between

between the parallels of *Sitifi* and *Cirta*, called by the antients *Buzara*. 2. That called *Thambes*, extending itſelf as far as *Tabraca*. 3. The *Mampſarus* of *Ptolemy*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*, which ſeparated that country, or the *Sahara*, from the *Mauritania Sitifenſis*. 4. The *Mons Audus* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mons Auraſius* of the middle age, known at preſent amongſt the *Turks* by the name *Jibbel Aureſs* or *Evreſs*. All of which will hereafter be minutely deſcribed [u].

The promontories.

THE firſt promontory that falls under our obſervation is the *Tritum* of *Strabo*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of the *Ampſaga*, called at preſent the *Sebba Rous*, or *Seven Capes*, by the *Algerines*. 2. The *Hippi Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, the *Mabra* of the ſea-charts, about twenty leagues eaſt of the former. It goes now among the *Algerines* by the name *Ras el Hamrah*, i. e. *The Red Cape*, and has the ruins of two ſmall buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league diſtant from the *Hippi Promontorium*, to the northward, is the *Straborrum Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*. This was in the gulph of *Hippo*, and about a league from the city of that name [w].

Rivers.

OF the rivers which water *Numidia Propria*, the moſt remarkable are the following: 1. The *Ampſaga*, which ſeparated this region from that of the *Maſæſyli* or *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*. That river fell into the ſea about ſix leagues to the weſt of *Cullu*, and is at preſent named the *Wed el Kibeer*, or *Great River*; which very well tallies with the ſignification of the word *Ampſaga*, *Aphſah* importiny in *Arabic broad*, *large*, *ample*, &c. At preſent it appears to be made up of the following branches: The *Wed el Dſahab*, *River of Gold*, whoſe ſource is at *Kaſbaite*, a heap of ruins ſixty miles to the ſouth-weſt; the rivulet of *Jimmeelah*, in the ſame direction nearly with the *Wed el Dſahab*, but a little more than forty miles diſtance; the *Wed el Hammam*, twenty miles to the weſt of *Conſtantina*; the *Wed el Sigan*, fifteen miles to the ſouth-weſt from *Phyſgeah*; and the ſprings of *Hydrah*, about half that diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt. The modern geographers have generally conducted the chanel of their *Ampſaga* towards the gulph of *Cull*; whereas the *Wed el Kibeer*, which truly anſwers to the *Ampſaga* of the antients, has no ſuch direction, but falls into the ſea ſix leagues to the weſtward. *Cellarius* ſeems to fix its ſource in that ridge of mountains, by *Ptolemy* called *Buzara*, upon the borders of the *Sahara*; which runs counter to the lateſt and moſt accurate obſervations. 2. The *Armua* of *Pliny*, the modern *Sei-bouſe*, which emptied itſelf into the weſtern extremity of the gulph of *Hippo*. This often leaves great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring

[u] PLIN. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi ſup. [w] MEL. l. i. c. 7. STRAB. l. xvii. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi ſup.

ſhore;

ſhore; and, by reaſon of the low ſituation of the adjacent country, occaſions frequent inundations. 3. The *Rubricatus* of *Ptolemy*, or *Ma-fragg* of the *Algerines*, has its fountains on ſome hills, that lie at a little diſtance to the ſouth of *Hippo*, its mouth being about four leagues eaſterly from that of *Armua*. *Bochart* thinks, that the word *Rubricatus* is a *Latin* one, equivalent to the *Punic* or *Phœnician Siſara*, i. e. *Red* or *Purple*; and that both the river and lake ſo called deduced their name from that dye, the preparation of which the *Africans* and *Carthaginians* were ſo famous for. This notion ſeems to be confirmed by *Pliny* and *Dioſcorides*, but particularly by *Herodotus*, who informs us, that the *Zygantes*, the antient inhabitants of this country, beſmeared themſelves with an liquid ſubſtance of that colour. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at preſent generally ſtopped up with a high bank of ſand, raiſed by the north and north-eaſt winds; ſo that it is ſeldom open, but after long and heavy rains. 4. The *Tuſca*, called now the *Zaine*, the boundary of this province on the ſide of *Africa Propria*. It is ſaid, that, in the language of the neighbouring *Kabyles*, or remains of the old *Africans*, the word *Zaine* denotes an *oak-tree*, and conſequently approaches pretty near in ſignification to *Tabraca*, the *Phœnician* name of the frontier town upon this river above-mentioned. The *Zaine* has its ſource in the adjacent mountains; which is contrary to what *Leo* has advanced [x].

Fountains. ALL the moſt noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Thoſe to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been juſt touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of *Zama*, whoſe waters, if drunk copiouſly, rendered the voice loud and ſonorous, according to *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. This extraordinary quality, if *Bochart* may be credited, gave name both to the fountain and the town. For זמר *Zamar*, *cecinit*, *ſonorus fuit*, and in *Pibel* זמר *Zimmer*, *canere fecit*, *ſonorum eſſe fecit*, &c. plainly allude to it. The eliſion of the R was very common in *Oriental* words adopted into other languages; as in *Vacca* from בקר *Bacar*, Μῦσα from מוסר *Muſar*, *Maſſpa* from מפר *Mapar*, &c. The town of *Zamar* was ſituated near the ſource of the *Ampſaga*; and if we ſuppoſe it to have occupied the ſame ſpot of ground that *Marmol*'s *Zamor* or *Zamora* does, *Bochart*'s etymon will appear extremely probable. *Zama* was the city in which king *Juba* reſided, and was leveled with the ground by the *Romans*, according to *Strabo* [y].

[x] HERODOT. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. & l. xxxv. c. 6. DIOSCORID. l. v. PTOL. ubi ſup. STRABO, MEL. SOLIN. ubi ſup. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24, & alib. I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 287. Geogr. Nubienſ. & SHAW paſſ. [y] PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 2. VITRUV. l. viii. c. 4. STRAB. l. xvii. MARMOL. in deſcript. d'Afr. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

THE

THE only islands, as far as we can recollect, that were ever supposed to have been adjacent to this region, were, 1. The *Insulæ Naxicæ* or *Pithecusæ* of *Scylax*, opposite to *Collops Magnus*, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to *Europe* than *Africa*. 2. The island of *Tabraca* near the mouth of the *Zaine*, or *Tusca*, now in the possession of the *Genoese*, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of *Algiers* [z].

Curiosities of this province.

THE principal curiosities of *Numidia Propria* are, 1. The large marshy plain between *Blaid el Aneb* and *Hippo*, with the river *Booemah*, which hath a bridge of *Roman* workmanship upon it. 2. The *Roman* inscriptions found dispersed all over this province. 3. The rich lead-mines in the mountains of *Beni Boo-Taleb*. 4. The lukewarm springs, bubbling within a large square basin of *Roman* workmanship, which seem to be the *Aquæ Calidæ* or *Aquæ Tibilitanæ* of the antients, lying about ten leagues to the south-west of *Hippo Regius*, and sixteen to the east of *Cirta* or *Constantina*. To which we might add several others, did we not reserve them for the natural history of the kingdom of *Algiers* [a].

The limits and extent of the Regio Massæsylorum.

THE limits and extent of the *Regio Massæsylorum* of *Strabo*, or the *Mauritania Cæsariensis* of *Dio*, being that tract lying between the *Mulucha* and *Ampsaga*, are already ascertained, by the determination of those of *Numidia* in general, and *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Massyli*, in particular. The length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not considerable, being at a mean only about twenty leagues, except in that part, which bordered upon the confines of the *Massyli*. It lay betwixt 34° 30′ and 37° N. lat. and extended from 1° 15′ W. to 6° 30′ E. long. from *London*. It included that part of the country of the western *Moors* bounded on the west by the *Mullooïa*, and on the east by the mountains of *Trara*; those provinces of the kingdom of *Algiers* called *Tlemsan* and *Titterie*; together with the western part of that going by the name of *Constantina*. The principal cities (A), rivers, mountains, promontories, *&c.* we shall touch upon in the concisest manner possible [b].

IGILGILI

[z] SCYLAX CARYAND. peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. SHAW ubi sup. p. 142. MARMOL. l. v. c. 54. [a] PTOL. & SHAW ibid. [b] POLYB. LIV. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. SOLIN. APPIAN. PTOL. DIO CASS. &c. ubi sup. SHAW, ibid.

(A) It is probable, that *Miltine*, a town mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, must have been near the confines of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, or in that province. But the particular spot it occupied, we cannot take upon us to determine. It seems probable, from

Igilgili. IGILGILI was a town of this tract, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward of the *Ampſaga*, where, according to *Pliny*, *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Ptolemy* places this town half a degree to the ſouthward of *Saldæ*, in a ſituation contrary to that of the modern *Jijel*, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. *Shaw* takes this place to be the *Igilgili* of the antients. It is ſcarce to be doubted but this town was much older than the time of *Auguſtus*, becauſe the name *Igilgili*, which *Pliny* intimates it to have had in the *Auguſtan* age, was apparently not of *Roman* extraction [c].

Saldæ. SALDÆ, another place where *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* colony, has been placed by *Ptolemy* upon a ſpot two degrees diſtant from *Igilgili*. The itinerary makes it to be ninety-three miles from that town; which is falſe, if, with the traveler above-mentioned, we admit the modern *Boujeiah* to be the antient *Saldæ*. As there is no manner of affinity betwixt the names *Boujeiah* and *Saldæ*, and the city, which goes by the former name is but thirteen leagues from *Jijel*, the ſuppoſed *Igilgili* of the antients, perhaps our ſagacious readers will be inclined to believe them two different towns. This ſentiment we own ourſelves diſpoſed to entertain [d].

Ruſazus. RUSAZUS, another *Auguſtan* colony weſt of *Saldæ*, is taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary. We remember not this place to be famous in hiſtory for any remarkable tranſaction that happened in or near it [e].

Ruſucurium. RUSUCURIUM, a city in the neighbourhood of the former, was highly diſtinguiſhed by the emperor *Claudius*, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by *Pliny* [f].

Ruſconium. RUSCONIUM, another *Roman* colony, that owed its origin to *Auguſtus*, was ſeated near the mouth of the *Serbes* or *Serbetis*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ruſtonium*; but we apprehend, that he ought to be corrected by *Pliny*. In the itinerary we find it named *Ruſguniæ Colonia*. It has been imagined, that a ſmall caſtle on cape *Temendfuſe* or *Metafus*, fifteen miles eaſt of *Algiers*, in ſituation anſwers pretty nearly to it. For *Icoſium*, which is ſuppoſed to have correſponded with the preſent *Algiers*, and *Ruſco-*

[c] PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi ſup. [d] Iidem ibid.
[e] Iidem ibid. [f] Iidem ibid.

from what we find hinted of it by *Diodorus*, to have been a place of conſiderable force, and ſituated in a populous country. As for the cities of *Tocas*, *Phellina*, *Maſchala*, *Acris*, &c. they ſeem to have had their ſituation near the borders of *Africa Propria*. For a confirmation of this, we muſt refer our readers to a former note (1).

(1) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* xvii. *p.* 465, 466, (D), (E).

nium,

nium, had the ſame diſtance, and were placed in the ſame direction, according to the itinerary. If this be admitted, *Ruſconium* had a *Cothon*, ſome traces of which are ſtill remaining; and the modern *Dellys* occupies the very ſpot of ground *Ruſucurium* ſtood upon. The three towns laſt-mentioned, from their names, ſeem to have been originally *Libyan* or *Phœnician* [g].

Icoſium. Icosium, whoſe ſituation has juſt been determined, may ſeem to have taken up the ſpace on which *Algiers* was afterwards built; both from the conſideration already offered, and from ſome *Roman* inſcriptions found in this laſt city, taken notice of by *Gramaye* [h].

Tipaſa. Tipasa, a *Roman* colony, has been mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary; but the town was probably of higher antiquity than the conqueſt of *Numidia* by the *Romans*. It was forty-ſeven miles from *Icoſium*, in the north-eaſtern direction; which is an additional argument in favour of *Algiers*'s being the antient *Icoſium*, and likewiſe evinces, that the preſent *Tefeſſad* is the *Tipaſa* of the old geography [i].

Jol. The next city of conſequence on the ſea-coaſt, to the weſtward, was *Jol*, the ſeat of the younger *Juba*, who, out of the great veneration he had for *Auguſtus*, gave it the name of *Cæſarea*, according to *Eutropius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. That it had a port, and an iſland lying in the mouth of it, we are aſſured by *Strabo*; which gives us good grounds to ſuppoſe, that the modern *Sherſhell* anſwers to the *Jol* or *Julia Cæſarea* of the antients. The large circuit, and ſumptuous remains, of an old city at *Sherſhell*, together with its ſituation, and many other concurring circumſtances, ſerve likewiſe to render extremely probable ſuch a ſuppoſition. For a full and ample deſcription of the port or *Cothon*, and all other particulars of note relating to *Sherſhell*, ſome of which were doubtleſs applicable to the *Numidian Jol*, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the obſervations of the ingenious traveler ſo frequently cited. We ſhall only add, that a colony was ſettled here by the emperor *Claudius*; and that *Bochart* affirms the word *Jol*, in the *Oriental* languages, to ſignify *high* or *lofty*; which agrees with the ſituation of the place, and conſequently proves, that it was either founded by the *Orientals*, or by ſome of their deſcendents [k].

Canucius. The *Canucius* of *Ptolemy*, *Gunugi* of *Pliny*, and *Gunugus* of the itinerary, anſwering to the *Breſk* of the *Algerines*, ſtood

[g] Itinerar. Antonin. Plin. Ptol. Shaw, ubi ſup. & p. 88.
[h] Plin. Ptol. Itinerar. Shaw, ubi ſup. Gram. Afr. illuſt. l. vii. c. 1. Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 82. I. Leo. African. p. 204. [i] Ptol. Plin. Itinerar. Shaw, &c. ubi ſup. [k] Strab. l. xvii. p. 571. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vii. c. 10. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Shaw, ubi ſup. c. 3.

about nine miles to the weſtward from *Jol*. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a *Roman* colony planted in it by *Auguſtus*, it is now uninhabited, the violences committed by the neighbouring *Kabyles* not permitting people of any nation to make a ſettlement in it [l].

Cartenna. CARTENNA, a very conſiderable city, was ſituated, as ſhould ſeem, near the mouth of the river *Cartennus*, where *Auguſtus* ſettled the ſoldiers of the ſecond legion. *Ptolemy* indeed places it ſome leagues more weſterly; but the poſition he aſſigns many of his towns, is ſo extremely erroneous, that he deſerves no credit, when any ſhadow of an argument can be offered againſt him. Now, *Cartenna*, in the *Phœnician* language, ſignified *the city of* Tenna; and we find a promontory ſome leagues to the eaſtward, at this day called the cape of *Tennes*, and a town named *Tnis* or *Tennis* not far diſtant from it. It was not unuſual amongſt the moſt antient founders of cities to build them upon the banks of rivers, and to give thoſe rivers the names of the new-built towns. Of this the city and river of *Camicus* in *Sicily*, to omit many others that might be produced, is a ſufficient proof. That *Tenna*, *Tennes*, or *Tanas*, was a local proper name in *Numidia*, is not only evident from the cape abovementioned, but from the *Tanas*, which was a river of this country, though its courſe cannot, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, be aſcertained. Whether *Tenna* or *Tennis* was the proper name of the founder, or derived from the nature of the ſoil, as the learned traveler we are ſo much obliged to ſeems to inſinuate, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. However, we hope that ingenious gentleman will not take it amiſs, if we diſſent from him, when he derives *Tanis*, the name of a moſt antient and illuſtrious city of *Egypt*, from תין *tin*, *clay*, and makes this city to have been the ſame with *Peluſium*. For *Tanis*, in *Hebrew* letters, is צען *Tzaan*, or *Zoan*, and the word itſelf *Egyptian*, whoſe ſignification is intirely unknown. As for the city, it was, according to the itinerary of *Antoninus*, at leaſt forty-four *Roman* miles from *Peluſium*, and conſequently muſt have been different from it. We have deduced the word *Cartenna* from the *Phœnician* language, becauſe it appears from *Procopius* and *Euſebius*, not to mention other writers, that the *Phœnicians* ſent colonies into this country in the moſt early times [m].

Arſenaria. ON the weſtern banks of the *Cartennus*, the antients place *Arſenaria*, a town where, if *Pliny* may be credited, a *Latin*

[l] PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi ſup. [m] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 90. Pſal. lxxviii. 12. EUSEB. chron. p. 11. PROCOP. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 29. HYDE in Peritſ. p. 23. SHAW, p. 36.

colony

colony was planted under some of the first *Roman* emperors. As the last-mentioned author makes it to be three *Roman* miles from the sea, it is probable the modern *Arzew* answers to it [n].

THE next maritim town of note, in a western direction, is the *Quiza Xenitana*, *Quiza Colonia*, or *Quiza Municipium*, of *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and the Itinerary. Dr. *Shaw* will have *Geeza* to be the antient *Quiza*; which, as the situation assigned this last was immediately after the *Portus Magnus*, is not improbable [o]. Quiza.

SIGA, an antient city of great repute, situated at the mouth of an harbour, and upon a river of the same name. According to *Pliny*, *Syphax*'s palace was here, which, together with the city itself, was demolished in the time of *Strabo*. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, and a colony settled there, as we are informed by *Ptolemy*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that the *Tafna* answers to the river, and *Tackumbreet* to the town, of *Siga*. It appears from *Scylax*, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls *Sigum*. It was the last maritim place of eminence of this region, being at no great distance from the *Malva*, which our learned traveler has, with a good appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the same river with the *Molochath* and *Mulucha* [p]. Siga.

THE first mediterranean cities worthy of notice, to the west of the *Ampsaga*, were *Sitifi* and *Satafi*, sixteen miles from one another. For a further account of which, our readers may have recourse to *Ammianus*, *Marcellinus*, *Ptolemy*, and other antient writers. By their names, they seem to have been founded by the *Phœnicians* [q]. Sitifi *and* Satafi.

AUZIA or *Auzea*, a city of great antiquity, if, with *Menander Ephesius*, we suppose it to be the *African* city of that name founded by *Ithobaal* king of *Tyre*. *Tacitus* tells us, that it was built in a small plain, surrounded on all sides with barren forests of a vast extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring *Arabs Sour Gustan*, *the walls of the antelopes*, a great part whereof, flanked at proper distances with little square towers, is still remaining [r]. Auzia.

TUBUSUPTUS or *Tubusuttus*, a town mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which *Lipsius* takes to be the *Thubuscus* besieged by *Tacfarinas*, according to *Tacitus*. From what Tubusuptus.

[n] PLIN. ubi sup. & SHAW, p. 28. [o] MEL. PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi sup. [p] SCYLAX CARYAND. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. SHAW, p. 19, 20, 21. [q] PTOL. ubi sup. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxviii. sub fin. & l. xxix. c. 23. D. AUGUST. epist. cxxii. [r] TACIT. annal. l. iv. JOSEPH. antiq. Jud. l. viii. c. 7. PROCOP. ubi sup. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW, p. 81.

Marcellinus has hinted, it ſeems to have been ſituated near the *Mons Ferratus* [s].

Nababurum, &c.

As *Nababurum*, *Vitaca*, *Uſſara*, *Vazagad*, *Auſum*, *Robonda*, *Zaratha*, *Chizala*, *Lamida*, *Vaſana*, *Phlorya*, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long ſince buried in oblivion, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and proceed to the principal promontories, mountains, rivers, &c. of this province. For it will be proper to have a general idea of theſe, in order to underſtand thoſe accounts of the tranſactions happening in this country, that have been tranſmitted down to us by the antient hiſtorians [t].

The promontories of this province.

THE firſt promontories, that preſent themſelves to our view, are the *Audus* and *Vabar* of *Ptolemy*. The *Aſhounemonker* of the *Algerines* ſeems to anſwer to *Vabar*, having ſome traces of old ruins ſtill remaining upon it. 2. The *Promontorium Apollinis* of *Ptolemy*, the *Nackos* of the *Moors*, and cape *Tennes* of the modern geographers. It deduces its name *Nackos*, i. e. *The bell*, from the figure of the grotto in the lower part of it, and is in almoſt 2° E. long. from *London*. 3. The *Promontorium Magnum* of *Ptolemy* was a large and conſpicuous cape near 1° E. of the *Malva* or *Mulucha*. This is at preſent called by ſailors *Cape Hone*, and by the inhabitants *Ras Hunneine* and *Mellack*. It lies about four leagues to the north-eaſt of *Twunt*, and is a continuation of the mountains of *Trara* [u].

The mountains.

AMONGST the mountains of note in the *Numidia Maſſæſylorum* may be ranked that high knot of eminences, which at preſent diſtinguiſh themſelves to the ſouthward of the plains of *Sudratah*, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the antients mount *Atlas*. 2. The *Zalacus* of *Ptolemy*, which ſeems to have had the ſame poſition as the preſent mount *Wannaſhreeſe*. 3. Mount *Malethubalus*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*. This is in the *Sahara*, and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into *Europe*. 4. The *Durdus* of *Ptolemy*, lying between the mountains of *El Callah* and *Trara*. 5. The *Mons Phruræſus*, immediately ſucceeding *Malethubalus*. 6. The *Montes Chalcorychii*, near the country of the antient *Herpiditani*, between mount *Durdus* and the *Malva* or *Mulucha* [w].

Rivers.

THE moſt remarkable rivers taken notice of by the antients were, 1. The *Audus*, placed by *Ptolemy* at the bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, no traces of which are now to be ſeen. 2. The *Siſaris*, called at preſent by the *Moors* and *Algerines* the *Man-*

[s] PLIN. & POLYB. ubi ſup. TACIT. an. iv. c. 24. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxix. c. 24. JUST. LIPS. in Tacit. ubi ſup. [t] PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. &c. [u] PLIN. PTOL. &c. ubi ſup. SHAW, paſſ.
[w] Iidem ibid.

ſoureah,

ſoureah, whoſe water was probably of a red colour in antient times; for that the name imports, as has been already obſerved. 3. The *Niſſava*, known at this day by the name of the river of *Boujeiah*, becauſe it empties itſelf into the ſea a little to the eaſtward of that city. It conſiſts of a number of rivulets, falling into it from different directions, and has its ſource at *Jibbel Deera*, ſeventy miles up into the country to the W. S. W. 4. The *Serbetis*, now the *Yſſer*, a large river, whoſe mouth is about eight leagues from *Temendfuſe*, and lieth ſomething nearer *Ruſgunia* than *Ruſuccuræ*. We are told, that its ſources are from the mountainous diſtrict to the S. S. W. that the moſt weſtern branch of it is called *Shurffa*, after the name of the neighbouring *Arabs*; and the other *Wed el Zeitoune*, i. e. *The river of olives*, from the vaſt quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The *Savus*, a river falling into the ſea near *Pliny*'s *Icoſion*, which our learned traveller takes to have had the ſame ſituation as the *Algiers* of the moderns. If this be admitted, the *Hameeſe* bids faireſt for the antient *Savus*, eſpecially as *Leo* calls this very river *Seffaia*, a word nearly approaching to *Savus*. 6. The *Chinalaph* of *Ptolemy* is the moſt noted river of the *Algerines*, who call it *Shelliff*. It ariſeth in the *Sahara*, at the diſtance of eighty miles to the ſouth-eaſt. The fountains which form its ſource, from their number and contiguity, are known amongſt the *Arabs* by the name *Sebbiene Aine*, or *Sebaoun Aioun*, *The ſeventy fountains*. A minute deſcription of this river our readers will find in a proper place. 7. The *Cartennus*, to which, it is ſuppoſed, the ſtream formed by the *Sikke* and the *Habrah* anſwers. *Marmol* calls a river in this ſituation *Cirat*; which may give ſome countenance to the aforeſaid ſuppoſition. 8. The *Flumen Salſum*, at preſent called the *Wed el Mailah*, is a ſtream ſomething leſs than the *Cherwell*, as it paſſeth by *Oxford*. 9. *Aſſara*, a river mentioned by *Ptolemy*, which may poſſibly be the ſame with the *Iſſer* of *Abulfeda*. The *Iſſer* is one of the four branches, that form the *Tafna*, which our readers may find deſcribed in that curious piece we have ſo often referred them to [x].

THE only iſlands that deſerve our attention are, 1. The *Acra* of *Scylax*, an iſland, that forms the modern port of *Harſhgoone*, under which veſſels of the greateſt burden may lie in the utmoſt ſafety. 2. The *Tres Inſulæ* of *Antoninus*, ſituated about ten miles from the *Muluchà*, to the north-weſt of that river [y]. *The iſlands appertaining to it.*

THE chief curioſities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a *Roman* city, called at preſent *Caſſir*, among the *Beni Grohberry*, to the northward of *Jibbel Afroone*; upon the mountains adjacent *Its curioſities.*

[x] Iidem ibid. & I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 205. [y] SCYLAX CARYAND. Itinerar. ANTONIN. & SHAW, ubi ſup.

to which the *Algerines* frequently dig up large pipes of lead, ſuppoſed to have been formerly employed in conveying the excellent water thoſe parts produced to *Saldæ*. 2. The rivulet of ſalt-water, which glides through the valley *Dammer Cappy*, i. e. *The iron gate*. 3. The large ſalt-pits, five miles to the ſouthward of *Arzew*. 4. One of the fountains of the *Habrah* at *Niſrag*, where the water burſts out with a ſurpriſing noiſe and rapidity; as alſo the hot bath, and ſeveral antient ciſterns upon a branch of the *Habrah*, when it arrives within eight leagues of the ſea. 5. *Wannaſhreeſe*, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with ſnow, and remarkable for its mines of lead-ore, many fleaks and ſparks of which being brought down by the river *Wed-el-Fuddah*, and left upon the banks of it expoſed to the ſun, gave occaſion to the name *Wannaſhreeſe*. 6. The *Jibbel Miniſs*, an intire mountain of ſalt. 7. The *Aquæ Calidæ Colonia* of the antients, the *Hammam* or *Bath* of *Mereega* of the moderns. All of which, with many others that we cannot touch upon here, will be accurately deſcribed in that branch of the modern hiſtory, to which they properly belong [z].

[z] Geogr. Nubienſ. I. Leo African. & Shaw, paſſ.

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Cuſtoms, Arts, &c. *of the* Numidians.

The antiquity of the Numidians.

ALL the authors, famous for their reſearches into antiquity, agree, that the tract extending from the iſthmus of *Suez* to the lake *Tritonis*, was chiefly peopled by the deſcendents of *Miſeraim*; and that the poſterity of his brother *Put*, or *Phut*, ſpread themſelves over all the region betwixt that lake and the *Atlantic* ocean. It is certain *Herodotus* gives great countenance to this notion. For he tells us, that the *Libyan Nomades*, whoſe territories, to the weſt, were bounded by the *Triton*, agreed in their cuſtoms and manners with the *Egyptians*; but that the *Africans*, from that river to the *Atlantic* ocean, differed almoſt in all points from them. *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Putea* near *Adrumetum*; and *Pliny* a river of *Mauritania Tingitana*, known by the name of *Fut* or *Phut*; which ſeems to confirm the above-mentioned ſuppoſition. The diſtrict adjacent to this river we find mentioned by ſome authors under the appellation of *Regio Phutenſis*; which plainly alludes to the name *Phut*. That word ſignifies *ſcattered* or *diſperſed*; which very well agrees with what we find related of the *Numidians* by *Mela* and *Strabo*; ſo that we may, without any ſcruple, admit the *Aborigines* of

this

this country to have been the deſcendents of *Phut*. *Aldrete*, *Gaſpar Varreiro*, and others, think, that ſome remains of *Phut* are ſtill diſcernible in the modern *Fez*; which notion, after a peruſal of thoſe writers, our readers will perhaps think proper to eſpouſe. However, it appears from *Euſebius*, *Procopius*, St. *Auſtin*, and others, that the *Aborigines* were not the only antient inhabitants of *Numidia*, ſince the *Phœnicians* in almoſt the earlieſt ages ſent colonies thither. But though both theſe nations deſcended from *Ham*, they yet differed in many particulars, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to obſerve [a].

Their government.

It may be inferred from *Polybius*, as has been already obſerved, that the *Carthaginians* once poſſeſſed all that part of *Africa*, extending from the confines of *Cyrenaica* to the pillars of *Hercules*. But this, we apprehend, is, to be underſtood of the ſea-coaſt of that vaſt tract. For it ſufficiently appears from *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Livy*, and other antient hiſtorians, that the interior *Numidia*, at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, was independent on the *Carthaginians*. It is true, the *Numidians* always aſſiſted the *Carthaginians* in their wars; but moſt of theſe forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, ſent in purſuance of ſolemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. This might be proved by a great number of paſſages drawn from the authors juſt mentioned, were it in any manner neceſſary. The *Carthaginian* form of government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of *Numidia* ſubject to the ſtate of *Carthage*, though in others, abſolute monarchy took place. No one can doubt of this, who conſiders, that not only the kingdom of *Antæus*, including this country, as well as *Mauritania Tingitana*, and conſequently that of his conqueror *Hercules*, was deſpotic, but likewiſe that *Iarbas*, *Gala* (A), *Syphax*, *Maſiniſſa*, and other later princes, ruled here with

[a] Herodot. l. iv. c. 186, 187. Ptol. l. iv. c. 1. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Euseb. de loc. Hieron. in tradit. Hebr. Eustath. in Hex. Isid. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 8. Strab. l. ii. Gen. x. 6. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. Bernard. Aldret. var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. l. iii. c. 6. p. 358. Gaspar Varreiro in lib. de Ophir. Euseb. chron. p. 11. Procop. ubi ſup. D. August. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub init. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 233.

(A) We are informed by *Appian*, that there were many *reguli*, or heads of tribes, in the country of the *Maſſæſyli*, not much unlike the *emirs* of the preſent *Arabs*, who enjoyed a ſort of ſovereignty over their reſpective tribes, but yet acknowleged *Syphax* for their chief. It can ſcarce be douted, but that *Syphax*'s government, with reſpect to theſe princes, was deſpotic, otherwiſe he could not have brought ſuch numerous armies

with an unlimited ſway. The old eaſtern governments alſo, from whence that of *Numidia* was derived, put the point here inſiſted upon beyond diſpute. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims that formed the baſis of it, we are intirely in the dark, the moſt authentic antient hiſtorians not ſupplying us with the leaſt hint relative thereto [b].

Laws. WHETHER or no any of the independent princes of *Numidia* were legiſlators, or, if ſo, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their ſubjects, hiſtory informs us not. The *Carthaginian* laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongſt all the *Numidians* under the dominion of *Carthage*. Could *Iſidore* be relied upon, ſome laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians* might poſſibly have been obſerved in ſeveral diſtricts of this country. For he ſeems to intimate, that thoſe nations, in antient times, planted a colony in *Numidia*; or, at leaſt, that there was an intercourſe betwixt them and the *Numidians*. *Salluſt* likewiſe more than inſinuates the ſame thing, ſince he affirms, that the *Perſians* ſailed hither before the *Phœnicians*, when intermixing with the *Gætulians*, they, in conjunction with that people, formed the *Numidian* nation. To which that author ſubjoins, that neither being able to find any materials here for building of houſes, nor to carry on any commerce with the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of their different languages, and the great ſea betwixt them, the *Perſians* built them huts, tents, or cottages, of the bottoms of their ſhips inverted. Theſe they removed from place to place; and from this circumſtance, called themſelves *Numidæ*, a word, which, in the *Perſic* tongue, alluded thereto. But this relation being inconſiſtent with itſelf, and the notion couched therein abſolutely repugnant to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and profane antiquity, our readers will not ſcruple to reject it [c].

Religion. As the firſt *Numidians*, in common with all the other *Indigenæ* of that vaſt tract between the borders of *Egypt* and the *Atlantic* ocean, were called *Libyans*, we may infer from *Herodotus*, that the principal gods they ſacrificed to were the *Sun*

[b] POLYB. LIV. DIOD. SIC. SALLUST. FLOR. APPIAN. JUSTIN. VIRG. SERV. SIL. ITAL. LUCAN. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. CEDREN. aliiq; quamplurim. paſſ. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 229, 230, (I), & alib. paſſ. [c] ISIDOR. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. SALLUST. in Jugurth. Vide & BERNARD. ALDRET. en var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. &c. l. iii. c. 17. p. 387, 388.

mies into the field. What has here been obſerved of *Syphax*, was undoubtedly true of the other kings of the *Maſſæſyli*, as well as thoſe of the *Maſſyli* (1).

(1) *Appian. in Libyc. c. 6. p. 10. edit. Tol. Amſt. 1670.*

and

from thence. This notion ſeems opinion (z).

(z) *P. Delrio apud Aldret. l.* iii. *c.* 6. *ut & ipſe Aldret. ibid.*

till

Septentrio

Occidens

Oriens

Meridies

Æquinoctialis Circulus sive Æquator

LIBYA INTERIOR, GARAMANTVM, et MELANOGÆTVLORVM REGIO, AETHIOPIA SVB AEGYPTO, AETHIOPIA INTERIOR &c.

I. Basire sculp.

GAETVLIA

Melanogætuli

Natembes

GARAMANTES

Nigritæ

Lynxamatæ

Blemmyes

Phasaca Regio

Bacalitis

Dauchitæ

Calitæ

Dolopes

Astacuri

Aroncæ

Derbici

Daradi

Elephantophagi

Cadupi seu Duppi

Tralitæ

Mimaci

Gongalæ

Achamæ

Orphes

Matites

Thalæ

Churitæ

Cecilani

Libya palus

Alitambi

Tucrumuda

Dudum

Tarulatæ

Perorsi

Arualitis Mons

Thala Mons

Caphas Mons

Odrangidi

Mauretani

Nigritarum Mons

Arangici M.

Vallis Garamantica

Nilus Flu.

Astapus Au.

Coloe

Gapachi

Struthophagi Pechini

Memnones

AETHIOPIA SUB AEGYPTO

ARABIAE FELICIS PARS

SINUS ARABICUS

TROGLODYTICA

Auxumitæ

Adulitæ

Auxuma

Adulis

Meroe

Sacolchi

Babylon

Axaba Portus

Ptolemais Theron

Sebasticumos

Ara amoris

Muza

Ocelis

Avalites Portus

Dire

Aualites Sinus

Aualitæ

Molibæ

Aualites emporium

Nubæ

Pars Aualitarum

Maleos emp.

Aromata

Opone

Apocopa

Garbata M.

Colobi terminus

Saba

Ptolemaidis Theron

Sandace

Premis magna

Attiri

Nili Fontes secundum Ptolemæum

Montes Lunæ Ptolemæi

Mastitæ

Maste

Colobi palus

Azania

Noti cornu

Espina emp.

Serapionis statio

Tonice

Raptus R.

Rapta Metrop.

Sinus Barbaricus

Prasum promont.

Incognita Ptolemæo

Sinus Hesperius

Ichthyophagi Aethiopes

Hesperi cornu

Deorum currus M.

Hippodromus Aethiopicæ

Stachiræ

Perphostus Portus

Stachir R.

Daradus R.

Babiba

Magura

Tarzetha

Solœntia prom.

Massa R.

Nigir R.

Nigir Au.

Volgisa

Tagaste

Panagra

Giru metrop.

Nigira metropolis

Thamondacana

Saluce

Thige

Peside

Bintha

Cuphe

Bagazi

Nudus Au.

Mausoli

Daphnitæ

Tagana

Malacath

Tucabath

Sagapola M.

Thulath

Gusaris A.

Salathus Au.

Autolole

Atlas magor

Subrus Au.

Silice

Byzhurus

Bagradas

Anægath

Thabuthis

Bouta

Capsa

Debris

Gir Au.

Geua

Badiath

Thuppa

Artagira

Rubuno

Lynxama

Chelonidæ paludes

Girgiris M.

Bedirum

Vanius

Sabæ

Garama metropolis

Gelanus

Gauara R.

Lycomedis Palus

Pselcha

Cataractes maior

Tasitia

Metacompsi

Catadupi

Pnupis

Berethis

Ferebo

Palæta

Dioscoron Portus

Cererissicopias

Apis

Sacate

Sandace

Premis magna

Attiri

Decorum Evangelon portus

Ptolemais Theron

Sebasticumos

Ara amoris

Erchoa

Satachtha

Tathis

Nilus Flu.

Nasi

Meroe

Sacolchi

Babylon

Axaba Portus

Colobi terminus

Saba

Muza

Ocelis

Avalites Portus

Dire

Aualites Sinus

Aualitæ

Molibæ

Aualites emporium

Nubæ

Pars Aualitarum

Maleos emp.

Aromata

Opone

Apocopa

Garbata M.

Coloe

Coloe palus

Azania

Noti cornu

Espina emp.

Serapionis statio

Tonice

Raptus R.

Rapta Metrop.

Sinus Barbaricus

Prasum promont.

Nili Fontes secundum Ptolemæum

Montes Lunæ Ptolemæi

Mastitæ

Maste

and *Moon*. This is a convincing proof of their high antiquity, as clearly evincing, that the migration of the firſt colony, which peopled this country, preceded the introduction of image-worſhip into the pagan world. It is likewiſe an argument, that this colony did not conſiſt of *Perſians*, ſince the *Sun* only was their principal deity. Some of theſe *Numidians* alſo might probably worſhip *Triton*, *Minerva*, and *Neptune* (B), eſpecially thoſe near the confines of *Africa Propria*, as the ſame author ſeems to ſuggeſt. That part of this nation ſubject to *Carthage*, it is reaſonable to preſume, paid divine honours to the *Phœnician* and *Greek* deities, that were the objects of the *Carthaginian* worſhip, of which we have already given ſo full and ample an account. It appears from *Herodotus*, that *Hephæſtus*, or *Vulcan*, was an *Egyptian* deity worſhiped at *Memphis*; but whether or no the *Numidians* held him in any veneration, or indeed had any knowlege of him, we muſt leave others to decide[d].

FROM what has been juſt offered, our readers will allow it probable, that *Miſraim* and *Phut*, with their deſcendents, moved together into *Africa*; and that their poſterity inhabited contiguous regions. Nay, if any credit may be given to *Herodotus*, and other authors of the beſt repute, they agreed, for many ages, in moſt particulars. *Herodotus* ſeems to intimate, that in his time, or at leaſt not long before it, the people, inhabiting that tract afterwards called *Numidia*, went by the general name of *Libyans*; and that the *Numidians* were then poſſeſſed of the country ſituate between the frontiers of *Egypt* and the river *Triton*. For he tells us, that the nation occupying that region were called *Libyan Nomades*, in contradiſtinction to the *Libyans*, who extended themſelves from thence to the weſtward, as far as the *Atlantic* ocean. This obſervation we remember not to have been made by any other author. However, it ſeems to be of ſome conſequence to the hiſtorical world. For it bids fair to prove, that the kingdoms of the *Maſſyli* and *Maſſæſyli*, though of a very early date, were not called *Numidia*, *Language*.

[d] HERODOT. l. iv. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 279—284. Vide etiam HERODOT. l. iii. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & l. ii. c. 3.

(B) Father *Delrio* thinks, that the *Nephthuim* of *Moſes* was either the great anceſtor, or nation, of the *Numidians*. If ſo, it is very poſſible, that *Neptune*, one of the great gods of *Africa*, might have deduced his name from thence. This notion ſeems to be countenanced by St. *Jerom*, who reads it *Neptuim*; which is almoſt intirely the ſame word with *Neptunus*, after the rejection of the *Latin* termination US. *Aldrete*, a perſon of moſt profound erudition, comes into this opinion (2).

(2) *P. Delrio apud Aldret. l.* iii. *c.* 6. *ut & ipſe Aldret. ibid.*

till after, or at leaſt a little before, the time of *Herodotus*; and that this name was occaſioned by an irruption of a great body of the *Libyan Nomades* into the countries to the weſtward of the *Triton* about the period above-mentioned. In confirmation of this notion, it may be obſerved, that no mention is made of the *Numidians* by any of the *Greek* or *Roman* hiſtorians, till about the time of *Herodotus*; which is a preſumptive argument, that they made no conſiderable figure, and conſequently did not poſſeſs territories of ſo large an extent, then as afterwards. Though therefore it can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Numidia Propria* and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* were at firſt peopled by *Phut*'s deſcendents, it is probable, that neither of thoſe provinces were called *Numidia* till the age of *Herodotus*; or, at leaſt, not long before that age, when the *Libyan Nomades*, or *Numidians*, paſſed into them. However, in conformity to what has been aſſerted above, we muſt remind our readers, that the *Phœnicians*, in the moſt early ages, and after them the *Carthaginians*, planted colonies here. *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Strabo*, by intimating, that the *Numidians* of their time agreed in ſome points with the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, add ſome weight to the hypotheſis we have juſt offered to the conſideration of the learned. From all which particulars we may conclude, that the languages ſpoken in *Numidia* were, 1. That of the *Libyan Nomades*, which, from many authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old *Egyptian*. 2. The *Carthaginian*. 3. The *Phœnician*. And 4. That of *Phut*'s immediate deſcendents, who at firſt came thither, which, in ſome points, might have differed from all the reſt. That the tongue prevailing, in part of *Numidia* at leaſt, was different from the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian*, is evident from *Salluſt*, and others. However barbarous the *Numidians* might have been, ſome of them uſed letters, not very unlike thoſe that made up the *Punic* alphabet, as appears from the legends of ſeveral antient *Numidian* coins [c] (C).

With

[c] Herodot. l. iv. Plin. l. v. c. 3. Solin. c. 26. Strab. l. ii. & l. xvii. Sallust. in Jugurth. Vide etiam Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. Bernard. Aldret. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 26. Spon. miſcel. erudit. antiq. fol. Lugd. 1685. p. 146. Beg. theſ. Brand. vol. i. Val. Max. l. i. c. 1. Herodot. l. i. & l. iv. Phil. Jud. de vit. Moſ. l. i. Liban. progym.

(C) This likewiſe appears from the letter *Bomilcar* wrote to *Nabdalſa* or *Nadabalſa*, a *Numidian* nobleman of the firſt rank; which being delivered into the hands of *Jugurtha*, occaſioned the death of *Bomilcar*, and many others, as we learn from

WITH regard to the cuſtoms of the *Numidians*, our readers will neither expect nor deſire us to be prolix on that head: neither the limits we have preſcribed ourſelves, nor the materials left us by the antients, will permit this. In order therefore to form a general idea of theſe cuſtoms, it will be ſufficient maturely to weigh the following obſervations.

The Numidians were divided into tribes, &c.

1. THE *Numidians* were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the ſame manner as the *Arabes Scenitæ*, and not very unlike the preſent *Tartars*; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their anceſtors the antient *Scythians*; whereas the circular *dou-wars* of the *Numidians* were compoſed of their *Mapalia*, with which the *hhymas*, or tents, of the modern *Bedoweens* nearly correſpond. *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Virgil*, *Pliny*, and others, put this point beyond diſpute. The *Mapalia*, or *Numidian* tents, were ſecured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering only of ſuch hair-cloth as our coal-ſacks are made of. They were all of the ſame form, oblong, reſembling the inverted bottom of a ſhip, in conformity to the deſcription *Salluſt* has given us of them. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and, having conſumed all the produce of one fruitful ſpot, removed from thence to another, as is the cuſtom of their poſterity the *Bedoweens* at this day. As this part of *Africa* conſiſted of dry and barren ſandy deſerts, interſperſed with fruitful ſpots, (for which reaſon *Strabo* compares it to a leopard's ſkin) ſuch a way of life was abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe who did not live in cities. Hence it appears, in conjunction with what we have obſerved of their language, that *nome*, agreeable to what we find advanced by *Diodorus Siculus*, St. *Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Euſebius*, and others, muſt have been either an *Egyptian* or *Syriac* word, ſignifying *part*, *portion*, *diviſion*, &c. To which add ידא *ida* or *yeda*, *place*, *limits*, *country*, &c. and the name *Numidia* is formed in a much more rational and appoſite manner, than it is poſſible for it to be upon the principles of thoſe perſons, who ſuppoſe it deduced from a language intirely unknown to the *Numidians* [f].

[f] POMP. MEL. c. 9. STRAB. l. xvii. VIRG. georg. iii. PLIN. & SOLIN. ubi ſup. DIONYS. Af. ver. 184. LUCAN. paſſ. Vide etiam FEST. AVIEN. ver. 277. SAL. in Jugurth. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 35. EUSEB. præp. evang. l. iii. p. 57. EPIPHAN. & CYRIL. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 24. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. ל & alib. ALDRET. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 17. & SHAW, ubi ſupra p. 286—291.

from *Salluſt*. What we have here advanced, is likewiſe coun-

tenanced by *Livy*, and other authors (3).

(3) *Salluſt. in Jugurth. c.* 73, 74. *Liv. aliiq; ſcript. apud D. Bernard. Aldret., en var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. Afric. y otr. provinc. l.* iii. *c.* 33. *p.* 467. *Vide & Val. Max. l.* i. *c.* 1.

2. THOSE

Some of them lived in ſmall huts or cottages, called Magaria.

2. THOSE *Numidians* who lived in fixed habitations, for the moſt part dwelt in ſmall cottages raiſed either with hurdles daubed over with mud, or built out of ſome ſuch ſlight materials, in the ſame manner as the *Gurbies* of the *Kabyles* are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with ſtraw or turf, ſupported by reeds or branches of trees, as thoſe of the *Gurbies* are. The *Numidians*, at leaſt thoſe of *Phœnician* extraction, called theſe habitations *Magaria*, an explication of which word has been already given. The very learned and accurate Dr. *Shaw* informs us, that the towns or villages formed of theſe huts are at preſent built upon eminences, and called by the *Kabyles*, who inhabit them, *Daſhkras* [g].

They rode without bridles.

3. THE *Numidians* rode without ſaddles, and many of them without bridles; whence *Virgil* calls them *Numidæ infræni*. As their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horſes from their infancy, they found this no difficult thing. The cuſtom we are now upon ſuggeſts to us the meaning of the word *Metagonium* (D), the proper name of a promontory, as likewiſe of the country of the *Maſſyli*, as has been obſerved above. It is undoubtedly equivalent to מתג יניח *meteg ionihh*, or *meteg ioniahh*, *one that lays aſide*, or *that hath laid aſide, his bridle*. This is a much more natural etymology, than any that can be drawn from the *Greek* tongue [h].

They had many wives, concubines, &c.

4. ACCORDING to *Strabo*, they had many wives, concubines, and conſequently many children, as the *Orientals* had, though, in other reſpects, they were very temperate and abſtemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping we have already taken notice of; and therefore to touch upon that head here, would be intirely ſuperfluous [i]

The king's brother

5. THE king's next brother, not his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in *Numidia*, particularly in the country of the *Maſſyli*.

[g] VIRG. Æn. i. & SERV. in loc. SALLUST. ubi ſup. ISIDOR. orig. l. xv. c. 22. PLIN. SOLIN. ubi ſupra. ALDRET. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 2. SHAW ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 227. Vide & FEST. CHARIS. & SIL. ITAL. l. ii. [h] VIRG. Æn. iv. ver. 41. LIV. apud Hendreich. in Carthag. p. 359. SERV. in Virg. ubi ſup. aliiq; mult. Vide SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. יניח & מתג. [i] STRAB. l. xvii. SALL. in Jugurth.

(D) It appears from *Martial* and *Lucan*, that the cuſtom of riding without bridles prevailed more amongſt the *Maſſyli* than the *Maſſæſyli*. Now, the country of the *Maſſyli* was the *Terra Metagonitis*, as has been already obſerved; which not a little ſupports the etymon we would give of *Metagonium* (4).

(4) *Martial. l.* ix. *Lucan. l.* iv.

This

This we learn from *Livy*, who, in proof of what he asserts, tells us, that *Gala*, the father of *Masinissa*, was succeeded by his next brother *Desalces* [k]. *succeeded to the crown in* Numidia.

6. THEIR diet consisted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulse, water, &c. and they abstained almost intirely from wine; flesh was sometimes, though not so frequently, used. To this, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in summer and winter, *Appian* seems to attribute their long lives, and the large share of health they enjoyed. In conformity to nature and experience, that author assures us, that the summers in *Numidia* were not near so hot as in *India* and *Ethiopia* [l]. *The diet of the* Numidians.

7. THE *Numidians*, particularly the *Massyli*, did not only ride without saddles and bridles, but likewise all sorts of accoutrements, as we learn from what *Appian* relates of *Masinissa*, as well as from many other authors. This they did, in order to rush upon their enemies, or prey, with the greater force and fierceness. However, they made use of a rod or whip, with which they easily managed their horses, though in the midst of the hottest engagements [m]. *They use only a whip or rod on horseback.*

8. MANY of the poorer sort of people in *Numidia* went almost naked; but the *Numidians* of any fashion wore their garments loose, not making use of a shash or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the *Carthaginians*, and most of the other *Africans*. Hence that of *Virgil* [n]: *Are clad in loose garments.*

Hic Nomadum genus, & discinctos Mulciber Afros, &c.

9. THEY were eminent for their skill in hurling the javelin, and throwing of darts, which they discharged in vast numbers upon the enemy. As they seldom or never failed doing execution, this rendered them very formidable [o]. *Eminent for their skill in throwing of darts, &c.*

10. WE are told, that the *Massyli*, when at war with their neighbours, for the most part, chose to come to a general action in the night-time [p]. *Fight in the night-time.*

11. DESERTION was no crime amongst the *Numidians*, who, after the first defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleased [q]. *Desertion no crime amongst them.*

12. IN fine, there must have been a great variety of customs in *Numidia*, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that

[k] LIV. l. xxix. c. 29. [l] APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 6, 39, & 64. STRAB. l. xvii. [m] LUCAN. l. iv. LIV. l. xlv. OPPIAN. de venat. l. iv. MARTIAL. l. ix. HERODIAN. l. vii. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & LIV. l. iv. l. viii. & l. xl. [n] VIRG. Æn. l. viii. ver. 724. SERV. in loc. SIL. ITAL. l. i. PLAUT. in Pœnul. act. v. sc. 2. TERTUL. de pall. [o] APPIAN. in Libyc. SALLUST. in Jugurth. HERODIAN. l. vii. [p] NIC DAMASCEN. in excerptis Vales. p. 518, 519. [q] SALLUST. in Jugurth.

were

were oppoſite to one another in many particulars. One of theſe *Diodorus* calls the *Aſphadelodians*, who were probably of a different caſt from the reſt, ſince he informs us, that they were as black as the *Ethiopians*. According to *Hellanicus*, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the *Libyan Nomades*, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they conſtantly carried about with them. Their ſmall *Mapalia* were made of *aſphodelus*, great quantities of which they took care in the ſummer-time to be provided with, in order to have always then an agreeable ſhady retreat. This circumſtance undoubtedly gave occaſion to the name *Diodorus* calls them by, and is the chief thing, that we find remarked of them by the antient hiſtorians [r].

Arts, &c. THE *Numidians*, that inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or ſciences amongſt them. The *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* indeed, who were very civilized, polite, and ingenious nations, formed, as there is reaſon to believe, no ſmall part of the inhabitants of the moſt conſiderable cities and towns; but we have already treated amply of the arts and ſciences they were famous for. However, the proper *Numidians* ſeem to have been eminent for their ſkill in managing horſes (E), and knowlege in ſome branches of the military art. Some knowlege likewiſe of the *Egyptian* theology, polity, and philoſophical notions, we cannot well ſuppoſe them to have been deſtitute of; ſince their anceſtors had, for a ſeries of generations, an intercourſe with the poſterity of *Miſraim*. But as to the

[r] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. HELLANICUS apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l. ii. Vide etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. xviii. paſſ.

(E) Theſe horſes were very ſmall, but extremely ſwift, and eaſily managed, according to *Livy* and *Strabo*. They were ſatisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirſt a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had an ugly gait, a ſtiff neck, and threw their heads forward, the *Numidian* horſeman made but a ridiculous figure before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement. *Livy* ſeems to intimate, that, in *Hannibal*'s time, ſome of the *Numidian* cavalry uſed bridles, and were heavy-armed troops, wearing coats of mail, ſwords, ſhields, and lances; which is countenanced by *Polybius*, *Salluſt*, and others (5).

(5) *Appian. & Strab. ubi ſup. Liv. l.* xxi. *c.* 44, 46. *l.* xxii. *c.* 48. *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 65. *Sil. Ital. l.* iv. *Salluſt. in Jugurth. Iſidor. orig. l.* xvii. *c.* 12. *& alib. Juvenal. ſcholiaſt. Appian. in Libyc. Liv. l.* xxiii. *c.* 29. *Vide & Polyb. apud Juſtum Lipſium, in tract. de milit. Rom. ut & ipſum Lipſ. ibid. l.* iii. *diol.* 7 *&* 8.

extent

extent of any knowlege of this kind amongſt them, we are intirely in the dark. The preſent *Kabyles* and *Bedoweens*, according to Dr. *Shaw*, ſpend their time chiefly in making *hykes*, or woollen blankets, and *burnooſes*, as they call cloaks or upper garments. In ſuch ſort of an employment, poſſibly, ſome of the antient ruſtic *Numidians* might have been engaged; eſpecially ſince the aforeſaid gentleman imagines the *Kabyles* to be the remains of the old *Africans*. As for the chronology of the *Numidians*, if they had any, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it muſt have agreed in the main with that of the nations they were derived from, and contiguous to, *viz.* the *Carthaginians*, *Phœnicians*, and moſt early *Egyptians*. In one point however they differed from moſt, if not all, other nations; for they computed their time by nights, and not by days, if any credit may be given to a fragment of *Nic. Damaſcenus* [s].

[s] Nic. Damascen. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 520, 521. Shaw, ubi ſup. Vide etiam quamplurim. ex auctor. ſupra laudat.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Numidians, *from the earlieſt Accounts of Time, to the Conqueſt of their Country by the* Romans.

When the Numidians came into Numidia.

NUMIDIA, being pretty remote from *Egypt*, as well as that part of *Libya* contiguous to it, ſeems to have been but thinly peopled before the firſt arrival of the *Phœnicians* there. When this happened, we cannot preciſely determine. But, according to *Euſebius*, who is followed by *Bochart*, and other authors of good repute, it muſt have been above three hundred years before the foundation of *Carthage*. For *Ariſtotle* relates, that the *Phœnician* hiſtorians made *Utica* to be two hundred eighty-ſeven years older than *Carthage*; and *Euſebius* affirms *Hercules*, ſurnamed *Diodas* or *Deſanaus*, that is, the *Phœnician Hercules*, to have been extremely famous all over *Africa* this very year, and to have conquered *Antæus* in the fartheſt part of *Mauritania* near *Zilis* and *Tingis*, about fifty years before. Sir *Iſaac Newton* however, not without reaſon, brings this event nearer the commencement of the *Chriſtian æra*. *Salluſt*, *Florus*, and *Oroſius* likewiſe, inform us, that this *Hercules*, whom *Salluſt* calls *Libys*, built *Capſa*. From whence we may infer, that either the kingdom of *Antæus* included *Numidia*, and even *Africa Propria*, or elſe that *Hercules* over-ran theſe countries after he had conquered *Mauritania*; the former of which notions appears to us the moſt probable. We muſt defer touch-

ing upon the war betwixt *Hercules* and *Antæus*, till we come to the history of the *Mauritanians*, though the consequences of that war extended to the nation we are now upon [a].

No accounts of the Numidian *affairs for several of the earliest centuries now remaining.*

THE transactions of *Numidia*, during many of the earliest centuries, have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable, however, that as the *Phœnicians* were masters of a good part of it, they were recorded, and not unknown in the *Carthaginian* times. King *Iarbas* probably reigned here, as well as in *Africa Propria*, if not in *Mauritania*, and other parts of *Libya*, when *Dido* began to build *Byrsa*; but we have elsewhere taken notice of all the principal particulars relating to that prince, handed down to us by the antients. It appears from *Justin*, that, about the age of *Herodotus*, the people of this country were called both *Africans* or *Libyans*, and *Numidians*; which seems to imply, that the latter name was not then of very long standing, and consequently to countenance what we have advanced above concerning the incorporation of the *Libyan Nomades* among these (A) *Africans* or *Libyans*. *Justin* likewise intimates, that, about this time, the *Carthaginians* vanquished both the *Moors* or *Mauritanians*, and *Numidians*, who had leagued together against them. The consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted from them ever since *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* by the latter. As for the part the *Numidians* acted in all the wars betwixt the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, &c. and the *Carthaginians*, we have already been so copious on that head, that our readers will not expect us to expatiate upon it here [b].

The Carthaginians *treat the* Micatanian Numidians *with great severity.*

AFTER the conclusion of the first *Punic* war, the *African* troops carried on a bloody war three years against their masters the *Carthaginians*. The most active of all others in this rebellion, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Micatanian Numidians*. This so incensed the *Carthaginians*, that, after *Hamilcar* had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those *Nu-*

[a] ARISTOT. de mirabil. EUSEB. in chron. FLOR. l. iii. c. 1. SALLUST. in Jugurth. OROS. l. v. c. 15. Vide BOCHART. in præfat. ad Chan. [b] GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 140. JUSTIN. l. xix. c. 2. APPIAN. in Libyc. sub init. Univers. hist. vol. xvii. xviii. pass.

(A) The *Numidians*, particularly the *Massæsyli*, lived upon herbs, roots, flesh, milk, cheese, *&c.* in conformity to what *Herodotus* relates of the *Libyan Nomades*, as we learn from *Appian* and *Strabo*. This adds no small weight to the hypothesis we have ventured here to submit to the consideration of the learned (1).

(1) *Appian. in Libyc. c.* 6 & 64. *Strab. l.* xvii.

midians.

midians. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity; for he plundered all that diſtrict in a terrible manner, and crucified all the priſoners, without diſtinction, that fell into his hands. This filled the reſt with ſuch indignation and reſentment, that both they, and their poſterity ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*. The conduct of the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, during the firſt *Punic* war, was ſuch as merited the higheſt applauſe, as our readers will plainly perceive by conſulting a former part of this hiſtory [c].

Syphax defeated twice by Maſiniſſa.

In the conſulate of the younger *Fabius* and *Sempronius Gracchus*, *Syphax* king of the *Maſſæſyli* entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. He likewiſe, in a pitched battle, gave the *Carthaginians* a conſiderable defeat. This induced *Gala* king of the *Maſſyli* to conclude a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in conſequence of which his ſon *Maſiniſſa* marched at the head of a powerful army to give *Syphax* battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of *Carthaginians*, as ſoon as he came up with the *Maſſæſyli*, he engaged them. The fight was ſharp and bloody; but at laſt *Maſiniſſa* gained a complete victory, putting thirty thouſand of the *Maſſæſyli* to the ſword, and driving *Syphax* into the country of the *Mauruſii*, or *Mauritania*. This, for the preſent, gave a check both to the progreſs of *Syphax*'s arms, and the towering projects of the *Romans*. However, the *Maſſæſylian* monarch found means, ſome time after, to aſſemble another formidable army of *Maſſæſylians* and *Mauritanians*; which was likewiſe defeated and diſperſed by *Maſiniſſa*. But the face of affairs in this country was ſoon afterwards greatly changed [d].

A brief account of Maſiniſſa's affairs before he entered into an alliance with the Romans.

Gala dying whilſt his ſon *Maſiniſſa* was acting at the head of the *Numidian* troops ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, his brother *Deſalces*, according to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion in *Numidia*, took poſſeſſion of the *Maſſylian* throne. That prince dying ſoon after his acceſſion, *Capuſa*, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for one *Mezetulus*, a perſon of the royal blood, but an enemy to the family of *Gala*, found means to excite a great part of his ſubjects to a revolt. This enabled him to form a conſiderable corps, and to bring *Capuſa* to a general action; which ending in his favour, and *Capuſa*, with many of the nobleſſe, being ſlain, he obtained the *Maſſylian* crown, as the fruit of his victory. However, he did not think proper to aſſume the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of

[c] Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerptis Valeſii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 541. & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [d] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 47, 48, 49. Appian. in Libyc.

guardian to *Lacumaces*, the surviving son of *Desalces*, whom he graced with the royal title. To support himself in his usurpation, he married the dowager of *Desalces*, who was *Hannibal*'s niece, and consequently of the most powerful family in *Carthage*. In order to attain the same end, he sent embassadors to *Syphax*, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time *Masiniſſa*, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his cousin's slaughter, and of *Mezetulus*'s usurpation, immediately passed over to *Africa*, and went to the court of *Bocchar* king of *Mauritania*, to solicit succours. *Bocchar*, sensible of the great injustice offered *Masiniſſa*, gave him a body of four thousand *Moors* to escorte him to his dominions. His subjects, having been appriſed of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The *Moors*, in pursuance of their orders, returned home, as soon as *Masiniſſa* reached the confines of his kingdom. Notwithstanding which, and the small body that declared for him, having accidently met *Lacumaces* at *Thapsus*, with an escort going to implore *Syphax*'s assistance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by assault, after a faint resistance. However, *Lacumaces*, with many of his men, found means to escape to *Syphax*. The fame of this exploit gained *Masiniſſa* great credit, insomuch that the *Numidians* flocked to him from all parts, and, amongst the rest, many of his father *Gala*'s veterans, who pressed him to make a speedy and vigorous push for his hereditary dominions. *Lacumaces* having joined *Mezetulus* with a reinforcement of *Massæsylians*, which he had prevailed upon *Syphax* to send to the assistance of his ally, the usurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer *Masiniſſa* battle; which that prince, though much inferior in numbers, did not decline. Hereupon an engagement ensued; which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, ended in the defeat of *Lacumaces*. The immediate consequence of this victory to *Masiniſſa*, was a quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdom; *Mezetulus* and *Lacumaces*, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of *Carthage*. However, being apprehensive that he should be obliged to sustain a war against *Syphax*, he offered to treat *Lacumaces* with as many marks of distinction as his father *Gala* had *Desalces*; provided that prince would put himself under his protection. He also promised *Mezetulus* pardon, and a restitution of all the effects forfeited by his treasonable conduct, if he would make his submission to him. Both of them readily complied with the proposal, and immediately returned home; so that the tranquillity and repose of *Numidia* would have been settled upon a solid and lasting foundation, had not this been prevented by *Asdrubal*, who was then at *Syphax*'s court. He insinuated

inſinuated to that prince, who was diſpoſed to live amicably with his neighbours, "That he was greatly miſtaken, if he "imagined *Maſiniſſa* would be ſatisfied with his hereditary do- "minions. That he was a prince of much greater capacity "and ambition, than either his father *Gala*, his uncle *Deſalces*, "or any of his family. That he had diſcovered in *Spain* marks "of a moſt rare and uncommon merit. And that, in fine, "unleſs his riſing flame was extinguiſhed before it came to too "great a head, both the *Maſſæſylian* and *Carthaginian* ſtates "would be infallibly conſumed by it." *Syphax*, alarmed by theſe ſuggeſtions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a diſtrict, which had long been in diſpute between him and *Gala*, but was then in poſſeſſion of *Maſiniſſa*. This brought on a general action between thoſe two princes, wherein the latter was totally defeated, his army diſperſed, and he himſelf obliged to fly to the top of mount *Balbus*, attended only by a few of his horſe. Such a deciſive battle at the preſent juncture, before *Maſiniſſa* was fixed in his throne, could not but put *Syphax* into poſſeſſion of the kingdom of the *Maſſyli*. *Maſiniſſa* in the mean time made nocturnal incurſions from his poſt upon mount *Balbus*, and plundered all the adjacent country, particularly that part of the *Carthaginian* territory contiguous to *Numidia*. This diſtrict he not only thoroughly pillaged, but likewiſe laid waſte with fire and ſword, carrying off from thence an immenſe booty, which was bought by ſome merchants, who had put into one of the *Carthaginian* ports for that purpoſe. In fine, he did the *Carthaginians* more damage, not only by committing ſuch dread- ful devaſtations, but by maſſacring and carrying into captivity vaſt numbers of their ſubjects on this occaſion, than they could have ſuſtained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of a regular war. *Syphax*, at the preſſing and reiterated inſtances of the *Carthaginians*, ſent *Bocchar*, one of his moſt active com- manders, with a detachment of four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to reduce this peſtilent gang of robbers, pro- miſing him a great reward, if he could bring *Maſiniſſa* either alive or dead. *Bocchar*, watching an opportunity, ſurpriſed the *Maſſylians*, as they were ſtraggling about the country with- out any order or diſcipline; ſo that he took many priſoners, diſperſed the reſt, and purſued *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had before taken poſt. Conſidering the expedition as ended, he not only ſent many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to *Syphax*, but likewiſe all the forces, except five hundred foot, and two hundred horſe. With this detachment he drove *Maſiniſſa* from the ſummit of the hill, and purſued him through ſeveral narrow paſſes and defiles, as far as the

plains of *Clupea*. Here he ſo ſurrounded him, that all the *Maſſylians*, except four, were put to the ſword, and *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, after having received a dangerous wound, eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. As this was effected by croſſing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants periſhed in the ſight of the detachment that purſued him, it was rumoured all over *Africa*, that *Maſiniſſa* alſo was drowned; which gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*. For ſome time he lived undiſcovered in a cave, where he was ſupported by the robberies of the two horſemen, that had made their eſcape with him. But having cured his wound, by the application of ſome medicinal herbs, he boldly began to advance towards his own frontiers, giving out publicly, that he intended once more to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horſe, and, ſoon after his arrival amongſt the *Maſſyli*, ſo many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. With theſe forces, he not only reinſtated himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, but likewiſe laid waſte the borders of the *Maſſæſyli*. This ſo irritated *Syphax*, that he immediately aſſembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiouſly upon a ridge of mountains between *Cirta* and *Hippo*. His army he commanded in perſon, and detached his ſon *Vermina*, with a conſiderable force, to take a compaſs, and attack the enemy in the year. In purſuance of his orders, *Vermina* ſet out in the beginning of the night, and took poſt in the place appointed him, without being diſcovered by the enemy. In the mean time *Syphax* decamped, and advanced towards the *Maſſyli*, in order to give them battle. When he had poſſeſſed himſelf of a riſing ground, that led to their camp, and concluded that his ſon *Vermina* muſt have formed the ambuſcade behind them, he began the fight. *Maſiniſſa* being advantageouſly poſted, and his ſoldiers diſtinguiſhing themſelves in an extraordinary manner, the diſpute was long and bloody. But *Vermina* unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this means, obliging them to divide their forces, which were ſcarce able before to oppoſe the main body under *Syphax*, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and forced to betake themſelves to a precipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by *Syphax*, and partly by his ſon, ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the unhappy *Maſſyli*, that only *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, with ſixty horſe, eſcaped to the *Leſſer Syrtis*. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the *Carthaginians* and *Garamantes*, till the arrival of *Lælius*, and the *Roman* fleet, on the coaſt of *Africa*. What happened immediately after this junction with the

the *Romans*, our readers will find related at large in a part of this work, to which it more properly belongs [e].

Some farther particulars relating to Syphax *and* Masiniſſa.

WE have already obſerved, that the *Carthaginians* loſt *Maſiniſſa* by depriving him of his dear *Sophoniſba*. That lady was verſed in various branches of literature, excellently well ſkilled in muſic, the greateſt beauty of her age, and of ſuch exquiſite charms in every reſpect, that, according to a grave author, either her bare voice, or a ſight of her, was ſufficient to captivate the moſt rigid and ſevere philoſopher. *Maſiniſſa* therefore could never forgive the mortifying affront put upon him by the ſtate of *Carthage*, when her father *Aſdrubal*, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to *Syphax*. The *Carthaginians* however, endeavoured to fix that prince in their intereſt, and, in order to this, prevailed upon *Syphax* to reſtore him his dominions. *Maſiniſſa*, to have his full revenge both of *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, feigned himſelf intirely ſatisfied with ſo generous a ceſſion, and outwardly expreſſed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though at the ſame time he was underhand with the *Romans* meditating their ruin. *Aſdrubal* had either ſome private intelligence, or entertained a ſuſpicion, of this; which induced him to lay an ambuſcade for *Maſiniſſa*; which that prince happily eſcaped. *Syphax* in the mean time acted much ſuch a part as *Maſiniſſa*. For he pretended an attachment to the *Romans*, though he had entered into the ſtricteſt engagements with the *Carthaginians*, at the earneſt ſolicitations of his wife, whoſe charms he found himſelf incapable of reſiſting. The conſequences, both of his conduct, and that of his rival *Maſiniſſa*, have been already related at large. It will be ſufficient therefore in this place to obſerve, that, by the aſſiſtance of *Lælius*, *Maſiniſſa* at laſt reduced *Syphax*'s kingdom. According to *Zonaras*, *Maſiniſſa* and *Scipio*, before the memorable battle of *Zama*, by a ſtratagem, deprived *Hannibal* of ſome advantageous poſts; which, with a ſolar eclipſe happening during the heat of the action, and not a little intimidating the *Carthaginian* troops, greatly contributed to the victory the *Romans* obtained. At the concluſion, therefore, of the ſecond *Punic* war, he was amply rewarded by the *Romans* for the important ſervices he had done them. As for *Syphax*, after the loſs of his dominions, he was kept in confinement for ſome time at *Alba*, from whence being removed in order to grace *Scipio*'s triumph, he died at *Tibur* in his way to *Rome*. *Zonaras* adds, that his corpſe was decently interred; that all the *Numidian* priſoners were releaſed; and that *Vermina*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, took peaceable poſſeſſion of his

Year of the flood 2156. Bef. Chriſt 192. Of Rome 556.

[e] LIV. l. xxix. c. 29—34. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 320, & ſeq.

father's throne. However, part of the *Maſſæſylian* kingdom was before annexed to *Maſiniſſa*'s dominions, in order to reward that prince for his ſingular fidelity and cloſe attachment to the *Romans*, as has been already obſerved [f] (B).

As an account of all the principal tranſactions, in which *Maſiniſſa* was concerned between the ſecond and third *Punic* wars, has been already extracted from the beſt antient hiſtorians, we cannot here pretend to touch upon any of them, without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing therefore is further requiſite, in order to complete the hiſtory of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view ſome points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the cloſe, of life; the wiſe diſpoſitions made after his death by *Æmilianus*, in order to the regulation of his domeſtic affairs; and ſome particulars relating to his character, genius, and habit of body, drawn from the moſt celebrated *Greek* and *Roman* authors [g].

Maſiniſſa forces the Carthaginians *to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.*

By drawing a line of circumvallation round the *Carthaginian* army under *Aſdrubal*, poſted upon an eminence, *Maſiniſſa* cut off all manner of ſupplies from them; which introduced both the plague and the famine into their camp. As the body of *Numidian* troops employed in this blockade was not near ſo numerous as the *Carthaginian* forces, it is evident, that the line here mentioned muſt have been extremely ſtrong, and conſequently the effect of great labour and art. The *Carthaginians*, finding themſelves reduced to the laſt extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which *Maſiniſſa* dictated to them: 1. That they ſhould deliver up all deſerters. 2. That

[f] Appian. in Libyc. c. 6. Liv. l. xxx. c. 43. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11, 12. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 337. [g] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. & xviii. paſſ.

(B) This ſeems to be countenanced by the epitomizer of *Livy*, who gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, that *Syphax*'s family, for a conſiderable term after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, reigned in one part of *Numidia*. For he intimates, that *Archobarzanes*, *Syphax*'s grandſon, and probably *Vermina*'s ſon, hovered, with a powerful army of *Numidians*, upon the *Carthaginian* frontiers, a few years before the beginning of the third *Punic* war. This he ſeems to have done, either in order to cover them, or enable the *Carthaginians* to make an irruption into *Maſiniſſa*'s territories. *Cato* however pretended, that theſe forces, in conjunction with thoſe of *Carthage*, had a deſign to invade the *Roman* dominions, which he urged as a reaſon to induce the conſcript fathers to deſtroy the *African* republic (2).

(2) *Liv. epit. l.* xlviii.

they

they ſhould recall their exiles, who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they ſhould pay him five thouſand talents of ſilver, within the ſpace of fifty years. 4. That their ſoldiers ſhould paſs under the *jugum*, each of them carrying off only a ſingle garment. As *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, though between eighty and ninety years of age, conducted the whole enterprize, he muſt have been extremely well verſed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His underſtanding likewiſe he muſt have retained to the laſt. This happened a ſhort time before the beginning of the third *Punic* war [h].

Maſiniſſa to lay ſiege to *Carthage*, *at the* Romans.

SOON after, the conſuls landed an army in *Africa*, in order to lay ſiege to *Carthage*, without imparting to *Maſiniſſa* their *diſguſted* deſign. This not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the *Romans*, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions to him, and conſulted him on all occaſions. When therefore the conſuls applied to him for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he made anſwer, "That they ſhould have a reinforcement from "him, when they ſtood in need of it." It could not but be provoking to him to conſider, that, after he had extremely weakened the *Carthaginians*, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his pretended imperious friends ſhould come to reap the fruits of his victory, without giving him the leaſt intelligence of it [i].

He dies.

HOWEVER, his mind ſoon after returned to its natural byas, which was in favour of the *Romans*. Finding his end approaching, he ſent to *Æmilianus*, then a tribune in the *Roman* army, to deſire a viſit from him. What he propoſed by this viſit, was to inveſt him with full powers to diſpoſe of his kingdom and eſtate, as he ſhould think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he had entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this ſtep. But, believing that death would not permit him to have a perſonal conference with *Æmilianus* upon this ſubject, he informed his wife and children, in his laſt moments, that he had impowered him to diſpoſe, in an abſolute manner, of all his poſſeſſions, and to divide his kingdom amongſt his ſons. To which he ſubjoined, "I require, that whatever *Æmilianus* may "decree, ſhall be executed as punctually, as if I myſelf had "appointed it by my will." Having uttered theſe words, he expired, at above ninety years of age [k].

[h] APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 40, 41. [i] Idem ibid. c. 55, 56. LIV. & POLYB. paſſ. [k] APPIAN. ubi ſup. c. 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 105.

Some particulars relating to his character.

THIS prince, during his youth, had met with ſtrange reverſes of fortune, as appears from ſeveral preceding parts of this hiſtory. However, ſays *Appian*, being ſupported by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity for a long ſeries of years. His kingdom extended from *Mauritania* to the weſtern confines of *Cyrenaica*; from whence it appears, that he was one of the moſt powerful princes of *Africa*. Many of the inhabitants of this vaſt tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their ſoil, and to reap thoſe natural advantages, which the fertility of ſome parts of their country offered them. He was of a more robuſt habit of body than any of his cotemporaries, being bleſſed with the greateſt health and vigour, which was doubtleſs owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he inceſſantly ſuſtained. We are informed by *Polybius*, that ſometimes he ſtood upon the ſame ſpot of ground from morning till evening, without the leaſt motion, and at others continued as long in a ſitting poſture. He would remain on horſeback for ſeveral days and nights together, without being ſenſible of the leaſt fatigue. Nothing can better evince the ſtrength of his conſtitution, than his youngeſt ſon, named *Stembal*, *Sthemba*, or *Stembanus*, who was but four years old at his deceaſe. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exerciſes uſed by young men, and always rode without a ſaddle. *Pliny* tells us, that he reigned above ſixty years. He was an able commander, and much facilitated the reduction of *Carthage*. *Plutarch* from *Polybius* obſerves, that the day after a great victory won over the *Carthaginians*, *Maſiniſſa* was ſeen ſitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. *Suidas* relates, that, to the laſt, he could mount his horſe without any aſſiſtance. According to *Appian*, he left a numerous well-diſciplined army, and an immenſe quantity of wealth (C), behind him [1].

MASINISSA,

[1] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. & xviii. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. VAL. MAX. ubi ſup. STRAB. l. xvii. POLYB. in fragm. p. 1013. edit. Caſaub. 1619. PLIN. l. vii. c. 40. PLUT. in comment. an ſen. gerend. ſit reſp. p. 791. CIC. de ſenect. SUID. in voc. Μασανάσσης. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. POLYB. in excerp. Valeſ. p. 175. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. aliiq; plur.

(C) We are further told, that *Maſiniſſa* always went bare-headed, even though the weather was never ſo ſevere; and that, in his extreme old age, he could ſit on horſeback for four-and-twenty hours together, without being in the leaſt fatigued. Some authors ſay, that he was a pious prince, and ſent back to *Melita* or *Malta* a large quantity of ivory, which had been brought him from thence out of *Juno*'s temple, as a preſent

MASINISSA, before his death, gave his ring to his eldeſt ſon *Micipſa*; but left the diſtribution of all his other (D) effects and poſſeſſions amongſt his children, as has been juſt obſerved, intirely to *Æmilianus*. Of fifty-four ſons, that ſurvived him, only three were legitimate, to wit, *Micipſa*, *Guluſſa*, and *Maſtanabal*. *Æmilianus*, arriving at *Cirta* after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongſt theſe three, though to the others he gave conſiderable poſſeſſions. To *Micipſa*, who was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and the eldeſt ſon, he aſſigned *Cirta*, the metropolis, for the place of his reſidence, in excluſion of the others. *Guluſſa*, the next to him, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the tranſacting of all affairs, relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And *Maſtanabal*, or, according to *Livy* and *Salluſt*, *Manaſtabal*, the youngeſt, had the adminiſtration of juſtice, an employment ſuitable to his education, allotted him. They enjoyed in common the immenſe treaſures *Maſiniſſa* had amaſſed, and were all of them dignified by *Æmilianus* with the royal title. After he had made theſe wiſe diſpoſitions, that young nobleman departed from *Cirta*, taking with him a body of *Numidian* troops, under the conduct of *Guluſſa*, to reinforce the *Roman* army, that was then acting againſt the *Carthaginians* [m].

divides his kingdom and effects amongſt his three ſons, Micipſa, Guluſſa, and Maſtanabal.

[m] APPIAN. ubi ſupra, c. 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. LIV. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. ATHEN. deipnoſoph. l. vi.

ſent by his admiral. It is added, that he cauſed inſcriptions in *Numidian* letters to be ingraven on ſome of the pieces of this ivory, importing, that he willingly returned it, as ſoon as he knew it belonged to the goddeſs. *Valerius Maximus* ſays, that, not being able to repoſe any confidence in any of his children, officers, *&c.* he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from the attempts of his enemies by a guard of dogs. He ſuſtained as many toils, at near ninety years of age, as any man in his dominions. His ſubjects he trained up in the military art, inſtead of permitting them to plunder and ravage the country, as had frequently happened before his time. The inſcriptions above-mentioned are a further proof, that the *Numidians* uſed alphabetical characters (3).

(D) It is ſaid, that *Maſiniſſa* was ſerved in earthen-ware, after the *Roman* faſhion; but all the ſtrangers at his table in plate. The ſecond ſervice, or deſſert, was adorned with golden baſkets, in conformity to the *Italian* cuſtom, ſo ingeniouſly worked, that they reſembled thoſe made of twigs, ruſhes, *&c.* *Greek* muſicians likewiſe attended his entertainments (4).

(3) *Cic. de ſenect. Val. Max. l.* i. *c.* 1. *l.* viii. *c.* 13. *& l.* ix. *c.* 13.
(4) *Ptol. comment. l.* viii. *apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* vi.

Maſtanabal *and* Guluſſa *die ſoon after their father* Maſiniſſa.

MASTANABAL and *Guluſſa* died ſoon after their father, as appears from the expreſs teſtimony of *Salluſt*. We find nothing more remarkable of theſe princes, beſides what has been already related, than that the latter continued to aſſiſt the *Romans* in the third *Punic* war; and that the former was pretty well verſed in the *Greek* language. *Micipſa* therefore became ſole poſſeſſor of the kingdom of *Numidia*. In his reign, and the conſulate of *M. Plautius Hypſæus* and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, according to *Oroſius*, a great part of *Africa* was covered with locuſts, which deſtroyed all the produce of the earth, and even devoured dry wood. But at laſt they were all carried by the wind into the *African* ſea, out of which being thrown in vaſt heaps upon the ſhore, a plague enſued, which ſwept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In *Numidia* only periſhed eight hundred thouſand men, and in *Africa Propria* two hundred thouſand: amongſt the reſt, thirty thouſand *Roman* ſoldiers quartered in and about *Utica*, for the defence of the laſt province. At *Utica* in particular the mortality raged to ſuch a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day. *Micipſa* had two ſons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew *Jugurtha*. That young prince was the ſon of *Maſtanabal*; but his mother having been only a concubine, *Maſiniſſa* had taken no great notice of him. However, *Micipſa*, conſidering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him, as he did of his own children [n].

JUGURTHA poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. He was very handſome, endued with great ſtrength of body, and adorned with the fineſt intellectual endowments. He did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf, with perſons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exerciſes, ſuited to the martial genius of the *Numidians*; and, though he ſurpaſſed all his fellow-ſportſmen, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight; but it was that of lions, and other ſavage (E) beaſts. *Salluſt*, to finiſh his character, tells

[n] SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 5. LIV. epit. l. APPIAN. in Libyc. OROS. l. v. c. 11.

(E) *Salluſt* ſeems to intimate, that many of the natives of *Numidia* were deſtroyed by theſe wild beaſts. For he ſays, that the *Numidians* were ſo healthy, and of ſuch robuſt conſtitutions, that almoſt all of them attained to old age, except thoſe who either fell in war, or were devoured by wild beaſts, ſcarce any diſeaſe ever proving fatal to them (5).

(5) *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.*

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us, that he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf [o].

So conſpicuous an aſſemblage of fine talents and perfections at firſt charmed *Micipſa*, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he ſoon began to reflect, that he was conſiderably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirſted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. Theſe reflections ſoon excited his jealouſy, and determined him to expoſe *Jugurtha* to a variety of dangers, ſome of which, he entertained hopes, might prove fatal to him. In order to this, he gave him the command of a body of forces, which he ſent to aſſiſt the *Romans*, who were at that time beſieging *Numantia* in *Spain*. But *Jugurtha*, by his admirable conduct, not only eſcaped all theſe dangers, but likewiſe won the eſteem of the whole army, and the friendſhip of *Scipio*, who ſent a high character of him to his uncle *Micipſa*. However, that general gave him ſome prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, obſerving, no doubt, in him certain ſparks of ambition, which, if lighted into a flame, he apprehended, might, one day, be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences [p].

Micipſa *jealous of his nephew* Jugurtha.

BEFORE this laſt experiment, *Micipſa* had endeavoured to find out ſome method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongſt the *Numidians* obliged that prince to lay aſide all thoughts of this nature. After his return from *Spain*, the whole nation almoſt adored him. The heroic bravery he had ſhewn there, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmoſt calmneſs of mind, which enabled him to preſerve a juſt medium between a timorous foreſight and an impetuous raſhneſs, a circumſtance rarely to be met with in perſons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous teſtimonials of his conduct given by *Scipio*, attracted an univerſal eſteem. Nay, *Micipſa* himſelf, charmed with the high idea the *Roman* general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, reſolving, if poſſible, to win his affection by kindneſs. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two ſons (F) to the

Jugurtha's *perfidiouſneſs and cruelty.*

[o] SALLUST. ubi ſup. FLOR. l. iii. c. 1. [p] SALLUST. ubi ſup. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 9.

(F) *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that though *Micipſa* had many children, his three favourite ſons were *Adherbal*, *Hiempſal*, and *Micipſa*. The ſame hiſtorian likewiſe adds, that he was the moſt clement of all the *Numidian* monarchs; and that he entertained a great number of *Greeks*, eminent in all branches of literature, particularly philoſophy, by whoſe inſtructions he became a moſt celebrated philoſopher (6).

(6) *Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Valeſ. p.* 385, 386.

crown.

crown. Finding, some few years afterwards, that his end approached, he sent for all three to his bed-side, where, in the presence of the whole court, he desired *Jugurtha* to recollect with what extreme tenderness he had treated him, and consequently to consider how well he had deserved at his hands. He then intreated him to protect his children on all occasions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now, by their father's bounty, become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their interest, he likewise complimented him upon his bravery, address, and consummate prudence. He further insinuated, that neither arms nor treasures constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real services, and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where, continued he, can we find better friends than "in brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an ene-"my to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend upon "strangers?" Then addressing himself to *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*, "And you, said he, I injoin always to pay the highest re-"verence to *Jugurtha*. Endeavour to imitate, and, if possible, "surpass his exalted merit, that the world may not hereafter "observe *Micipsa*'s adopted son to have reflected greater glory "upon his memory than his own children." Soon after, *Micipsa*, who, according to *Diodorus*, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though *Jugurtha* did not believe the king to speak his real sentiments with regard to him, yet he seemed extremely pleased with so gracious a speech, and made him an answer suitable to the occasion. However, that prince at the same time was determined within himself to put in execution the scheme he had formed at the siege of *Numantia*, which was suggested to him by some factious and abandoned *Roman* officers, with whom he there contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this scheme was, that he should extort the crown by force from his two cousins, as soon as their father's eyes were closed; which, they insinuated, might easily be effected by his own valour, and the venality of the *Romans*. Accordingly, a short time after the old king's death, he found means to assassinate *Hiempsal* in the city of *Thirmida*, where his treasures were deposited, and drive *Adherbal* out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himself obliged to fly to *Rome*, where he endeavoured to engage the conscript fathers to espouse his quarrel; but, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, they had not virtue enough effectually to support him. *Jugurtha*'s embassadors, by distributing vast sums of money amongst the senators, brought them so far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. This encouraged those ministers to declare, that *Hiempsal* had been killed by the *Numidians*, on account of his excessive cruelty; that *Adherbal* was the aggressor in the late

troubles; and that he was only chagrined, becauſe he could not make that havock amongſt his countrymen he would willingly have done. They, therefore, intreated the ſenate to form a judgment of *Jugurtha*'s behaviour in *Africa* from his conduct at *Numantia*, rather than from the ſuggeſtions of his enemies. Upon which, by far the greateſt part of the ſenate diſcovered themſelves prejudiced in his favour. A few however, that were not loſt to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, inſiſted upon bringing him to condign puniſhment. But, as they could not prevail, he had the beſt part of *Numidia* allotted him, and *Adherbal* was forced to reſt ſatisfied with the other [q].

He bribes the Roman ſenate, and maſſacres Adherbal.

JUGURTHA, finding now by experience, that every thing was venal at *Rome*, as his friends at *Numantia* had before informed him, thought he might purſue his towering projects without any obſtruction from that quarter. He therefore, immediately after the laſt diviſion of *Micipſa*'s dominions, threw off the maſk, and attacked his couſin by open force. As *Adherbal* was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and almoſt in all reſpects the reverſe of *Jugurtha*, he was by no means a match for him. The latter therefore pillaged the former's territories, ſtormed ſeveral of his fortreſſes, and over-ran a good part of his kingdom without oppoſition. *Adherbal*, depending upon the friendſhip of the *Romans*, which his father, in his laſt moments, aſſured him would be a ſtronger ſupport to him than all the troops and treaſures in the univerſe, diſpatched deputies to *Rome*, to complain of theſe hoſtilities. But, whilſt he loſt his time in ſending thither fruitleſs deputations, *Jugurtha* overthrew him in a pitched battle, and ſoon after ſhut him up in *Cirta*. During the ſiege of this city, a *Roman* commiſſion arrived there, in order to perſuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding *Jugurtha* untractable, the commiſſioners returned home, without ſo much as conferring with *Adherbal*. A ſecond deputation, compoſed of ſenators of the higheſt diſtinction, with *Æmilius Scaurus*, preſident of the ſenate, at their head, landed ſome time after at *Utica*, and ſummoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them. That prince at firſt ſeemed to be under dreadful apprehenſions, eſpecially as *Scaurus* reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the reſentment of the *Romans*, if he did not immediately raiſe the ſiege of *Cirta*. However, the *Numidian*, by his addreſs, and the irreſiſtible power of gold, as was afterwards ſuſpected at *Rome*, ſo mollified *Scaurus*, that he left *Adherbal* at his mercy. In fine, *Jugurtha* had at laſt *Cirta* ſurrendered to him, upon condition only, that he ſhould ſpare the life of *Adherbal*. But the mercileſs tyrant, in violation of

[q] SALLUST. & FLOR. ubi ſup. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 26. OROS. l. v. c. 15.

the

the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he had got poſſeſſion of the town, ordered him to be put to a moſt cruel death. The merchants likewiſe, and all the *Numidians* in the place capable of bearing arms, he cauſed, without diſtinction, to be put to the ſword [r].

He corrupts Beſtia *and* Scaurus.

EVERY perſon at *Rome*, inſpired with any ſentiments of humanity, was ſtruck with horror at the news of this tragical event. However, all the venal ſenators ſtill concurred with *Jugurtha*'s miniſters in palliating his enormous crimes. Notwithſtanding which, the people, excited thereto by *Caius Memmius* their tribune, who bitterly inveighed againſt the venality of the ſenate, reſolved not to let ſo flagrant an inſtance of villainy go unpuniſhed. This diſpoſition in them induced the conſcript fathers likewiſe to declare their intention to chaſtiſe *Jugurtha*. In order to this, an army was levied to invade *Numidia*, and the command of it given to the conſul *Calpurnius Beſtia*, a perſon of good abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition he was to go upon by his inſatiable avarice. *Jugurtha*, being informed of the great preparations making at *Rome* to attack his dominions, ſent his ſon thither to avert the impending ſtorm. The young prince was plentifully ſupplied with money, which he had orders to diſtribute liberally amongſt the leading men. But *Beſtia*, propoſing to himſelf great advantages from an invaſion of *Numidia*, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree paſſed, ordering him and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unleſs they were come to deliver up the king himſelf, and all his territories, to the republic by way of dedition. Which decree being notified to them, they returned, without ſo much as having entered the gates of *Rome*; and the conſul ſoon after landed with a powerful army in *Africa*. For ſome time he carried on the war there very briſkly, reduced ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and took many *Numidians* priſoners. But, upon the arrival of *Scaurus*, whoſe character has been already given in the *Roman* hiſtory, a peace was granted *Jugurtha* upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from *Vacca*, the place of his reſidence, to the *Roman* camp, in order to confer with *Beſtia* and *Scaurus*, and the preliminaries of the treaty being immediately after ſettled between them in private conferences, every body at *Rome* was convinced, that the prince of the ſenate and the conſul had to their avarice ſacrificed the republic. The indignation therefore of the people in general diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. *Memmius* alſo fired them with his ſpeeches. It was therefore reſolved to diſpatch the prætor *Caſſius*, a perſon they could confide in, to *Numidia*, to prevail upon *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome*, that they might learn from the king himſelf which of their generals and

Year of the flood 2238. Bef. Chriſt 110. Of Rome 638.

[r] Iidem ibid. Liv. epit. lxiv.

ſenators

ſenators had been ſeduced by the peſtilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival there, he found means to bribe one *Bæbius Salca*, a man of great authority amongſt the plebeians, but of inſatiable avarice, by whoſe aſſiſtance he eſcaped with impunity. Nay, by the efficacy of gold, he not only eluded all the endeavours of the people of *Rome* to bring him to juſtice, but likewiſe enabled *Bomilcar*, one of his attendants, to get *Maſſiva*, an illegitimate ſon of *Micipſa*, aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of *Rome*. That young prince was adviſed by many *Romans* of probity, well-wiſhers to the family of *Maſiniſſa*, to apply for the kingdom of *Numidia*; which coming to *Jugurtha*'s ears, he prevented the application by this execrable ſtep. However, he was obliged to leave *Italy* immediately. He departed *Rome* with paſſing that ſevere reflection upon the venality of its infamous citizens already mentioned [s].

JUGURTHA had ſcarce ſet foot in *Africa*, when he received advice, that the ſenate had annulled the ſhameful peace concluded with him by *Beſtia* and *Scaurus*. Soon after, the conſul *Albinus* tranſported a *Roman* army into *Numidia*, flattering himſelf with the hopes of reducing *Jugurtha* to reaſon before the expiration of his conſulate. In this however he found himſelf deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, ſo amuſed and impoſed upon *Albinus*, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This rendered him ſtrongly ſuſpected of having betrayed his country after the example of his predeceſſors. His brother *Aulus*, who ſucceeded him in the command of the army, was ſtill more unſucceſsful; for, after riſing from before *Suthul*, where the king's treaſures were depoſited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impoſſible to extricate himſelf. He therefore was obliged to ſubmit to the ignominious ceremony of paſſing under the *jugum*, with all his men, and to quit *Numidia* intirely in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate deſtruction. The avaricious diſpoſition of the *Roman* commander prompted him to beſiege *Suthul*, the poſſeſſion of which place, he imagined, would make him maſter of all the wealth of *Jugurtha*, and conſequently paved the way to ſuch a ſcandalous treaty. However, this was declared void as ſoon as known at *Rome*, as being concluded without the authority of the people. The *Roman* troops retired into *Africa Propria*, which they had now reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and there took up their winter-quarters [t].

Obliges the Roman *army to paſs under the* jugum, *and quit* Numidia.

IN the mean time *Caius Mamilius Limetanus*, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to inquire into the conduct of thoſe perſons, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Jugurtha* had found means to elude all the decrees of the ſenate. This put the body of the people

Defeated by Metelus.

[s] Iidem ibid. [t] SALLUST. FLOR. OROS. ubi ſup.

into

into a great ferment; which occaſioned a proſecution of the guilty ſenators, that was carried on, for ſome time, with the utmoſt heat and violence. *Lucius Metellus* the conſul, during theſe tranſactions, had *Numidia* aſſigned him for his province, and conſequently was appointed general of the army deſtined to act againſt *Jugurtha*. As he perfectly diſregarded wealth, the *Numidian* found him ſuperior to all his temptations; which was a great mortification to him. To this he joined all the other virtues, which conſtitute the great captain; ſo that *Jugurtha* found him in all reſpects inacceſſible. That prince therefore was now forced to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of *Metellus*, with the greateſt caution, and exert his utmoſt bravery, in order to compenſate for that hitherto ſo favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. *Marius*, *Metellus*'s lieutenant, being likewiſe a perſon of uncommon merit, the *Romans* reduced *Vacca*, a large, opulent city, and the moſt celebrated mart in *Numidia*. They alſo defeated *Jugurtha* in a pitched battle; overthrew *Bomilcar*, one of his generals, upon the banks of the *Muthullus*; and, in fine, forced the *Numidian* monarch to take ſhelter in a place rendered almoſt inacceſſible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, *Jugurtha* ſignalized himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of a conſummate general, to whom deſpair adminiſters freſh ſtrength, and ſuggeſts new lights. But his troops could not make head againſt the *Romans*; they were again worſted by *Marius*, though they obliged *Metellus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Zama*. *Jugurtha* therefore, finding his country every-where ravaged, his moſt opulent cities plundered, his fortreſſes reduced, his towns burnt, vaſt numbers of his ſubjects put to the ſword, and taken priſoners, began to think ſeriouſly of coming to an accommodation with the *Romans*. His favourite *Bomilcar*, in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, but who had been gained over to the enemy by *Metellus*, obſerving this diſpoſition, found it no difficult matter to perſuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horſes, and deſerters, in whom the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted, into the hands of the *Romans*. Some of theſe laſt, in order to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, retired to *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, and liſted in his ſervice. But *Metellus* ordering him to repair to (G) *Tiſidium*, a city of *Numidia*, there to receive farther directions,

(G) This city ſeems to have been ſituated either upon the borders of *Africa Propria*, or in that province, ſince *Metellus* diſtributed his troops in winter-quarters there, after the concluſion of the campaign (7).

(7) *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.*

and

and he refuſing a compliance with that order, hoſtilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now ſeemed to declare in favour of *Jugurtha:* he retook *Vacca*, and maſſacred all the *Roman* gariſon, except *Turpilius*, the commandant. However, ſoon after a *Roman* legion ſeized again upon it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity. About this time, one of *Maſtanabal*'s ſons, named *Gauda*, whom *Micipſa*, in his will, had appointed to ſucceed to the crown, in caſe his two legitimate ſons and *Jugurtha* died without iſſue, wrote to the ſenate in favour of *Marius*, who was then endeavouring to ſupplant *Metellus*; the occaſion and effect of which ſolicitation has already been related. That prince, having his underſtanding impaired by a declining ſtate of health, fell a more eaſy prey to the baſe and infamous adulation of *Marius*. The *Roman* ſoothing his vanity, aſſured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the *Numidian* throne, as ſoon as *Jugurtha* was either killed or taken; and that this muſt in a ſhort time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the *Roman* army with an unlimited commiſſion. Soon after, *Bomilcar* and *Nabdalſa* formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate *Jugurtha*, at the (H) inſtigation of *Metellus*; but this being detected, *Bomilcar*, and moſt of his accomplices, ſuffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot however had ſuch an effect upon *Jugurtha*, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquillity or repoſe. He ſuſpected perſons of all denominations, *Numidians* as well as foreigners, of ſome black deſigns againſt him. Perpetual terrors ſat brooding over his mind; inſomuch that he never got a wink of ſleep, but by ſtealth, and often changed his bed in a low, plebeian manner. Starting from his ſleep, he would frequently ſnatch his ſword, and break out into the moſt doleful cries. So ſtrongly was he haunted by a ſpirit of fear, jealouſy, and diſtraction [u].

JUGURTHA having deſtroyed great numbers of his friends, on ſuſpicion of their having been concerned in the late conſpiracy, and many more of them deſerting to the *Romans* and *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, he found himſelf, in a manner, deſtitute of counſellors, generals, and all perſons capable of aſſiſting him

Over-thrown a ſecond time by him.

[u] Iidem ibid. LIV. epit. lxv. PLUT. in Mar. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 11.

(H) *Frontinus* relates, that *Metellus* endeavoured to ſecure *Jugurtha*'s perſon, not to aſſaſſinate him, which, he inſinuates, might have been more eaſily effected. But as this runs counter to *Salluſt*, who is ſuperior, in point of authority, to *Frontinus*, this hiſtorical fragment deſerves not much credit (8).

(8) *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 8, ex. 8.*

in

in carrying on the war. This threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him diſſatisfied with every thing, and made him fatigue his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity againſt the enemy, and at others retreat with no ſmall ſwiftneſs from them. Then he reſumed his former courage; but ſoon after deſpaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt he was forced by *Metellus* to a battle. That part of the *Numidian* army *Jugurtha* commanded, behaved with ſome reſolution; but the other fled at the firſt onſet. The *Romans* therefore intirely defeated them, took all their ſtandards, and made a few of them priſoners. Not many of them were ſlain in the action, ſince, as *Salluſt* obſerves, the *Numidians* truſted more to their heels than to their arms for ſafety in this engagement [w].

Metellus *takes* Thala. Year of the flood 2242. Bef. Chriſt 106. Of Rome 642.

METELLUS purſued *Jugurtha* and his fugitives to *Thala*, a place we have formerly deſcribed. His march to this place, being through vaſt deſerts, was extremely tedious and difficult. But being ſupplied with leathern bottles and wooden veſſels of all ſizes taken from the huts of the *Numidians*, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had ſubmitted to him, he advanced towards that city. He had no ſooner begun his march, than a moſt copious ſhower of rain, a thing very uncommon in thoſe deſerts, proved a great and ſeaſonable refreſhment to his troops. This ſo animated them, that upon their arrival before *Thala*, they attacked the town with ſuch vigour, that *Jugurtha*, with his family, and treaſures depoſited therein, thought proper to abandon it. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the gariſon, conſiſting of *Roman* deſerters, ſetting fire to the king's palace, and conſuming themſelves, together with every thing valuable to them, in the flames. *Jugurtha*, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into *Gætulia*, where he formed a conſiderable corps. From thence he advanced to the confines of *Mauritania*, and engaged *Bocchus*, king of that country, who had married his daughter, to enter into an alliance with him. In conſequence of which, having reinforced his *Gætulian* troops with a powerful body of *Mauritanians*, he turned the tables upon *Metellus*, and obliged him to keep cloſe within his intrenchments. *Salluſt* informs us, that *Jugurtha* bribed *Bocchus*'s miniſters to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he inſinuated, that, ſhould *Numidia* be ſubdued, *Mauritania* muſt be involved in its ruin, eſpecially as the *Romans* ſeemed to have vowed the deſtruction of all the thrones in the univerſe. In ſupport of what he ad-

[w] SALLUST. LIV. PATERC. OROS. ubi ſup. EUTROP. ubi ſup. c. 27.

vanced, he produced ſeveral inſtances very appoſite to the point in view. However, the ſame author ſeems to intimate, that *Bocchus* was determined to aſſiſt *Jugurtha* againſt his enemies by the ſlight the *Romans* had formerly ſhewn him. That prince, at the firſt breaking out of this war, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive alliance to the republic; which, though of the utmoſt conſequence to it at that juncture, a few of the moſt venal and infamous ſenators, who were abandoned to corruption, prevented from taking effect. This undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon *Bocchus* in favour of *Jugurtha*, than the relation he ſtood in to him; for both the *Moors* and *Numidians* adapted the number of their wives to their circumſtances, ſo that ſome had ten, twenty, *&c.* to their ſhare. Their kings therefore were unlimited in this particular, and of courſe all degrees of affinity, reſulting to them from marriage, had little force. It is obſervable, that the poſterity of thoſe antient nations have the ſame cuſtom prevailing amongſt them at this day [x].

And endeavours to draw off Bocchus *from the intereſt of* Jugurtha.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs in *Numidia*, when *Metellus* received advice of the promotion of *Marius* to the conſulate. What effect this news had upon that excellent, tho' much injured, commander, has been already obſerved. But, notwithſtanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occaſion, he generouſly endeavoured to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, though this would facilitate the reduction of *Numidia* for his rival. To this end embaſſadors were diſpatched to the *Mauritanian* court, who intimated to *Bocchus*, "That it would be "highly imprudent to come to a rupture with the *Romans* with- "out any cauſe at all; and that he had now a fine opportunity "of concluding a moſt advantageous treaty with them, which "was much preferable to a war. To which they added, that "whatever dependence he might place upon his riches, he ought "not to run the hazard of loſing his dominions by embroiling "*himſelf* with other ſtates, when he could eaſily avoid this; "that it was much eaſier to begin a war, than to end it, which "it was in the power of the victor alone to do; that, in fine, he "would by no means conſult the intereſt of his ſubjects, if he "followed the deſperate fortunes of *Jugurtha*." To which *Bocchus* replied, "That for his part, there was nothing he "wiſhed for more than peace; but that he could not help pi- "tying the deplorable condition of *Jugurtha*; that if the *Ro- "mans* therefore would grant that unfortunate prince the ſame "terms they had offered him, he would bring about an ac- "commodation." *Metellus* let the *Mauritanian* monarch know,

[x] Iidem ibid. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & BERN. ALDRET. ubi ſup. p. 400, 401, & ſeq.

that it was not in his power to comply with what he deſired However, he took care to keep up a private negotiation with him till the new conſul *Marius*'s arrival. By this conduct he ſerved two wiſe ends. Firſt, he prevented thereby *Bocchus* from coming to a general action with his troops; which was the very thing *Jugurtha* deſired, as hoping that this, whatever the event might be, would render a reconciliation betwixt him and the *Romans* impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to diſcover ſomething of the genius and diſpoſition of the *Moors*, a nation, of whom the *Romans*, till then, had ſcarce formed any idea; which, he imagined, might be of no ſmall ſervice, either to himſelf or his ſucceſſors, in the future proſecution of the war [y].

Marius *reduces* Capſa.

JUGURTHA, being informed, that *Marius*, with a numerous army, was landed at *Utica*, adviſed *Bocchus* to retire, with part of the troops, to ſome place of difficult acceſs, whilſt he himſelf took poſt upon another inacceſſible ſpot with the remaining corps. By this meaſure, he hoped the *Romans* would be obliged to divide their forces, and conſequently be more expoſed to his efforts and attacks. He likewiſe imagined, that, ſeeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy in no condition to make head againſt them; which might occaſion a relaxation of diſcipline, the uſual attendant of a too great ſecurity, and conſequently produce ſome good effect. However, he was diſappointed in both theſe views. For *Marius*, far from ſuffering a relaxation of diſcipline to take place, trained up his troops, which conſiſted chiefly of new levies, in ſo perfect a manner, that they were ſoon equal in goodneſs to any conſular army that ever appeared in the field. He alſo cut off great numbers of the *Gætulian* marauders, defeated many of *Jugurtha*'s parties, and had like to have taken that prince himſelf priſoner near the city of *Cirta*. Theſe advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated *Bocchus*, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the *Romans*, not being ſufficiently ſatisfied of his ſincerity, gave no great attention to them. In the mean time *Marius* puſhed on his conqueſts, reducing ſeveral places of leſs note, and at laſt reſolved to beſiege *Capſa*. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greater ſecrecy, he ſuffered not the leaſt hint of his deſign to tranſpire, even amongſt any of his officers. On the contrary, in order to blind them, he detached *A. Manlius*, one of his lieutenants, with ſome light-armed cohorts, to the city of *Lares*, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and depoſited the military cheſt. Before *Manlius* left the camp, that he might the more effectually

[y] SALLUST. VEL. PATERC. & PLUT. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p 482.

amuſe

amuſe him, he intimated, that himſelf, with the army, ſhould take the ſame route in a few days; but, inſtead of that, he bent his march towards the *Tanais*, and, in ſix days time, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a ſhort time, in order to refreſh his troops; which having done, he advanced to *Capſa*, and made himſelf maſter of it, in the manner already related. As the ſituation of this city rendered it extremely commodious to *Jugurtha*, whoſe plan of operations, ever ſince the commencement of the war, it had exceedingly favoured, he leveled it with the ground, after it had been delivered up to the ſoldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewiſe, being more ſtrongly attached to that prince than any of the other *Numidians*, on account of the extraordinary privileges he indulged them with, and, of courſe, bearing a more implacable hatred to the *Romans*, he put to the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves. The true motive of the conſul's conduct on this occaſion ſeems here to be aſſigned, though we are told by *Salluſt*, in conformity to the *Roman* genius, that neither avarice nor reſentment prompted him to ſo barbarous an action, but only a deſire to ſtrike a terror into the *Numidians*[z] (I).

THE *Numidians*, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of *Marius*, who now, in his own opinion, had eclipſed the glory of all his predeceſſor's great atchievements, particularly the reduction of *Thala*, a city, in ſtrength and ſituation, nearly reſembling *Capſa*. Following his blow, he gradually preſented himſelf before moſt of the places of ſtrength in the enemy's

Jugurtha *prevails upon* Bocchus *to aſſiſt him.*

[z] SALLUST. LIV. FLOR. PLUT. EUTROP. OROS. ubi ſupra.

(I) *Salluſt* does not only inform us, that the *Numidians* lived after much the ſame manner as the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, but likewiſe that they were called *Nomo-Numidæ*. This ſeems to confirm what we have hinted above concerning the etymon of the word *Numidia*. He likewiſe tells us, that theſe *Nomo-Numidæ* increaſed ſo exceedingly, that they overſtocked their original country; and therefore were obliged to make an irruption into the region afterwards from them called *Numidia*, where they ſettled. This piece of hiſtory the ſame writer affirms to have been extracted from ſome *Punic* books belonging to king *Hiempſal*. From whence it may be inferred, that what has been advanced by *Herodotus* concerning the irruption of the *Libyan Nomades* into *Numidia*, is probably true, ſince it is atteſted by the *Punic* writers themſelves. However, it muſt be owned, that where theſe authors contradict *Herodotus*, and the generality of the beſt hiſtorians, ſuch a degree of credit is not due to them (9).

(9) *Herodot. ubi ſup. l.* iv. *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.*

country, many of which either opened their gates, or were abandoned, at his approach, being terrified with what had happened to the unfortunate citizens of *Capſa*. Others, taking by force, he laid in aſhes; and, in ſhort, filled the greateſt part of *Numidia* with blood, horror, and confuſion. Then, after an obſtinate defence, he reduced a caſtle, that ſeemed impregnable, ſeated not far from *Mulucha*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his treaſures (K). In the mean time *Jugurtha*, not being able to prevail upon *Bocchus*, by his repeated ſolicitations, to advance into *Numidia*, where he found himſelf greatly preſſed, was obliged to have recourſe to his uſual method of bribing the *Mauritanian* miniſters, in order to put that prince in motion. He alſo promiſed him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or get all the *Numidian* dominions confirmed to him by treaty [a].

They are both defeated by Marius, *upon which* Bocchus *delivers up* Jugurtha *to the* Romans.

So conſiderable a ceſſion could not fail of engaging *Bocchus* to ſupport *Jugurtha* with his whole power. The two (L) *African* monarchs therefore, having joined their forces, ſurpriſed *Marius* near *Cirta*, as he was going into winter-quarters. The *Roman* general was ſo puſhed on this occaſion, that the barbarians thought themſelves certain of victory, and doubted not but they ſhould be able to extinguiſh the *Roman* name in *Numidia*. But their incaution and too great ſecurity enabled *Marius* to give them a total defeat; which was followed four days after by ſo complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand men, by the acceſſion of a powerful corps of *Moors*, commanded by *Bocchus*'s ſon *Volux*, was intirely ruined. *Sylla*, *Marius*'s lieutenant, moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt action, which laid the foundation of his future greatneſs. *Bocchus*, now looking upon *Jugurtha*'s condition as deſperate,

Year of the flood 2243. Bef. Chriſt 105. Of Rome 643.

[a] SALLUST. FLOR. PLUT. ubi ſup. S. Jul. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3.

(K) Notwithſtanding the immenſe treaſures *Jugurtha* had been in poſſeſſion of, ſo late as ſome years after the death of *Gala*, father to *Maſiniſſa*, a great part of the *Numidians*, all thoſe at leaſt inhabiting the open country, had no gold or ſilver money. However, they were not very ſenſible of this defect, ſince it was ſupplied by their flocks and herds, as we are informed by *Livy* (1).

(L) *Frontinus* ſays, that *Jugurtha* never began a battle with the *Romans* till towards evening, that, if he ſhould happen to be defeated, he might eſcape by favour of the night (2).

(1) *Liv. l.* xxix. *c.* 31. (2) *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l.* ii. *c.* 1. *ex.* 13.

and

and not being willing to run the riſk of loſing his dominions, ſhewed a diſpoſition to clap up a peace with *Rome*. However, the republic gave him to underſtand, that he muſt not expect to be ranked amongſt its friends, till he had delivered up into the conſul's hands *Jugurtha*, the inveterate enemy of the *Roman* name. The *Mauritanian* monarch, having entertained an high idea of an alliance with that ſtate, reſolved to ſatisfy it in this particular, and was confirmed in his reſolution by one *Dabar*, a *Numidian* prince, the ſon of *Maſſugrada*, and deſcended, by his mother's ſide, from *Maſiniſſa*. Being cloſely attached to the *Romans*, and extremely agreeable to *Bocchus*, on account of his noble diſpoſition, he defeated all the intrigues of *Aſpar*, *Jugurtha*'s miniſter. Upon *Sylla*'s arrival at the *Mauritanian* court, the affair there ſeemed to be intirely ſettled. However, *Bocchus*, who was for ever projecting new deſigns, and, like the reſt of his countrymen, in the higheſt degree perfidious, debated within himſelf, whether he ſhould ſacrifice *Sylla* or *Jugurtha*, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated by a contrariety of ſentiments. The ſudden changes, which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, his air, and his whole perſon, evidently ſhewed how ſtrongly his mind was agitated. But at laſt he returned to his firſt deſign, to which the byas of his mind ſeemed naturally to lead him. He therefore delivered up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, to be conducted to *Marius*, who, by that ſucceſsful event, happily terminated this dangerous war. The kingdom of *Numidia* was now reduced to a new form: *Bocchus*, for his important ſervices, had the country of the *Maſſæſyli*, contiguous to *Mauritania*, aſſigned him, which, from this time, took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to *Hiempſal*, another to *Mandreſtal*, both deſcendents of *Maſiniſſa*, and the third the *Romans* annexed to *Africa Propria*, or the *Roman* province, adjacent to it. What became of *Jugurtha*, after he had graced *Marius*'s triumph (M), at which ceremony he was led in chains,

(M) According to *Plutarch*, *Marius*'s triumph happened on the firſt day of *January*, which began the year amongſt the *Romans*, when *Jugurtha* was expoſed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely pleaſed with that ſight, the *Numidian*, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himſelf terrible to the *Romans*. Nay, *Florus* intimates, that he was looked upon by them as a ſecond *Hannibal*. *Plutarch* adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he fell diſtracted; that, when he was afterwards thrown into priſon, whilſt ſome tore off his cloaths,

chains, together with his two ſons, through the ſtreets of *Rome*, our readers will find related at large in a former part of this work [b].

Tranſactions in Numidia *after the death of* Jugurtha.

JUGURTHA's two ſons ſurvived him, but ſpent their lives in captivity at *Venuſia*. However, one of them, named *Oxyntas*, was, for a ſhort time, releaſed from his confinement by *Aponius*, who beſieged *Acerræ* in the war between the *Romans* and the *Italian* allies. That general brought this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw the *Numidian* forces off from the *Roman* ſervice. Accordingly thoſe *Numidians* no ſooner heard, that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; which obliged *Julius Cæſar*, the conſul, to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and ſend them back into *Africa*. Some few years after this event, *Pompey* defeated *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, killing ſeventeen thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. Not ſatisfied with this victory, that general purſued the fugitives to their camp, which he ſoon forced, put *Domitius* to the ſword, and took *Hiarbas* priſoner. He then reduced that part of *Numidia* which belonged to *Hiarbas*, who ſeems to have ſucceeded *Mandreſtal* above-mentioned, and gave it to *Hiempſal*, a neighbouring *Numidian* prince, deſcended from *Maſiniſſa*, who had always oppoſed the *Marian* faction. For a particular account of the treacherous reception *Hiempſal*, or his ſon *Mandreſtal*, gave young *Marius*, *Cethegus*, *Lectorius*, and others of the ſame party, when proſcribed by *Sylla*, and forced to ſeek an aſylum

[b] SALLUST. ubi ſup. LIV. epit. lxvi. PLUT. in Mar. & in Syl. DIO CASS. l. xliii. APPIAN. de bell. civ. FLOR. EUTROP. & OROS. ubi ſup. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 494, 499, 500. VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 12.

cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly diſcompoſed; and that yet, full of horror, when he was caſt naked into the dungeon, he forced a ſmile, crying out, *O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours!* In this place he ſtruggled for ſome time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithſtanding his own inhuman diſpoſition, will remain an eternal monument of the *Roman* cruelty and ingratitude. *Mithridates* therefore juſtly reproached the lords of the world with their infamous barbarity to the grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*, a prince that contributed as much to the deſtruction of their only rival *Carthage* as either of the *Africani* (3).

(3) *Juſt. l.* xxxviii. *c.* 6. *Plut. in Marie.*

at

at his court, we must refer our readers to *Plutarch* and *Appian* [c].

SUETONIUS informs us, that a dispute happened between *Hiempsal* and one *Masintha*, a noble *Numidian*, whom, it is probable, he had, in some respect, injured, when *Julius Cæsar* first began to make a figure in the world. The same author adds, that *Cæsar* warmly espoused the cause of *Masintha*, and even grosly insulted *Juba*, *Hiempsal*'s son, when he attempted to vindicate his father's conduct on this occasion. He pulled him by the beard, than which a more unpardonable affront could not be offered an *African*. In short, he screened *Masintha* from the insults and violence of his enemies; from whence a reason may be assigned for *Juba*'s adhering so closely afterwards to the *Pompeian* faction [d].

IN consequence of the indignity *Cæsar* had offered *Juba*, and the disposition it had occasioned, that prince did *Cæsar* great damage in the civil wars betwixt him and *Pompey*. By a stratagem he drew *Curio*, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, which it was his interest at that time to have avoided. He caused it to be given out all over *Africa Propria* and *Numidia*, that he was retired into some remote country at a great distance from the *Roman* territories. This coming to *Curio*'s ears, who was then besieging *Utica*, it hindered him from taking the necessary precautions against a surprize. Soon after, the *Roman* general receiving intelligence, that a small body of *Numidians* was approaching his camp, he put himself at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, for fear they should escape, began his march in the night, looking upon himself as sure of victory. Some of their advanced posts he surprised asleep, and cut them to pieces, which still further animated him. In short, about day-break he came up with the *Numidians*, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then fasting, and vastly fatigued by their forced and precipitate march. In the mean time *Juba*, who, immediately after the propagation of the rumour above-mentioned, had taken care to march privately, with the main body of the *Numidian* army, to support the detachment sent before to decoy *Curio*, advanced to the relief of his men. The *Romans* had met with a great resistance before he appeared; so that he easily broke them, killed *Curio*, with a good part of his troops, upon the spot, pursued the rest to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them prisoners. Most of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their escape on board the ships in the port

Juba *destroys* Curio, *one of* Cæsar's *lieutenants.*

[c] APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. p. 376. & 388. LIV. ep. lxvii. PLUT. in Mar. in Syl. & in Pomp. [d] SUET. in Jul. Cæs. c. 71.

of *Utica*, were either ſlain by the purſuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of *Varus*, who would have ſaved them; but *Juba*, who arrogated to himſelf the honour of this victory, ordered moſt of them to be put to the ſword[e] (N).

Cæſar *overthrows* Scipio, Juba, *and* Labienus.

THIS victory infuſed new life and vigour into the *Pompeian* faction, who thereupon conferred great honours upon *Juba*, and gave him the title of king of all *Numidia*. But *Cæſar* and his adherents declared him an enemy to the ſtate of *Rome*, adjudging to *Bocchus* and *Bogud*, two *African* princes intirely in

[e] CÆS. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 7, 8. DIO, l. xli. ad ann. U. C. 705. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 455. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 40.

(N) *Cæſar*, who gives us the particulars of this action, intimates, that *Sabura*, *Juba*'s general, receiving continual reinforcements from his maſter, who kept at a ſmall diſtance from him, at laſt overpowered the *Romans*, though they behaved with great bravery. He alſo obſerves, that *Sabura* cut off *Curio*'s retreat, by poſting ſome parties of his horſe upon ſeveral eminences near the field of battle; and that, in conſequence of this, almoſt the whole *Roman* corps, commanded by *Curio*, was cut to pieces. Nor did many of the troops left with the quæſtor *Rufus* to guard the camp, make their eſcape to *Sicily*. In other points, for the moſt part, he agrees with *Dio*, whom we have here choſen to follow. *Appian* inſinuates, that this defeat happened near the banks of the *Bagrada*; that *Juba* cauſed a rumour to be induſtriouſly propagated, that he was returned home, to repreſs the courſes of ſome neighbouring nations, who frequently made incurſions into his dominions, and had only ſent *Sabura*, with a ſmall detachment, to obſerve the enemy. This, adds the ſame author, occaſioned the deſtruction of almoſt two intire *Roman* legions, with a body of horſe, velites, and ſlaves. *Appian* alſo relates, that, upon the news of *Curio*'s overthrow, *Flamma*, the *Roman* admiral, fled, without taking any of the runaways on board. Many of them, therefore, with *Pollio*, a *Roman* commander, ſo crouded ſome merchant-ſhips, in order to make their eſcape on board them, that they immediately ſunk, whilſt others were thrown overboard for the ſake of the money they brought with them. Laſtly, according to the ſame hiſtorian, *Juba*, having placed a great number of the unhappy priſoners, that fell into his hands, upon the walls of *Utica*, cauſed them to be pierced with darts. Tho' *Varus* did his utmoſt to prevent this inhuman maſſacre, he could not prevail. After the end of the action, *Curio*'s head was cut off, and carried, as an agreeable preſent, to *Juba* (4).

(4) *Cæſ. de bell. civil. l.* ii. *c.* 7, 8. *Appian. de bell. civil. l.* ii. *c.* 455, 456.

their

their intereſt, the ſovereignty of his dominions. *Juba* afterwards, uniting his forces with thoſe of *Scipio*, reduced *Cæſar* to great extremities, and would, in all probability, have totally ruined him, had he not been relieved by *Publius Sittius* (O). That general, having formed a conſiderable corps, conſiſting of *Roman* exiles, and *Mauritanian* troops ſent him by *Bocchus*, according to *Dio*, or, as *Cæſar* will have it, *Bogud*, made an irruption into *Gætulia* and *Numidia*, whilſt *Juba* was employed in *Africa Propria*. As he ravaged theſe countries in a dreadful manner, *Juba* immediately returned with the beſt part of his army, to preſerve them from utter deſtruction. However, *Cæſar*, knowing his horſe to be afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack *Scipio* in the abſence of the *Numidian*, till his own elephants, and a freſh reinforcement of troops, hourly expected, arrived from *Italy*. With this acceſſion of ſtrength, he imagined himſelf able to give a good account, both of the *Roman* forces, with which he was to cope, and the barbarians. In the mean time *Scipio* diſpatched reiterated expreſſes to (P) *Juba* to haſten to his aſſiſtance; but could not prevail upon him to move out of *Numidia*, till he had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of all the *Roman* dominions in *Africa*, if they

(O) *Appian* gives us the following account of this *P. Sittius*: Being accuſed of a certain crime at *Rome*, he abandoned that city before his tryal came on, and aſſembled a body of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, with which he paſſed over into *Africa*. Upon his arrival there, he found the reguli of that country engaged in bloody wars amongſt themſelves. Sometimes he aſſiſted one of theſe princes, and ſometimes another, victory always declaring for him, whoſe intereſt he eſpouſed. This rendered his name terrible to the *Moors* and *Numidians*, inſomuch that he eaſily made the ſcale preponderate in favour of *Cæſar*, and was rewarded by that general, after the reduction of *Africa*, with a large extent of territory formerly belonging to one *Manaſſes*, a *Numidian* prince, who had aſſiſted *Juba*. The other part of this diſtrict was given to *Bocchus*. *Sittius* ſettled the troops, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves under his conduct, here; but was afterwards cut off by treachery. This was effected by *Arabio*, *Manaſſes*'s ſon, who, after *Julius Cæſar*'s death, ſent ſix thouſand *Africans* to aſſiſt *S. Pompeius* in *Spain*. Theſe *Africans*, returning home ſome time after, diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, enabled *Arabio* to diſpatch *Sittius*, and likewiſe to drive *Bocchus* out of the territory he had uſurped from him (5).

(P) *Juba*, according to *Dio*, pretended to aſſiſt *Pompey*, not out of a motive of reſentment, but becauſe he was a defender of the ſenate and people of *Rome*.

(4) *Appian. ibid. l.* iv. *c.* 620, 621.

But

they could from thence expel *Cæsar*. This immediately put him in motion; so that, having sent a large detachment to make head against *Sittius*, he marched with the rest of his troops to assist *Scipio*. However, *Cæsar* at last overthrew *Scipio*, *Juba*, and *Labienus*, near the town of *Thapsus*, and forced all their camps. As *Scipio* was the first surprised and defeated, *Juba* fled into *Numidia*, without waiting for *Cæsar*'s approach; but, the body of the *Numidians* detached against *Sittius*, having been broken and dispersed by that general, none of his subjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to despair, he sought death in a single combat with *Petreius*, and, having killed him, caused himself to be dispatched by one of his slaves[f] (Q).

Cæsar reduces Numidia to the form of a province.

AFTER this decisive action, and the reduction of *Africa Propria*, *Cæsar* made himself master of *Numidia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, appointing *Crispus Sallustius* to govern it in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by that means, put it out of their power ever to shake off the *Roman* yoke. However, *Bocchus* and *Bogud* still preserved a sort of sovereignty in the country of the *Massæsyli* and *Mauritania*, since the former of those princes, having deserted *Cæsar*, sent an army into *Spain* to assist the *Pompeians*; and the latter, with his forces, determined victory to declare for *Cæsar* at the ever memorable battle of *Munda*. *Bogud*, afterwards siding with *Antony* against *Octavius*, sent a body of forces to assist him in *Spain*; at which time the *Tingitanians* revolting from him, *Bocchus*, with an army composed of *Romans* in the interest of *Octavius*, who passed over from *Spain* into *Africa*, and his own subjects, possessed himself of *Mauritania Tingitana*. *Bogud* fled to *Antony*; and *Octavius*, after the conclusion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of *Tingi* with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. He likewise confirmed *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, or

[f] A. HIRT. de bell. African. c. 3, 4, 5, & seq. APPIAN. ubi supra, l. iv. p. 620, 621. DIO, l. xliii. PLUT. in Cat. & Cæs.

But princes frequently, in the place of the real cause, substitute the pretext (6).

(Q) *Hirtius* intimates, that *Juba* killed *Petreius* in this combat, and was himself afterwards dispatched by his slave. *Orosius* relates, that *Petreius* run himself through with his sword; and that *Juba* hired a person to kill him; but *Appian*, *Eutropius*, and *Dio*, assure us, that they slew each other (7).

(6) *Dio, l.* xli. (7) *Appian. de bell. civil. p.* 490. *Oros. l.* vi. *c.* 16. *sub fin. Eutrop. l.* vi. *c.* 23. *Dio, l.* xlii.

the

the country of the *Maſſæſyli*, in the poſſeſſion of *Tingitania*, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important ſervices. In this he imitated the example of his great predeceſſor *Julius Cæſar*, who divided ſome of the fruitful plains of *Numidia* among the ſoldiers of *P. Sittius*, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed *Sittius* himſelf ſovereign of that diſtrict. *Sittius* (R), as has been intimated above, having taken *Cirta*, killed *Saburæ*, *Juba*'s general, intirely diſperſed his forces, and either cut off, or taken priſoners, moſt of the *Pompeian* fugitives, that eſcaped from the battle of *Thapſus*, highly deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed in ſo eminent a manner. After *Bocchus*'s death, *Mauritania* and the *Maſſæſylian Numidia* were, in all reſpects, conſidered as *Roman* provinces, according to *Dio*; which ſeems to evince, that the hoſtilities *Bocchus* committed againſt *Carinas*, whom *Octavius* had appointed governor of *Spain*, mentioned by *Appian*, were not attended with any bad conſequences, either to himſelf or the *Romans*. For had that been the caſe, he would not probably have continued on the throne of the *Maſſæſylian Numidia* and *Mauritania* as long as he lived. What happened to *Bogud* after he was driven out of his dominions, as alſo the younger *Juba* (S), his ſon *Ptolemy*, and *Tacfarinas*, who gave the *Romans* no ſmall trouble in the reign of *Tiberius*, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now upon, our readers will naturally expect to find an account of, in the hiſtory of the *Moors* or *Mauritanians*[g].

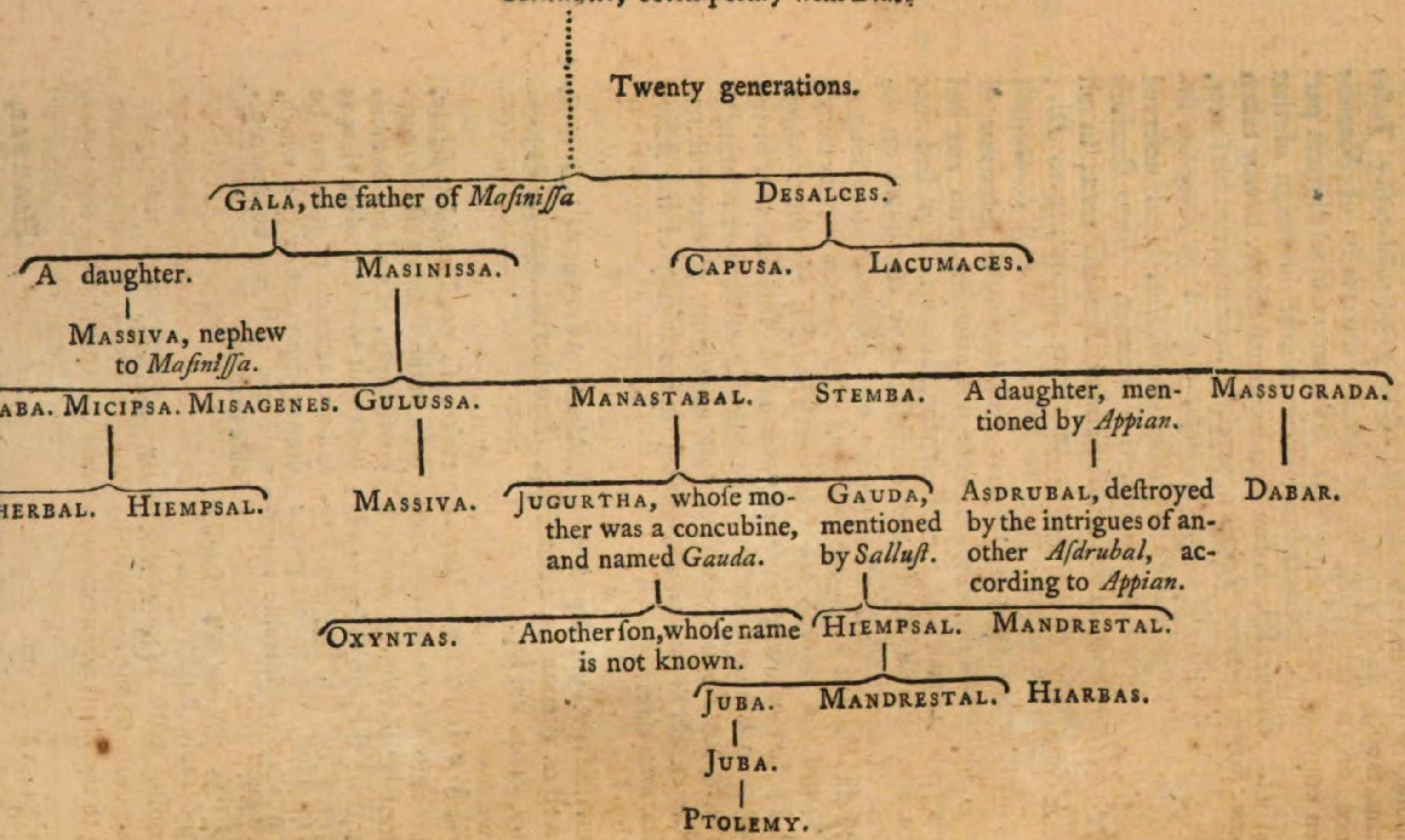
[g] A. Hirt. ubi ſup. & de bell. Alex. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. Auct. comment. de bell. Hiſp. Dio, l. xliii. xlix. l. Strab. l. iii. Flor. ubi ſup.

(R) We learn from *Hirtius*, that *Sittius*, or, as he calls him, *Sitius*, greatly diſteſſed *Juba* before the battle of *Thapſus*, by poſſeſſing himſelf of a caſtle ſituated on a hill, where that prince had a very conſiderable magazine *(8)*.

(S) As *Maſiniſſa*'s family makes ſo conſiderable a figure, both in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* hiſtory, it will not be amiſs to exhibit to our readers view as full an account of it as can be drawn from antiquity; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to them.

(8) *A. Hirt. de bell. Afric. c.* 5.

Hiarbas,


HIARBAS, cotemporary with *Dido*.
Twenty generations.
GALA, the father of *Maſiniſſa*
DESALCES.
A daughter.
MASINISSA.
CAPUSA.
LACUMACES.
MASSIVA, nephew to *Maſiniſſa*.
MASGABA.
MICIPSA.
MISAGENES.
GULUSSA.
MANASTABAL.
STEMBA.
A daughter, mentioned by *Appian*.
MASSUGRADA.
ADHERBAL.
HIEMPSAL.
MASSIVA.
JUGURTHA, whoſe mother was a concubine, and named *Gauda*.
GAUDA, mentioned by *Salluſt*.
ASDRUBAL, deſtroyed by the intrigues of another *Aſdrubal*, according to *Appian*.
DABAR.
OXYNTAS.
Another ſon, whoſe name is not known.
HIEMPSAL.
MANDRESTAL.
JUBA.
MANDRESTAL.
HIARBAS.
JUBA.
PTOLEMY.

We have placed *Hiarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, at the head of this family, ſince we find a prince of it called *Hiarbas*, taken notice of by *Plutarch*, as likewiſe becauſe it appears from *Stephanus Byzantinus* and *Euſtathius*, that the *Mazyes*, *Hiarbas*'s ſubjects, were *Numidians* (9).

(9) *Liv. Appian. Sueton. Salluſt. Dio Caſſ. Cæſ. Hirt. Plut. Juſtin. Steph. Byzant. Euſtath. aliiq; ſcript. plurim.*

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the Mauritanians, *to the intire Reduction of their Country by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Mauritania.

MAURITANIA, or, as it is called by *Strabo*, *Maúruſia*, and the country of the *Maurūſii*, was bounded on the eaſt by the *Malva* or *Mulucha*; on the weſt by the *Atlantic* ocean; on the ſouth by *Gætulia*, or *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. This kingdom, being reduced to a *Roman* province in the reign of *Claudius*, had the name of *Mauritania Tingitana* given it by that prince, as we are informed by *Dio*. From *Pliny*, and ſome inſcriptions in *Gruter*, it likewiſe appears, that it was called by the *Romans* at that time, as well as afterwards, ſimply *Tingitania*, from its principal city *Tingi*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*. If we may judge from what has been already obſerved of *Numidia* and *Africa Propria*, the antients were not over-accurate in their deſcriptions of this country. However, all their faults cannot be diſcovered, much leſs corrected, ſince no modern accounts of the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, anſwering nearly to the *Tingitania* of the antients, can be intirely depended upon. All that can be done, is to make uſe of the beſt lights, that have been hitherto afforded us [a].

THOUGH *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, then, was conſiderably broader than *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, the corre- ſponding parts of mount *Atlas*, or the confines of *Gætulia*, lying more to the ſouthward, yet *Pliny* and *Martianus*, accord- ing to the lateſt obſervations, exceed the truth, when they affirm *Limits and extent of* Mauritania.

[a] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. DIO CASS. l. lx. p. 771. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. Vet. inſcript. apud GRUTER. p. 482. n. 7. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 1.

the

the greateſt breadth of the *Mauritaniæ* to be four hundred and ſixty-ſeven, or four hundred and ſeventy-three miles. The length of this region we may make a tolerable eſtimate of, by obſerving, that the *Malva* or *Mullooïah*, its eaſtern limit, about 1° 15′ W. of *London*, is ſomething above two hundred and forty miles diſtant from the *Atlantic* ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of *Fez* to be two hundred and ſeventy miles long, and that of *Morocco*, from cape *Non* to the mountains which divide it from *Segelmeſſa*, above three hundred and ſeventy; but this computation, with reſpect to the antient *Tingitania*, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of *Pliny*, which amounts only to an hundred and ſeventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the ſouthern limits of *Tingitania* cannot be aſcertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but *Septa*, the preſent *Ceuta*, its moſt advanced city to the northward, is about 35° 58′ N. latitude, and about 6° W. longitude from *London*. The *Al-Magreb Al-Achſa* of *Abulfeda* includes the *Mauruſia* of *Strabo*, or the country we are now upon, and part of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, as it extends from the *Atlantic* ocean, which he calls the ſea *Almohit*, to *Tlemſan*. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Ptolemy* places the *Atlas Major*, his ſouthern boundary of this kingdom, at a vaſt diſtance from the ſouthern limits aſſigned it by *Pliny*, in the deſerts of *Gætulia* or *Libya Interior*. But it appears, from what has been already advanced, as well as the beſt relations of modern travelers, that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to *Tingitania* [b].

Whence ſo called.

MAURITANIA and *Mauruſia* are names of this region derived from the *Mauri*, an antient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old hiſtorians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongſt themſelves about the origin of this word. *Salluſt* affirms it to be a corruption of the word *Medi*; but this is by no means probable. Dr. *Hyde* deduces it from עברי *Mabri* or *Mav'ri*, *one that lies near the paſſage*, as he

[b] STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. MARTIAN. de duab. Mauritan. Geogr. Nubienſ. in clim. 3. ISM. ABULFED. ex traduct. V. Cl. Joan. Gagnier. MARMOL, en l'Afrique, l. iv. I. LEO AFRIC. paſſ. L'Afrique en pluſieures cartes nouvelles, &c. par le Sieur SANSON D'ABBEVILLE, &c. à Paris, 1683. Nouvelle methode pour apprendre la geographie univerſ. par le Sieur DE LA CROIX, &c. à Paris, 1705. LUYTS introd. ad geograph. Traj. ad Rhen. 1692. Atl. geogr. vol. iv. MOLL's geogr. in the kingd. of Morocco and Fez. SHAW's geograph. obſervations relating to the kingdom of Alg. p. 9. See alſo MORERY, and a new geographical dictionary publiſhed at Lond. 1737.

thinks

thinks the ſtreights of *Hercules* might properly enough be called. *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis* and *Manilius* think the name ought to be derived from the black, dark, ſwarthy colour of the people to which it was applied. But none of theſe etymons ſeem ſo eaſy and natural as that of *Bochart*, who makes *Maurus* to be equivalent to מאחור *Mahur*; or, as an eliſion of gutturals in the *Oriental* languages is extremely common, *Maur*, i. e. *one from the weſt*, or *a weſtern perſon*, ſince *Mauritania* was weſt of *Carthage* and *Phœnice*. However, in our opinion, it would ſound better ſtill, ſhould we ſay, *one that comes from the end*, or *utmoſt limit*, *of* Africa, or *the boundary of our voyages*, as both the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, for ſeveral ages, might have ſaid of the *Tingitanians*. For the ſtreights or pillars of *Hercules* limited the weſtern voyages of thoſe nations for a conſiderable period of time, as is evident from a variety of the beſt authors. It is not improbable, that this country, or at leaſt a good part of it, was firſt called *Phut*, ſince it appears from *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Jerom*, that a river and territory not far from mount *Atlas* went by that name. From the *Jeruſalem Targum* it likewiſe appears, that part of the *Mauri* may be deemed the offspring of *Lud* the ſon of *Miſraim*, ſince his deſcendents, mentioned *Gen.* x. are there called מרוטאי *Mauri* or *Mauritani*. We have already evinced, that this region, as well as the others to the eaſt of it, had many colonies planted in it by the *Phœnicians*. *Procopius* tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white ſtone were to be ſeen there, with the following inſcription in the *Phœnician* language and character upon them: *We are the* Canaanites, *that fled from* Joſhua *the ſon of* Nun, *that notorious robber*. *Ibnu Rachich*, or *Ibnu Raquiq*, an *African* writer cited by *Leo*, together with *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, aſſerts the ſame thing. How, in after-ages, that vaſt tract, extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean, came to be called *Barbary*, our readers will be informed in another place [c].

THE *Mauritanians*, according to *Ptolemy*, were divided into

[c] POLYB. l. iii. c. 33. SALLUST. in Jugurth. paſſ. HIRT. de bell. African. LIV. l. xxi. c. 22. & alib. STRAB. l. xvii. TACIT. paſſ. HORAT. LUCAN. SIL. ITAL. & al. quamplurim. ſcript. Græc. & Latin. HYDE in Peritſ. p. 48. MANIL. l. iv. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. ix. c. 12. & l. xiv. c. 5. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. לוד *Lud* & אחור *Ahur* vel *Aur*. TARG. HIEROSOL. in Gen. c. x. ISAI. c. xlii. D. HIERONYM. in Iſai. c. xli. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. p. 257. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 18. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xvii. c. 12. THEOPHAN. in hiſt. miſcel. IBNI RAQUIQ, apud I. Leo African. part. v. ALDRET. l. iii. c. 15.

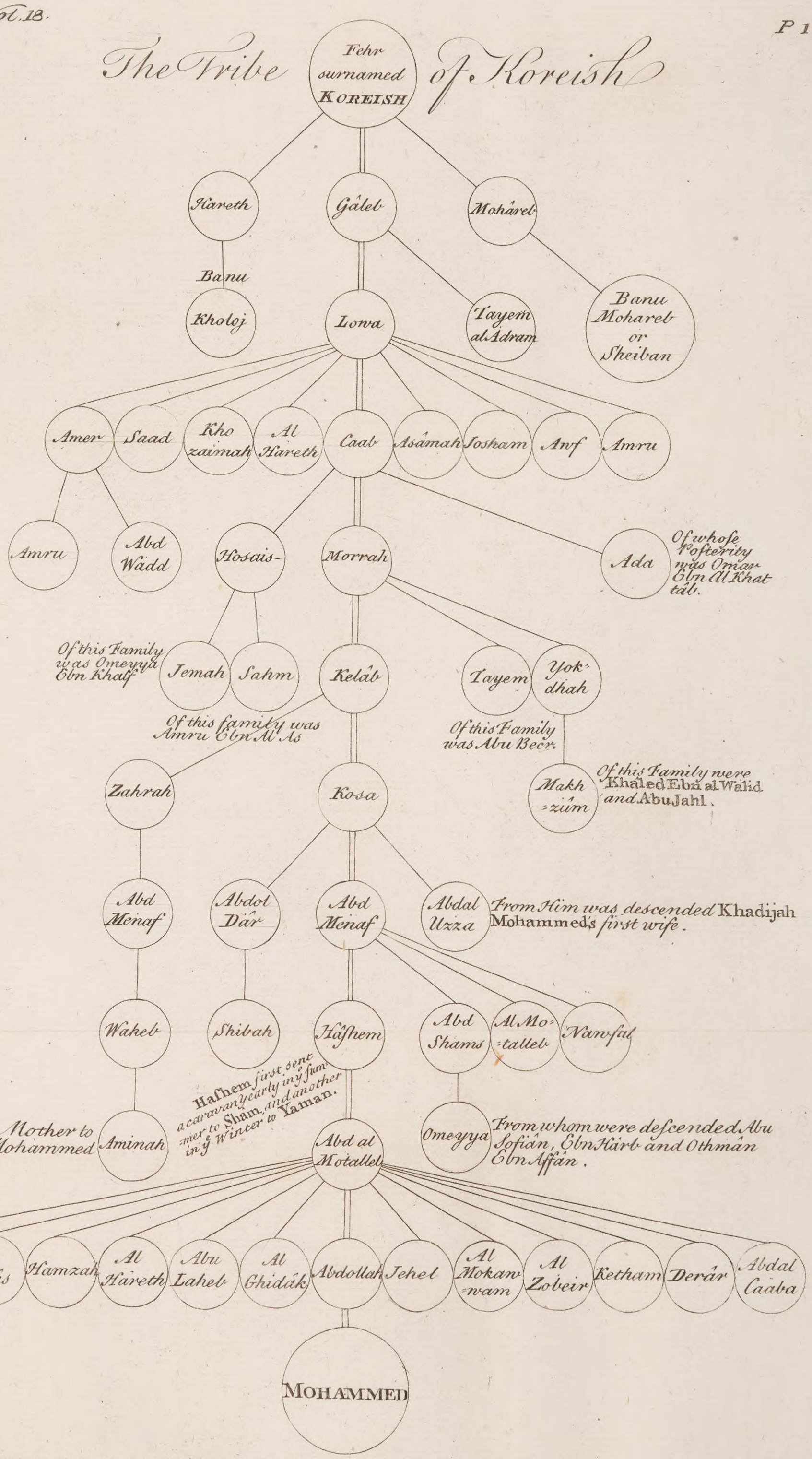
ſeveral cantons or tribes. The *Metagonitæ* were ſeated near the ſtreights of *Hercules*. The *Succoſii*, or *Cocoſii*, according to *Bertius*, took up the coaſt of the *Iberian* ſea. Under theſe two petty nations, the *Maſices*, *Verues*, and *Verbicæ* or *Vervicæ*, ſettled themſelves. The *Saliſæ* or *Salinſæ* were ſituated lower, towards the ocean; and ſtill more to the ſouth the *Volubiliani*. The *Maurenſii* and *Herpiditani* poſſeſſed the eaſtern part of this country, which was terminated by the *Mulucha*. The *Angaucani* or *Iangacaucani*, *Nectiberes*, *Zagrenſii*, *Baniubæ*, and *Vacuatæ*, extended themſelves from the ſouthern foot of *Ptolemy*'s *Atlas Minor* to his *Atlas Major*; which is all that he has intimated of them. *Pliny* mentions the *Baniuræ*, whom Father *Hardouïn* takes to be *Ptolemy*'s *Baniubæ*; and *Mela* the *Atlantes*, whom he repreſents as poſſeſſed of the weſtern parts of this region. The names of the different clans of *Numidians* we have poſtponed, till we come to the hiſtory of the *Gætulians*, ſince the latter nation was ſo intermixed with the former towards the *Roman* times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them ſome clans belong [d].

Tingis. TINGIS or *Tingi*, the metropolis, as ſhould ſeem, of *Tingitania*, was a city of great antiquity. According to *Mela*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*, *Antæus*, cotemporary with *Hercules*, and conquered by him, laid the firſt foundations of it. *Procopius* ſeems to intimate, that *Tingi* was built before the time of *Joſhua*, ſince he tells us, that the *Gergeſites*, *Jebuſites*, and other *Canaanitiſh* nations or tribes, erected a caſtle in a city, where *Tingis*, or, as he calls it, *Tigiſis*, ſtood. Dr. *Hyde* therefore is miſtaken, when he affirms *Procopius* to have aſſerted, that the *Gergeſites*, *Jebuſites*, &c. were the founders of *Tingis*. *Pliny* inſinuates *Antæus* to have had a palace at *Lixus* or *Lixos*, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at *Tingis*. This ſeems likewiſe confirmed by *Plutarch*, who adds, that his ſepulchre was ſtill remaining there in the time of *Sertorius*, who, paying no regard to the tradition that prevailed amongſt the inhabitants, cauſed it to be opened, and took out of it a corpſe ſixty cubits long. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* called it *Tingir*, *Tiggir*, *Tagger*, &c. which, in their language, ſignified an *emporium*. Now it muſt be owned, that the ſituation of *Tingis* was extremely commodious for carrying on a general trade; which we may, from this circumſtance, reaſonably preſume the *Tingitanians* did, eſpecially as *Pliny* ſeems to inſinuate, that to ſome branches of commerce they actually applied themſelves. *Bochart*'s notion therefore receives ſome

[d] MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. HARDUIN. in Plin. ubi ſup. SALLUST. in Jugurth. & ALDRET. l. iii. c. 31.

weight

The Tribe of Koreish



Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabadius, Ismael Abulfeda, Shahaboddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahia, &c. Vid. etiam Cl. Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. hist. Arab. p. 40 — 52. & Sale Ubi Sup. p. 8, 9.

weight from these considerations, as also from the modern name of this city, *Tangier*, which we cannot help believing to have been of *Phœnician* extraction. If we suppose the antient *Tingis* to have occupied the spot on which *Tangier* at present stands, it was very near the streights of *Hercules*, at the bottom of a gulph of the western shore. Some writers will have *Ptolemy* to have called *Tingis Cæsarea*; but this is a controverted point. However, that geographer seems to have looked upon *Tingis* as the most noted and useful proper name of the city we are now upon. *Tangier*, supposed to be the antient *Tingis*, is in 6° 30′ W. longitude from *London*, and in N. latitude 35° 56′ [e].

Zelis. ZELIS or *Zilis*, a maritim city in the neighbourhood of *Tingis*, situated near a river of the same name. The inhabitants of this city were transported to *Spain*, as we learn from *Strabo*, and a colony of *Romans* or *Italians* transplanted thither, as should seem, in their room, according to *Pliny*. The kings of *Mauritania*, after the planting of that colony, exercised no jurisdiction over *Zelis*, it being under the dominion of the *Roman* governor of *Spain*. Some authors imagine, that the modern *Arzilla* answers to *Zelis*; which if we admit, it stood about seventy miles from the streights of *Hercules*. *Marmol* says, that *Arzilla* was built by the *Romans*; but this we must not give credit to, if it should be thought proper to countenance the aforesaid supposition; for if *Zelis* did not owe its origin to the *Indigenæ* of this country, it was undoubtedly of *Phœnician* extraction [f].

Lixus. LIXUS or *Lixos* seems to have been a place of considerable repute in the earliest ages, since, according to *Pliny*, *Antæus* had a palace, and therefore probably resided here. This circumstance renders it likely, that *Lixus* was superior to *Tingis* itself in point of antiquity. But some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find by comparing the names given the former by *Artemidorus*, *Eratosthenes*, and *Strabo*, with *Pliny*. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Eratosthenes* to that of the others in this point, since

[e] POMP. MEL. l. ii. c. 5. PLIN. ubi sup. SOLIN. c. 24. PROCOP. & HYDE ubi sup. PLUT. in Sertor. STRAB. l. iii. & alib. PLIN. MEL. PTOL. MARTIAN. & al. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 24. MOLL, DE LA CROIX, &c. ubi sup. Vide & CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. ii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 7. ut & ISAAC. VOSS. atq; JACOB. GRONOV. in Mel. l. ii. c. 6. [f] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 569. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 1. ANTONIN. in itiner. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. iv. c. 8. Vide & CELLAR. l. iv. c. 7. p. 933. edit. Lipsi. 1732.

it is ſupported by *Pliny*. *Lixus* therefore and *Tingis*; in conſequence of this preference, we muſt look upon as two different cities. *Pliny* relates, that *Hercules* vanquiſhed *Antæus* near this place, which he makes to have been in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the *Heſperides*, and thirty-two miles diſtant from *Zelis*. The ſame author intimates, that a *Roman* colony was ſettled here likewiſe by *Claudius*. As *Lixus* was called by different writers *Linx*, *Linga*, *Tinga*, *Tingi*, in all probability it was miſtaken by ſome antient hiſtorians or geographers for *Tingis*. *Pliny*, therefore, might be impoſed upon by ſome of the authors he extracted his materials from, when he affirmed *Antæus* to have had his royal palace at *Lixos*; ſince it is more natural to ſuppoſe, that he reſided at *Tingis*. The learned *Aldrete* aſſerts the word *Lixus* to be derived from לחישו *lachiſu*, or נהרא לחישו *nahara lachiſu*, *incantation*, or the *river of incantation*. In ſupport of this ſentiment he obſerves, with the antients, that the town ſtood near the banks of a river of the ſame name; and that ſuch wonderful things had been related of *Antæus*, as well as his tomb, by various authors, that, to all thoſe who believed them, he muſt appear as a magician. *Bochart* derives it from לש a *lion*, becauſe ſuch animals were common in *Mauritania*. But it may be further obſerved in favour (A) of *Aldrete*, that the inhabitants of this country were ſuppoſed to have an uncommon ſkill in ſorcery and magic, as appears not only from *Virgil* and *Silius*, but likewiſe from what we find related of *Sidius Geta* by *Dio*. The river *Lixus* is mentioned both in the *periplus* of *Hanno*, and that of *Scylax*, as alſo by *Ptolemy* and *Stephanus*. *Pliny* ſeems to turn this river into an æſtuary, which, by its winding courſe, he makes to reſemble a dragon or ſerpent, intimating that it gave riſe to the fable of the dragon guarding the golden apples of the *Heſperides*. Some learned men will have the preſent *Larache* to be the antient *Lixus*; and it muſt be owned, that the ſituation of that place gives great countenance to ſuch a ſuppoſition [g].

g Hanno Carthag. in peripl. Plin. ubi ſup. Artemidor. & Eratosth. apud Strabon. l. xvii. ut & ipſe Strab. ibid. & alib. Dio, l. lx. Virg. Sil. Ital. Pomp. Mel. Suid. &c. apud Aldret. l. iv. c. 9. ut & ipſe Aldret. ibid. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Ptol. ubi ſup. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 37. Vide Is. Casaub. in Strab. ubi ſup.

(A) In order to ſtrengthen this conjecture, *Aldrete* obſerves, that the word *Tingin*, in *Arabic*, approaches pretty near the ſignification of *Lixus*; an obſervation, which, we believe, has eſcaped all other writers (1).

(1) *Vide Aldret. in loc. citat.*

At

AT some distance from *Lixus*, to the southward, *Hanno*, in his *periplus*, says he built a city, which he called *Thymiaterion*. In *Scylax* the name is *Thymiaterias*; and in *Stephanus*, *Thymiateria*. *Bochart* believes the *Punic* name to have been דמעתירד *Dumathiria*, i. e. *a city situated in a plain*. *Hanno* himself justifies this etymology, as the reader will find, by consulting his *periplus*; for which reason he will not scruple giving his assent to it. Though this city was situated on the sea-coast, somewhere to the south of *Lixus*, the spot, on which it stood, cannot now be precisely determined [h]. Thymiaterion.

PLINY mentions *Sala*, a town near a river of the same name, not far from the *Atlantic* ocean, at a considerable distance from *Lixus*. All that he observes of this town is, that the district adjacent to it was desert, infested with vast herds of elephants, and the excursions of the *Autololes*, a tribe of *Gætulians*. The situation, as well as name, of this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern *Sallee*, a city famous for its corsairs, who sometimes commit great depredations in the *Mediterranean* [i]. Sala.

THE port of *Rutubis*, where, it is probable, a town stood, was two hundred and thirteen miles south of *Lixus*. At some distance from this were the *Mons Solis*, the port of *Mysocaras*, the promontories of *Hercules* and *Usadium*, and the frontiers of the *Autololes*. These frontiers terminated *Mauritania* to the south; and *Ptolemy* has undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction, than is consistent with truth. As for *Tamusiga*, *Suriga*, and other obscure places mentioned by that geographer, extending still farther to the south, it is sufficient just to have taken notice of them. Thus much for the principal maritim towns of *Tingitania*, bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean [k]. Rutubis.

THE first maritim town to the eastward of *Tingis*, seems to be the *Exiliſſa* of *Ptolemy*. *Marmol* takes the *Ceuta* of the moderns to correspond with this place, as it does likewise, in all probability, with the *Septa* and *Arx Septensis* of *Procopius*. That author, together with *Isidorus Hispalensis*, and others, insinuates this name to have been derived from the seven hills, called the *Septem Fratres* by *Mela*, in its neighbourhood. *Exiliſſa*, *Septa*, or *Ceuta*, was a place of great note and emi- Exiliſſa.

[h] HANNO, SCYLAX, STEPH. BYZANT. BOCHART. ubi supra.
[i] MEL. & PLIN. ubi sup. PTOL. ibid. Vide I. LEO AFRICAN. MARM. CELLAR. MOLL, DE LA CROIX, &c. [k] PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. ut & POLYB. apud Plin. ibid.

nence in the time of the *Goths*, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to the hiſtory of that nation [l].

Ruſadir. RUSADIR, a city and haven, taken notice of by *Pliny*, not far from the country of the *Maſſæſyli*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ryſſadirum*; and, from the itinerary, there ſeems to have been a *Roman* colony ſettled in it. Some authors will have *Melila* or *Melilla*, lately in the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, to be the *Ruſadir* or *Ryſſadirum* of the antients. If ſo, it ſtood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulph, and was commanded by a mountain on the weſt ſide [m].

Aſcurum. THE firſt inland town, meriting any attention, near the frontiers of the *Maſſæſyli*, was the *Aſcurum* of *Hirtius*. According to that author, this place was of ſome conſequence, ſince *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania Tingitana*, had a ſtrong gariſon in it, which ſallying out upon a body of the *Pompeians*, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, driving many of them into the ſea, and the reſt on board their ſhips. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining [n].

Molochath *and* Galapha. MOLOCHATH, or *Mulucha*, and *Galapha*, which *Ptolemy* places in *Tingitania*, muſt belong to *Numidia*, if the (B) *Molochath*, *Mulucha*, and *Malva*, be the ſame river, as Dr. *Shaw* has rendered probable; and therefore we ſhall ſay nothing more of them here [o].

Herpis. HERPIS, a town upon the *Mauritanian* bank of the *Mulucha*, lying at a conſiderable diſtance from the city *Molochath* in a

[l] MEL. PTOL. & MARM. ubi ſup. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. xv. c. 1. Vide etiam ANTONIN. MARTIAN. alioſq; apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 31. [m] PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOL. ubi ſup. ANTONIN. itinerar. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c. [n] HIRT. de bell. African. c. 23. [o] PTOL. ubi ſup. SHAW's geogr. obſerv. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. p. 10——16.

(B) This appears from *Florus* and *Frontinus*, who affirm the fortreſs of *Mulucha* to have been in *Jugurtha*'s dominions, and conſequently in *Numidia*. *Salluſt* likewiſe confirms this, when he gives us an account of the ſiege and reduction of that place by the *Romans* in the *Jugurthine* war. From *Cellarius*, in conformity to the old geographers, it ſeems probable, that *Galapha* was ſouth-eaſt of *Mulucha*; and therefore, that what has been obſerved of the former, holds more ſtrongly with regard to the latter (2).

(2) *Flor. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *ex.* 3. *Salluſt. in Jugurth. Cellar. geograph. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 7.

northern

northern direction. As to any further particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark [p].

Volubilis, Gilda, and Prisciana.

MELA ranks *Volubilis*, *Gilda*, and *Prisciana*, amongst the principal inland towns of *Tingitania*. *Ptolemy* says, that *Volubilis* was one of the most noted places of this country; and the itinerary makes it a *Roman* colony. From various authors it appears to be the *Fez* of the moderns. *Gilda* is taken notice of likewise by *Stephanus*, as a city of good repute. They were all situated in the heart of the country; but the spots of ground, occupied by them, cannot, with precision, be ascertained. However, *Marmol* asserts, that *Mequinez* answers to *Gilda*, which he corruptly calls *Silda* [q].

Tocolosida.

A little to the south of *Volubilis* stood the *Tocolosida* of *Ptolemy*. According to *Marmol*, *Amergue*, a city three leagues from the river *Eguile*, in the province of *Habat*, answers to the antient *Tocolosida*; but, as that author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, intirely depend upon him [r].

Trifidis.

THE *Trifidis* of *Ptolemy*, according to that geographer, could not be far from the neighbourhood of *Tocolosida*. *Marmol* says, that it was built by the *Romans*, which we can scarce believe, upon a rising ground. The same author intimates, that *Aben Gezer*, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, some of whose bones, of an enormous size, he asserts to have been taken out of several antient tombs in his time.

Gontiana.

GONTIANA stands south-west of *Tocolosida*, near the river *Sala*, and not far from mount *Atlas*. *Marmol* informs us, that a small town, by the *Moors* called *Gamaa*, upon the road between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, is the antient *Gontiana*; as likewise, that this place, though strong by nature, has, for some time, been almost intirely depopulated and demolished [s].

Banasa.

BANASA, *Banassa*, or *Banasa Valentia*, was seated in the neighbourhood of the river *Subur*, at a very considerable distance, in a northern direction, from *Gontiana*. *Pliny* seems to intimate, that *Banasa* was seventy-five miles from *Lixus*, thirty-five from *Volubilis*, and as many from the *Atlantic* ocean. That author, in the same place, says, that *Babba*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Babba Julia Campestris*, was an inland town, forty miles from *Lixus*; and that *Augustus* planted a *Roman* colony there. This likewise

[p] PTOL. ubi sup. [q] PTOL. ubi sup. MEL. l. iii. ex emend. Is. Vossii. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. ANTONIN. itinerar. MARMOL, HARRIS in biblioth. MOLL. [r] PTOL. & MARMOL, ubi sup. [s] Iidem ibid.

the curious may find confirmed by the legends on some antique coins exhibited by *Goltzius* [t].

Chalce. CHALCE or *Chalca*, a city of *Mauritania Tingitana*, mentioned by *Scylax* and *Hecatæus*; but in what part of that region we are to look for it, cannot now be determined. *Ptolemy* takes notice of a town called *Carcome* or *Carcoma*; which *Bochart* will have to be the *Chalce* of *Scylax* and *Hecatæus*, since those two words are of the same import in the *Syriac* and *Greek* languages. They signify *brass* or *copper*; which seems to intimate, that this place was near some copper-mine, from whence it deduced its name: and that there was a famous copper-mine in *Tingitania*, appears from *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* makes his *Carcoma* to be not very remote from *Jol*, or *Julia Cæsarea*, but betwixt it and *Gades*. However, the inaccuracy of that geographer in many points will not permit us to infer from thence, that this place, which he asserts to be a maritim city, is to be sought for in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. On the contrary, we can scarce doubt of its having appertained to *Tingitania*, from what we find advanced by *Strabo*. To what has been said we may add, that *Polybius* censures *Polyhistor*, for affirming *Chalcea* to be the proper name of a *Libyan* city, since, according to him, the copper-mine above-mentioned only was so called [u].

Calamintha. CALAMINTHA, a town of *Libya*, probably of *Mauritania*, taken notice of by *Herodotus* and *Hecatæus*, whose situation is unknown. However, *Bochart* has ventured to assert, that it stood on an eminence or rising-ground. This notion has been suggested to him by the word itself; for he looks upon *Calamintha* to be equivalent to the *Syriac* or *Phœnician* גלמיתא *galmitha*, an *eminence*, or a *city built upon an eminence*. From hence he likewise infers, that it must have been of a *Phœnician* original [w].

Marmol's *inaccuracy*. WE must here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Marmol* has discovered his inaccuracy, not to say ignorance, in many particulars. For he has either corrupted several of *Ptolemy*'s names of cities, or assigned names, pretended to be taken from *Ptolemy*, to several places, that are not to be found in his geo-

[t] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. GOLTZ. apud Cellar. l. iv. c. 7.

[u] SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. HECAT. perieg. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. STRAB. & PTOL. ubi sup. POLYB. & HERODOT. apud Steph. & BOCHART. ubi sup.

[w] HERODOT. & HECAT. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. BOCHART. ubi sup.

graphy,

graphy, as will appear to every one, who will be at the trouble to compare theſe two authors. His comparative geography is likewiſe frequently not to be relied upon; for which reaſon we have made but few extracts from him. As for *Vobrix*, *Thicath*, *Ceuta*, and many more inconſiderable towns mentioned by the antient geographers, which are ſcarce ever taken notice of in hiſtory, nay, all traces of which are, in a manner, loſt, we have thought proper to paſs them over in ſilence. Nor are we apprehenſive, that, for this, it will be deemed neceſſary to make any apology [x].

Rivers of Tingitania.

THE firſt river of *Tingitania*, if it does not appertain to *Numidia*, is the *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Chylemath*, *Molochath* or *Mulucha*; for it went by all theſe names. That theſe names denoted the ſame river, will appear from a careful examination of what the old geographers have advanced on this head. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, give the ſame ſituation to the *Chylemath* and *Mulucha*, making it the common boundary of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. *Strabo* alſo affirms his *Molochath* to ſeparate the country of the *Maſſæſyli*, i. e. *Numidia*, from *Mauritania*, i. e. *Tingitania*; and laſtly, the author of the itinerary, who was cotemporary with *Ptolemy*, poſitively aſſerts, that the *Malva*, or *Malvana*, limited the two *Mauritaniæ*, and that part of *Numidia* joining to them. From whence, as it does not appear from hiſtory, that the limits of thoſe two kingdoms were ever changed, but, on the contrary, probable that they never were, we may fairly infer, that the above-mentioned variety of names points out one and the ſame river, the *Mullooïah* of the preſent weſtern *Moors*. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the *Thaluda*, *Taluda*, or *Tamuda* of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, which emptied itſelf into the *Mediterranean* conſiderably nearer the ſtreights than the former. *Pliny* repreſents this as navigable, and conſequently as a conſiderable river. The different names given it by different geographers, ſeem to countenance what we have juſt offered in relation to the *Mulucha* (C). 3. The river *Zelis* or *Zilia*, near the city of the ſame name,

[x] PTOL. & MARMOL, paſſ. Vide etiam ALDRET. l. iii. c. 31. P. 457.

(C) *Ptolemy*'s *Vallona* diſcharged itſelf into the ſea not far from the narroweſt part of the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, near the place where the town *Alcazar Saguir*, as *Marmol* calls it, or, according to *Moll*, *Alcazar Quivir*, i. e. *the great palace*, at preſent ſtands. It appears to us not improbable, that the preſent rivers *Sebou*, *Gueron*,

name, already mentioned. 4. The *Lixus*, already taken notice of, when we gave ſome account of the city ſo called. *Scylax*, in his *periplus*, mentions a river not far from *Lixus*, but betwixt it and the ſtreights, which, *Salmaſius* thinks, ought to called *Adonis*. But with regard to its courſe, or indeed any particulars at all relating to it, we are intirely in the dark. 5. The *Subur*, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the *Lixus*. It paſſed by the city of *Banaſa*, as has been lately obſerved. 6. The *Sala*, which took its courſe, according to *Pliny*, near the confines of the *Sahara*. 7. The *Duus*, *Cuſa*, *Aſama*, *Phthuth*, and other rivers either in, or upon the borders of *Libya Interior*, recited by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are intirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to thoſe geographers themſelves [y] (D).

THE

[y] STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. & alib. ANTONIN. itinerar. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. ex emend. Claud. Salmaſii.

ron, *Ommirabih*, and *Sus*, anſwer to the *Subur*, *Sala*, *Duus*, and *Cuſa*, of *Ptolemy*. Our readers may poſſibly be of the ſame opinion, when they have diligently examined *Ptolemy*'s geographical deſcription of that part of *Mauritania* contiguous to the *Atlantic* ocean, and maturely weighed what has been advanced in a former note (3).

(D) That *Ptolemy* knew little of the geography of this part of *Mauritania*, is generally acknowleged; but will moſt evidently appear from ſeveral circumſtances, which we ſhall beg leave to throw together here: 1. *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, is evidently the ſame name with *Dorath*, which *Ptolemy* makes to be the name of a town upon the *Diur*. As therefore that river, which is the ſouthern limit of the kingdom of *Sus*, is at this day called *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, by the *Moors*, it muſt be allowed, that *Ptolemy*'s *Dorath*, not far from the borders of *Gætulia*, was a river, and probably that which he calls *Diur*. 2. As this was the ſouthern limit of the country we are now upon, ſuppoſing it to extend as far to the ſouthward as even the preſent kingdom of *Sus* does, the river *Phthuth* muſt be to the north of it, and not to the ſouth, as *Ptolemy* aſſerts. Agreeably thereto, *Marmol* makes *Tenſift*, the next river to the *Darodus*, in a northerly ſituation, to be the *Phthuth* of *Ptolemy*. 3. As the mouth of the *Darodus* lies in about twenty-eight degrees north latitude, about four degrees and an half from the tropic of *Cancer*, it muſt have been in nearly the ſame latitude with

(3) *Ptol. Marmol, Moll, &c. ubi ſup.*

Ptolemy's

THE chief capes or promontories of *Tingitania* were the following: 1. The *Metagonitis* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Metagonium* of *Strabo*. This promontory, *Marmol* tells us, in his time was called cape *Casasa*, having a town of the same name built upon it. *Strabo* intimates, that a considerable extent of territory, whose soil was of a dry and sandy nature, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the same name amongst the *Mauritanians*. This was different from the *Terra Metagonitis* of *Pliny*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, near the mouth of the *Ampsaga*. For their farther satisfaction on this head, we must refer our curious readers to the learned *Lucas Holstenius*, who has favoured the world with a particular account of both the *Metagonia*, in his notes upon *Ortelius*. 2. The *Sestiarium promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Russadi* of the *Itinerary*. 3. The *promontorium Oleastrum*, so called, according to some, from the prodigious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The *Phœbi promontorium*. 5. The cape *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Ampelusia*, not far from *Tingis*, taken notice of by *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. The moderns call it cape *Spartel*. From *Mela* and *Bochart* it appears, that *Cotes* and *Ampelusia* were words of the same import in the *Phœnician* and *Greek* languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. *Mons Solis*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and *Usadium*, of *Promontories.*

Ptolemy's *Promontorium Usadium*, and, consequently, much farther to the southward than he extends the *Diur*. 4. Even the *Promontorium Usadium*, the *Mons Solis*, *Portus Mysocaras*, *Portus Herculis*, *Tamusiga*, and all the other places he has fixed to the south of the *Diur*, either are to be placed to the northward of it, or else, in antient times, belonged to *Libya Interior*, and not *Tingitania*. 5. From *Marmol*, *Gramaye*, and some of the most accurate modern observations, it appears, that the towns of *Suriga* and *Vala*, the rivers *Una*, *Agna*, *Sala*, &c. to which *Ptolemy* assigns a southern situation, in respect of the *Diur*, or *Darodus*, are really north of it.

Some of our readers may possibly imagine, that *Ptolemy*'s *Daradas*, or *Daras*, which he places in about fifteen degrees north latitude, was the same river as the modern *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, which in Mr. *Senex*'s map of *Africa* is likewise called *Dras*. But, admitting this supposition, *Ptolemy* will be out in the parallel he assigns it about thirteen degrees; which is a greater error than any of the preceding (4).

(4) *Marmol*, *Gramaye*, *De la Croix*, *Mouette*, *Dapper*, *Moll*, *aliiq*; *mult*.

which

which *Ptolemy* has handed down to us nothing but the bare names [z].

Mountains.

AMONGST the principal (E) mountains of *Mauritania Tingitana* we are to rank, 1. *Abyle*, *Abyla*, *Abila*, *Abina*, *Abinna*, or *Abenna* (for ſuch a variety of names it had), a mountain on the *African* ſide of the ſtreights of *Hercules*, called, by the antients, one of *Hercules*'s pillars. *Abinna* and *Abenna* ſeem to have been names given it by the *Arabs*, and the others it received from the *Phœnicians*. They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by *Aldrete* and *Bochart*. It has been mentioned by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, *Silius Italicus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Feſtus Avienus*, and others. If we are not miſtaken, it is now called, by our countrymen, *Apes Hill*; an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the antients, or, at leaſt, the country adjacent to it. 2. The *Septem Fratres* of *Mela*, and the *Heptadelphi* of *Ptolemy*, almoſt contiguous to *Abyla*. 3. Mount *Cotta*, not far from the *Lixus*. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount *Atlas*, which, according to *Oroſius*, ſeparated the fruitful land from the barren, or in the ſtile of the natives, the *Tell* from the *Sahara*. The antients likewiſe inform us, that theſe mountains were known by the names *Dyris*, *Adyris*, *Dyrim*, and *Adderim*, i. e. *great*, *high*, *lofty*, or *the ſouthern limit*, as mount *Atlas* is generally eſteemed to be with reſpect to *Tingitania* and *Numidia*. However, Dr. *Shaw* aſſures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his obſervation, in height could not ſtand in competition either with the *Alps* or *Apennines*. He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, uſually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or ſix hundred yards, with an eaſy aſcent, and ſeveral groves of fruit and foreſt-trees,

[z] STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. LUCAS HOLSTENIUS ad Ortel. p. 121. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

(E) To theſe may be added, from *Ptolemy*, 1. Mount *Diur*, which might poſſibly have been near the river of the ſame name. 2. Mount *Phocra*, extending from the *Atlas Minor* to *Ruſadir*, between the promontories *Metagonitis* and *Seſtiarium*. The modern name of this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, is *Jibbel el Hadith*, i. e. the *mountain of iron*, according to *Ortelius*. 3. The *Durdus*, already mentioned in the hiſtory of *Numidia* (5).

(5) *Ptol. ibid. Ortel. aliiq; geograph.*

riſing

riſing up in a ſucceſſion of ranges one behind another; and that if to this proſpect we here-and-there add a rocky precipice of a ſuperior eminence, and difficult acceſs, and place upon the ſide or ſummit of it a mud-walled *Daſhkrah*, or village of the *Kabyles*; we ſhall then have a juſt and lively idea of theſe mountains. We need not inform our readers, that no regard is due to the nocturnal flames, melodious ſounds, or the laſcivious revels, of ſuch imaginary beings, as the antients have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to this place [a].

Ports.

THE chief ports of this country were, 1. The *Ruſadir* of *Pliny*, or *Ryſſadirum* of *Ptolemy* already mentioned. The *Itinerary* makes the town here a *Roman* colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape *Ruſſadi*. 2. That at the bottom of the *Sinus Emporicus*, where there ſeems to have been a town furniſhed with inns, warehouſes, and all manner of accommodations for the *Phœnician* merchants, who frequented this place from almoſt the earlieſt ages to the time of *Auguſtus*. *Pliny* calls the bay the *Sinus Saguti*, which *Bochart* would willingly have read *Sinus Saguri*; ſince that lection would enable him to deduce the word from סחור, *ſachur*, *mercator*, the ח being frequently, amongſt the *Orientals*, pronounced as the ג, of which he produces ſome inſtances, and conſequently to aſſign it the ſame ſignification as *Emporicus*. 3. *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Cotta*, a port or bay mentioned by *Scylax*, which may poſſibly have been in the neighbourhood of cape *Cotta* above-mentioned; and if ſo, that author has not given it a right ſituation, ſince he places it between cape *Mercury* and the ſtreights of *Hercules*. 4. *Ruſibis*, or *Rutubis*, an harbour taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, in the ſouth-weſtern part of *Mauritania*, between the rivers *Cuſa* and *Diur*. 5. *Myſocaras*, a port ſome miles to the ſouth of *Ruſibis*, not far from the river *Phthuth*. This was the laſt ſouthern port of *Mauritania*, mentioned by the antients, being almoſt contiguous to the northern confines of *Gætulia* [b].

Iſlands.

WE ſhall now proceed to the principal iſlands, on the coaſt of *Tingitania*, which were known to the old geographers: 1. The *Tres Inſulæ* of the *Itinerary* already mentioned, where

[a] Iidem ibid. FESTUS AVIENUS, SIL. ITAL. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. OROSIUS, PHILOSTRATUS, EUSTATHIUS, TZETZES, aliiq; mult. Vid. & ALDRET. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. SCHIND. BOCHART. & SHAW, ubi ſup. [b] SCYLAX, PLIN. PTOL. ANTONIN. itinerar. ubi ſup. & alib. BOCHART. ubi ſup. AGRIP. comment. apud PLIN. l. v. c. 1.

there

there is now good ſhelter for ſmall veſſels, were ſituated to the north-weſt of the *Mulucha*, at the diſtance of ten miles. 2. *Gezira*, or rather *Jezeirah*, a ſmall iſland in the river *Lixus*, about three leagues, according to *Marmol* and *Leo*, from the ſea, and thirty from the city of *Fez*. *Pliny* tells us, that in his time this iſland abounded with olives; and intimates, that the antients placed the gardens of the *Heſperides* here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, ſacred to *Hercules*, ſtill remaining in it when he wrote. *Aldrete* believes, that this iſland, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in proceſs of time, laid intirely under water, and at laſt converted into that lake called, by the *Spaniards*, *Laguna grande*, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of *Larache*. 3. *Ptolemy*'s *Pœna* and *Erythia* (F), two ſmall obſcure iſlands in the *Atlantic* ocean, oppoſite to the tract between his *Major* and *Minor Atlas*. 4. The *Inſulæ Purpurariæ*, which *Pliny* aſſures us faced the country of the *Autololes*. The natives of theſe iſlands were famous for dying that colour called the *Gætulian* purple, which brought great advantage to king *Juba*, who, according to the ſame author, firſt diſcovered them. Father *Hardouïn* aſſerts, that they are the iſlands called at this day *Madera* (G) and *Porto Santo*,

(F) The iſland *Erythia* is now called *Mogador*, and has a caſtle in it of conſiderable ſtrength. This is defended by a gariſon of two hundred men, who are poſted there to ſecure the gold-mines in the neighbouring country, from which it is about five miles diſtant (6).

(G) *Madera*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *Madeira*, is an iſland of the *Atlantic* ocean, betwixt thirty-two and thirty-three deg. north lat. about ſixty miles broad, ſeventy-five long, and an hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it ſeems to have been known to the antients, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at laſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſe*, commanded by Don *Juan Zarco*, and Don *Triſtano Vaz*, *A. D.* 1419. Others maintain, that one *John Machin*, an *Engliſhman*, diſcovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it will, the *Portugueſe* took poſſeſſion of it in the year above-mentioned, and are ſtill almoſt the only nation inhabiting it. The modern name *Madera*, or *Madeira*, was derived from the vaſt ſtore of wood with which it was ſtocked; the *Portugueſe*, at their firſt landing, finding it little better than a thick foreſt. In order therefore to render the ground capable of cultivation, they ſet fire to this wood, which, according

(6) *Mill, de la Croix, &c.*

to

Santo, being induced thereto by *Pliny*, who places them betwixt the *Streights* and the *Fortunate Iſlands*. 5. The *Inſulæ Beatæ* (H), or *Fortunatæ*, of *Statius Seboſus*, *Juba*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* gives theſe iſlands too ſouthern a ſituation, affirming them

to their writers, occaſioned a conflagration of ſeven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing, in great abundance, the richeſt wine, ſugar, the moſt delicious fruits, eſpecially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It alſo abounds with boars and other wild beaſts, as likewiſe with all ſorts of fowls, beſides numerous groves of cedar-trees. The air of *Madera* is more temperate than that of the *Canaries*; and conſequently its condition cannot be inferior to that of any of thoſe iſlands. The towns are *Monchico*, *Santa Croce*, and *Funzal*, its metropolis, ſo called from the prodigious quantity of *fennel* at firſt found growing in its neighbourhood. It is now the ſee of a biſhop, who is ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of *Liſbon*; and the ſeat of a *Portugueſe* governor. Notwithſtanding father *Hardouin*'s opinion, ſome authors make it the *Cerne*, or *Cerne Atlantica*, of the antients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of thoſe hawks ſo well known in *Maſſylia*, according to *Pliny*. As that author places this *Cerne* in the *Atlantic* ocean, and from the circumſtance juſt mentioned it appears to have been not remote from *Maſſylia*, ſuch a ſentiment cannot well be deemed intirely groundleſs. Whichever of theſe notions we eſpouſe, *Madera* ſeems formerly to have appertained to *Mauritania*.

Porto Santo lies at a ſmall diſtance from *Madera*, and is under the juriſdiction of the ſame biſhop and governor as *Madera*. It is only eight miles in compaſs; but the ſoil is extremely fruitful. It is remarkable, that this iſland produces the beſt honey and wax in the world.

Beſides the two aforeſaid iſlands, there is another, called by the *Spaniards Iſla Deſierta*, i. e. the *deſolate iſland*, ſeven miles diſtant from the eaſtern coaſt of *Madera*. But this being inconſiderable, on account of the ſterility of its ſoil, and its ſmall extent, it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it (7).

(H) The *Fortunate Iſlands*, or, as they are at preſent called, the *Canary Iſlands*, are ſeven in number. They lie to the ſouthward of *Madera*, weſt of the ſouthern coaſt of *Mauritania*, and betwixt twenty-ſeven and thirty degrees north lat. Their names are *Palma*, *Hierro*, *Gomera*, *Teneriffe*, *Gran Canaria*, *Fuerteventura*, and *Lanzarote*. *Palma* and *Hierro* lie moſt to the weſt. Their ſoil is rich;

(7) *Plin. l.* x. *c.* 8. *l.* vi. *c.* 3. *& alib. Moll, Pory, & Hakluyt, tom.* ii. *p.* 2, *&c. Vide etiam Marmol, Dav. Voſſ. ad Mel.*

they

them to lie on the coaſt of *Libya Interior*, whereas they are in the ſame parallel with the ſouthern part of *Mauritania*, according

they have good paſture-ground, produce excellent wine, ſugar, *&c.* and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the ſame name. The firſt is ſeven leagues long, ſix broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, ſeven broad, and twenty-ſix round. *Hierro* has a commodious haven; and *Palma* a *volcano* that emits vaſt quantities of ſulphurous matter, as we learn from *Juan Nunez de Pena*. On the weſtern point of *Hierro* moſt modern geographers place the firſt meridian. *Gomera*, ſituated to the ſouth of *Palma*, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, ſugar, and wine, with paſtures for numerous herds of cattle. It takes up twenty-two leagues in compaſs, and has a conſiderable town of the ſame name, beſides a very capacious harbour. *Teneriffe*, to the eaſt of *Hierro*, is ſaid to be ſixty miles long. In it there is a famous mountain, called the *Pico* of *Teneriffe*, frequently covered with ſnow; which renders it probable, that this iſland was *Pliny*'s *Nivaria*, and *Ptolemy*'s *Ninguaria*. The *Pico* is an aſcent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when theſe iſlands were diſcovered by M. *Jean de Betancourt*, a *French* gentleman, for Don *Juan* king of *Caſtile*, in 1405. the inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were under ſeveral kings, who lived in caves; and that they kept the bodies of their anceſtors dried like mummies. The towns in it are, *St. Chriſtopher de la Laguna*, *Santa Cruz*, *Rotava*, or *Oratava*, *Rialejo*, and *Garachico*. *Canaria*, or *Gran Canaria*, had the ſame name amongſt the antients, as we learn from *Pliny*. So that it is probable it was not given by the *Spaniards*, as ſome writers ſuggeſt; as likewiſe, that ſome knowlege of it has been retained all along from the *Roman* times, ſince the name aſſigned it by the *Romans* has been preſerved to the preſent times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty-eight in compaſs, and about thirty from cape *Boſador*. Its ſituation is eaſt of *Teneriffe*, and its capital city *Palma*, *Palmes*, or *Canaria*. In fertility it equals, at leaſt, if it does not exceed, any of the others. *Fuerteventura* is eaſt of *Gran Canaria*, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of *Africa*. It is likewiſe fruitful, and has four towns, *Tarafala*, *Lanagala*, *Pozo Negro*, and *Fuerteventura*. *Lanzarote*, north of the former, and in all points anſwering to the reſt, has three towns, *Cayas* or *Lanzarote*, *Puerto de Naos*, and *Puerto de Cavallos*. Though the ſeven are the principal iſlands that go under the name of the *Canaries*, yet there are ſeveral others in their neighbourhood of leſs note; as the *Iſla de los Lobos*, ſituated between *Fuerteventura* and *Lanzarote*; the *Salvaticæ* lying farther towards the north-

weſt;

ing to *Strabo* (I); which ſeems to tally with the beſt modern accounts and obſervations. The antients did not agree in fixing the number of theſe iſlands. *Marcellus* made them ten; ſeven of which he affirms to have been ſacred to *Proſerpina*, and the other three to *Pluto*, *Ammon*, and *Neptune*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, from *Juba*, relate, that there were ſix of them; and *Seboſus*, as well as *Plutarch*, only two. One of them *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* call *Ombros*, *Ombrios*, and *Pluvialia*; the former author, two others *Junonia*; the latter, *Junonia*, and *the inacceſſible iſland*. The other three *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, according to *Iſaac Voſſius*, named *Capraria*, *Canaria*, and *Ninguaria*, or *Nivaria*. *Ombrios* was uninhabited, and deſtitute of water at all times, but when it rained; from which circumſtance it derived its name. This iſland produced a ſort of canes, ſome of which were black, and others white; out of the former the *Mauritanians* expreſſed a liquor of a bitter taſte; and out of the latter a pleaſant kind of drink. In one of the *Junonia's* there was a ſmall temple,

weſt; beſides *Rocca*, *Gratioſa*, *Santa Clara*, and *Alagranza*, on the north of *Lanzarote*. They are all ſubject to the king of *Spain*; and *Canaria* is the ſee of a biſhop, ſubject to the metropolitan of *Sevil*. *Canaria* formerly produced a ſort of dates, and pine-apples, in conſiderable plenty, according to *Pliny*. In the rivers alſo of theſe iſlands grew the plant *papyrus*, as in the *Nile*, if the ſame author may be credited. From the cuſtom of preſerving the bodies of their anceſtors, in the manner abovementioned, it ſeems probable, that the antient inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were either a colony of the *Ethiopians*, or deſcended from the firſt progenitors of that people. For, that ſuch a cuſtom prevailed in very early times amongſt them, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (8).

(I) The beſt modern obſervations tally with *Strabo*, if, with that author and *Ptolemy*, we extend the ſouthern limits of *Mauritania* as far to the ſouthward as within three degrees, or leſs, of the tropic of *Cancer*. But if, with the moderns, we will not allow it to reach beyond the mouth of the *Darodus*, in nearly twenty-eight degrees north latitude, the *Inſulæ Fortunatæ* will ſeem to have partly appertained to *Gætulia*. For our part, we are inclined to believe, that part of the kingdom of *Sus* and *Morocco*, particularly the province of *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, together with the diſtrict contiguous to the town of *Meſſa*, belonged to the *Gætulians*, as will be rendered probable when we come to the hiſtory of that people (9).

(8) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *p.* 148. *Ed. Rhodoman. Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 32. *Hakluyt, Herbert, Moll, Atl. geogr. &c.* (9) *Vid. Strab. Plin. Ptol. De la Croix, Moll, alioſq; geogr. ſup. laudat.*

built of ſtone. *Capraria* abounded with monſtrous lizards. *Nivaria* was always covered with ſnow; and *Canaria* over-run with dogs of an enormous ſize, two of which were preſented to king *Juba*. From hence they had their names aſſigned them. They all abounded with apples, and other ſorts of fruit, as well as honey, and all kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the *Siluri*, a kind of ſhadfiſh, *&c.* In ſhort, the antients ſo highly eſteemed them, on account of their happy climate, ſalubrious air, and fertile ſoil, that they ſtiled them *the Fortunate iſlands*, and fixed here their *Elyſian* fields [c].

Curioſities.

CURIOSITIES, moſt worthy of obſervation, were, 1. The vines, grapes, reeds, *&c.* towards the confines of *Libya Interior*, of a moſt prodigious and incredible ſize, mentioned by *Strabo*. 2. The trees growing in the iſland *Ombrios*, or *Pluvialia*, and the liquor extracted from them; which ſome learned men have imagined to be the ſugar-canes and moloſſus of the moderns. 3. The river, in the ſouthern parts of *Tingitania*, which overflowed all the adjacent country, and fertilized it in the ſame manner as the *Nile* did *Egypt*; for, that there was ſuch a river in this diſtrict, appears from the beſt modern obſervations compared with *Strabo*. 4. The ſeveral remarkable ruins of *Roman* antiquities ſtill remaining. 5. The narrow deſcent of many fathom deep, a few miles from *Tangier*, which leads into a ſort of cave, from whence are paſſages into ſubterraneous apartments, deſigned undoubtedly by the antients as repoſitories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and ſtatues with *Punic* inſcriptions upon them. We ſhall reſerve all other curious particulars for the hiſtory of the *Sharifs* in *Fez* and *Morocco* [d].

[c] PTOL. ubi ſup. & l. iv. c. 6. PLIN. l. vi. c. 32. STATIUS SEBOSUS & JUBA apud PLIN. ibid. STRAB. ſub init. MARCELLUS in Æthiopic. apud PROCLUM, l. i. in Timæ. PLUT. in Sertor. SOLIN. c. 24. Is. VOSS. ad Mel. l. iii. c. 10. & JACOB. PERIZON. ad Ælian. l. iii. c. 18. Vide etiam JOAN. HARDUIN. ad Plin. ubi ſup. & ALDRET. l. iv. c. 9. [d] STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. I. LEO AFRICAN. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c.

SECT.

Septentrio

MAURETANIA, NUMIDIA, GÆTULIA &c.

HISPANIAE PARS

MARIS MEDITERRANEI

sive INTERNI PARS

OCEANUS ATLANTICUS

SINUS GADITANUS

Fretum Herculeum

Gades

Calpe

Tingis

Regnum Tingitanum

Zilis

Lixus

Subur

Babba

Banasa

Gilda

Sala

Atlas minor Mons

Purpurariæ Insulæ

Rusubis Portus

Solis Mons

Dyris flu.

Mussocaras Portus

Dorath

Phthuth flu.

Herculis promont.

Fortunatæ Inf.

Tamusiga

Cadium prom.

Suriga

Vala

Vna flu.

Agna flu.

Sala flu.

Banuvbæ

Vacuatæ

ATLAS MAJOR MONS

Bocchi Regnum

Boguddis

Ascurum

Siga

Portus Divini

Portus Magnus

Malua R.

Mulucha R.

Herpis

Molochath R.

Tocolosida

Gontiana

Galapha

Massæsyli Regnum

Victoria

Oppidum Novum

Zalacus M.

Aripa

Vaga

Burca

Tarrun

Nacmusii

Tubuna

Auzia

Germiana

Ampsaga flu.

Numidiae Salde

Igilgili

Satafi

Sitifi

Hippa

Tubursicu

Lambaesa

Tamugada

Lares

Cirta

Calama

Synice

Thagaste

Sicca Veneria

Hadaumetum

Hippo Diarrhytus

Utica

Carthago Vetus

Tunes

Byzacium

Thebeste sive Theuste

Tipasa

Sufibus

Massiliana

Sufetula

Musti

Musulani

Misulani

Audus Mons

Thambes Mons

Bagradas flu.

Lamue

Zama

Auxiliarium Mons

Nasabutes

Sabubures

Nisibes

Buzaras Mons

Campus Sitaphius

Garamantes

PARS BYZACII

PROPRIAE PARTES

Deserta pleraque

Tropicus Cancri

LIBYA INTERIOR

GÆTULIA

Occidens

Oriens

Meridies

35

30

25

I. Basire sculp.

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. *of the* Mauritanians.

THAT the descendents of *Phut* first peopled *Mauritania*, as well as the tract between the *Triton* and the *Mulucha*, has been already observed from various authors. That the *Phœnicians* likewise planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the testimonies already produced. To which we may add, that, from *Hirtius*, *Appian*, and *Dio*, as explained by *Aldrete*, it may be inferred, that the *Arabs* are to be ranked amongst some of the most antient inhabitants of this country. Their authority is supported by that of the *African* historians, or rather a tradition of the *Africans*, as we learn from *Leo* and *Marmol*. The *Mauritanians* bordering upon the confines of *Gætulia*, particularly those in the neighbourhood of the *Pharusii*, who were probably intermixed with them, might have been the progeny of the *Persians*, whom several authors of repute affirm to have settled here in very remote times. As the *Egyptians*, in the reign of *Ammon*, conquered the *Atlantides*, a nation seated on mount *Atlas*, we may look upon them likewise as progenitors of the antient *Mauritanians*. Should it be admitted, that any number of *Persians* ever fixed their habitations in so remote a region, it is likely, that they either attended *Hercules* in his *Libyan* expedition, as several writers assert, or formed part of the body of *Arabs* above-mentioned; for, that they came by sea, in the manner related by *Sallust*, is utterly improbable. Be that as it will, that the *Pharusii* deduced their origin from the *Persians*, seems to be insinuated by the near resemblance of the word *Pharusii* to a name given the *Persians* in Scripture, to wit, פרס *Paras* (A), *Pharas*, or *Pharus*; for it may be pronounced all these ways. This seems not a little to support the authority of

The antiquity of the Mauritanians.

Phœnician colonies.

(A) It may not be improper, in order to strengthen what is here observed, to take notice, that פרסי *Pharsi*, a *Persian*, approaches very near the word *Pharusii*, especially if we give it a plural *Chaldee* or *Syriac* termination. From the passages of Scripture in which the word is used, it appears pretty plain, that it was a *Persian* proper name; and from others, that the *Hebrews* called *Persia Elam*, and the *Persians Elamites* (1).

(1) *Nehem.* c. xii. v. 22.

Mela, *Pliny*, and others. As the *Perſian* and *Indian* dominions were contiguous, it is no wonder we ſhould find the antient *Mauri*, conſidered as the attendants of *Hercules*, called *Indians* by *Strabo*. According to *Leo*, ſome of the *Moors*, and other *Africans* in his time, believed themſelves to be deſcended from certain tribes of *Sabæans*, a people of *Arabia Felix*, who were chaſed out of their native country either by the *Aſſyrians* or *Ethiopians*. Others, if we may credit the ſame author, gave out, that their anceſtors were driven out of *Aſia* by a powerful enemy, and purſued into *Greece*; from whence they made their eſcape into *Barbary*, leaving their purſuers in poſſeſſion of the country they laſt abandoned. But this, he adds, was to be underſtood only of the white nations inhabiting ſome parts of weſtern *Barbary* and *Numidia*. *Marmol* relates from the *African* hiſtorians, that five tribes of *Sabæans*, under the conduct of *Melec Ifiriqui* king of *Arabia Felix*, firſt ſpread themſelves over ſome of the eaſtern parts of *Barbary*; and that *Tut*, the grandſon of *Cham*, ſettled firſt in *Tingitania*, giving name to the *Tuteii*, a people of that region. The *African Tut*, we apprehend, muſt either be *Phut*, one of *Ham*'s younger ſons, or *Lud* his grandſon. Nothing abſurd is implied in the laſt ſuppoſition; for it appears, from the *Jeruſalem Targum*, in conjunction with the ſacred hiſtorian, that *Lud*, the ſon of *Miſraim*, may be conſidered as one of the firſt planters of *Mauritania* [a].

Government.

It is generally imagined, that abſolute monarchy prevailed in *Mauritania* from the earlieſt ages, as well as in *Egypt* and *Numidia*. *Bocchar*, *Bocchus*, and *Bogud*, from what we find related of them by the *Roman* hiſtorians, ſeem to have governed here with an uncontroulable ſway; which is a ſufficient intimation, that their predeceſſors likewiſe were deſpotic. However, we muſt obſerve from *Appian*, that ſeveral tribes of *Moors*, whom he calls αὐτόνομοι, were governed by their own laws, or, at leaſt, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in oppoſition to that form of government which was eſtabliſhed in the greateſt part of the country we are now upon. The independent *Arabs*, mentioned by Dr. *Shaw*, who are ſeated in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, and ſometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of *Morocco*, may pro-

[a] Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. c. 14. ſect. 2, 3. Hirt. de bel. Afric. Appian. de bel. civil. l. 4. Dio, l. xlviii. I. Leo African. l. i. Marmol. l. i. c. 1, &c. Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 10. Plin. l. v. c. viii. Strab. l. xvii. Sallust. in Jugurth. Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 132, 133. edit. Rhodoman. Est. c. i. ver. 3. Dan. c. vi. ver. 9. & ver. 29. Targ. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. Aldret. l. iii. c. 24.

bably

bably be the poſterity of theſe free-born *Moors*. Be that as it will, moſt of the provinces of *Mauritania*, if not the whole region, were ſubject to one prince in the reign of the elder *Dionyſius*. This we learn from *Juſtin*, who ſays, that *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* nobleman, in order to attain the ſovereignty of *Carthage*, to which he then aſpired, had recourſe to the king of the *Mauri* for aſſiſtance. *Appian* inſinuates, that not only in *Numidia*, whilſt regal government flouriſhed there, but likewiſe in other neighbouring parts of *Africa*, and therefore probably *Mauritania*, ſeveral *reguli*, or heads of the *Kabyles*, as they now are called, were engaged in bloody wars one with another; which evidently implies, that they muſt have exerciſed a ſovereign power. Notwithſtanding which, the great figure the *Mauri* or *Mauruſii* made in *Africa*, that name extending even to the borders of *Africa Propria*, before the *Romans* grew formidable there, as appears from *Juſtin*, is a ſufficient indication, that moſt of them were united under one common head. The names *Mauritania Propria* or *Tingitania* received from thoſe of its kings, to wit, *Bogudiana*, &c. clearly demonſtrate the vaſt extent of power they enjoyed. The form of government in uſe, from the remoteſt antiquity, amongſt thoſe nations that firſt ſent colonies hither, evinces the ſame thing; as does that of the antient *Numidians*, who agreed with their neighbours the *Mauruſii* in almoſt all points whatſoever [b].

Laws. THAT ſome of the *Mauritanians* had laws, or at leaſt certain political maxims and inſtitutions, which ſerved as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from *Appian*; but none of theſe have been conveyed down to us. Nay, the *Mauritanian* monarchs themſelves, however abſolute, might have had ſome immutable laws, to ſteer their political courſe by, as we find the *Medes* and *Perſians* had. *Appian*'s ἀνόμοι, juſt mentioned, ſeem to ſuggeſt ſuch a thing, or, at leaſt, that laws were not intirely unknown in *Mauritania* [c].

Religion. NEPTUNE ſeems to have been one of the principal objects of adoration in this country; which is a ſufficient proof,

[b] LIV. lib. xxix. c. 29. SALLUST. in Jugurth. PLIN. lib. v. c. 2. HIRT. de bel. Alex. STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. xli. & alib. APPIAN. in Libyc. lxvii. PLUT. in Cæſ. in Pomp. in Anton. & alib. JUSTIN. lib. xxi. c. 4. APPIAN. de bell. civil. lib. iv. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra, & l. xix. c. 2. PLIN. ubi ſupra. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5. & c. 7. ALDRET. ubi ſup. & l. iv. c. 20. Dr. SHAW in pref. p. 8, & alib.

[c] APPIAN. in Libyc. lxvii. EST. c. i. ver. 19, & c. viii. ver. 8. DAN. c. vi. ver. 8. 12. 15.

that the *Naphthuhim*, or *Nephthuhim*, of *Moſes*, extended themſelves into it; though the firſt ſeat of that people might probably, as *Bochart* and *Arius Montanus* imagine, have been in *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica*. This deity and his wife *Neptys* might receive their names from hence, *Neptune*, *Neptys*, and *Naphthuhim*, ſignifying the king, queen, and people, of the ſea-coaſts. It is certain, that the *Egyptians* called the exterior parts of the earth promontories, and whatever bordered upon the ſea, and was waſhed by it, *Neptys*. The *Sun* and *Moon* likewiſe, in common with the other *Libyan* nations, they paid religious honours to. That they offered human ſacrifices to their gods, in imitation perhaps of the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, or ſome other antient nation, from whom their anceſtors came, is aſſerted by *Seneca*. From what *Nonnus* and others have advanced, it ſeems probable, that *Bacchus* was worſhiped by the *Mauritanians*, eſpecially as the *Indians* and *Arabs* adored him in a moſt particular manner. In ſhort, we are to form a notion of the *Mauritanian* religion from that of the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Perſians*, and *Carthaginians*, already deſcribed, as well as from that of the old *Arabs*, which we hope ſoon to give our readers a ſuccinct account of. What peculiarities, in this particular, the *Mauritanians* had, as doubtleſs they had ſome, have many ages ſince been buried in oblivion. However, it ſeems probable from *Mela*, that they either worſhiped *Antæus*, or paid divine honours to his ſhield [d].

Language. THE *Mauritanian* language undoubtedly differed from the *Numidian* in ſuch a manner only as one dialect of the ſame tongue does from another; ſo that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the *Mauritanian* character, that ſeems to have been the ſame with the *Numidian*, thoſe letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. What has been juſt obſerved of the religion of the people we are now upon, to wit, that it bore a near reſemblance and affinity to thoſe of the nations from whom the *Mauritanians* deduced their origin, will hold equally ſtrong with regard to

[d] HERODOT. l. ii. APOLLODOR. paſſ. PIND. in Pyth. od. iv. APOLLON. Argonaut. l. iv. PLUTARCH. de Iſid. NON. Dionyſiac. lib. iii. v. 28. Gen. c. x. v. 13. D. HIERONYM. quæſt. Heb. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIODOR. SIC. lib. v. p. 233. PAMPHUS apud Pauſan. lib. vii. c. 21. PLUT. de Iſid. DIONYS. HALICARN. ant. Rom. l. i. &c. SENEC. in Octav. NON. in Dionyſiac. ubi ſup. & alib. DIONYS. in perieg. v. 623. HERODOT. l. i. MEL. l. c. 5. Vid. ALDRET. & NEWT. in chronol. paſſ.

their

their language. The tongue of the preſent *Kabyles* Dr. *Shaw* has given us a ſpecimen of, and poſſibly ſome traces of that of the antient *Moors* are ſtill remaining in it; but of this we are far from being certain. However, ſeveral words of the *African* vocabulary, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are deducible from the *Oriental* languages, whatever he may inſinuate to the contrary (B). The *Arabeſca*, at preſent ſpoken in *Fez* and *Morocco*, as well as over all other parts of *Barbary*, was not ſo much derived from the *Saracens*, who over-ran this vaſt tract, as the antient inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. The *Punic* tongue, not very remote from the *Arabic*, prevailed thro' that part of *Africa* extending from the *Triton* to the *Atlantic* ocean, even to the time of St. *Auſtin* [e].

Cuſtoms.

1. THE *Mauritanians*, as well as the other *Africans*, from what *Hyginus* inſinuates, ſeem to have fought only with clubs, till one *Belus*, the ſon of *Neptune*, as that author calls him,

[e] HENDREICH, BOCHART. ALDRET. paſſ. SHAW's phyſical and miſcellaneous obſervat. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. and Tun. p. 288. & E. 52.

(B) The very learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* poſitively aſſerts, that there is no affinity *at all* betwixt what may be ſuppoſed to be the primitive words in the *Showiah*, as the preſent *African Kabyles* call their language, and the words which convey the ſame meaning in the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues. From whence he ſeems to infer, that this language bore no relation at all to any of thoſe that are now called the *Oriental* languages; and that it is difficult, if not impoſſible, *even* to form any conjectures about it. But that there is a poſſibility *at leaſt*, if not a good degree of probability, of deducing it from the Eaſtern tongues, will beſt appear from the following *Showiahan* words:

1. *Akel, to ſee*, may naturally be deduced from חכל *hhacal*, red, coloured, *&c.* or עקל *Akal, he underſtood, perceived*, &c. 2. *Athrair, a mountain*, from אתר *Athar, a place*, and הר *har, an hill.* 3. *Allen, the eye*, from the *Arabic* article *al, the*, and עין *ein*, or *en, eye.* 4. *Aman, water*, from מין *main*, or *man, waters*, and ה *ha, the*, i. e. המין *Hamain*, or *Haman, the waters.* 5. *Elkaa, the earth*, from the *Arabic* article *al, the*, and קוא *kaa, barren ſoil.* 6. *Aſſa, to-day*, from עשא *aſa*, or *aſſa, the time from noon to the next day break.* As all the other *Showiahan* words we have examined are equally deducible from the *Oriental* languages, we doubt not but Dr. *Shaw*'s whole *Showiahan* vocabulary may be deemed of *Oriental* extraction (2).

(2) *Vid. Schind. lex. pent. & Gol. lex. Arabic.*

taught them the uſe of the ſword. Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes this *Belus* to have been the ſame perſon with *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt*, who over-ran a great part of the then known world. 2. All perſons of diſtinction in *Mauritania* went richly attired, wearing much gold and ſilver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleanſing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely cloſe. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of diſconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The *Mauritanian* infantry, in time of action, uſed ſhields made of elephants ſkins, being clad in thoſe of lions, leopards, and bears, which they kept on both night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad ſhort lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewiſe of the ſkins of wild beaſts. They uſed no ſaddles. Their horſes were ſmall and ſwift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were ſo much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of theſe horſemen was not much different from that of the foot above-mentioned, they conſtantly wearing a large tunic of the ſkins of wild beaſts. The *Phutæi*, of whom the *Mauritanians* were a branch, were eminent for their ſhields, and the excellent uſe they made of them, as we learn from *Homer*, *Xenophon*, *Herodotus*, and Scripture. Nay, *Herodotus* ſeems to intimate, that the ſhield and helmet came from them to the *Greeks*. 5. Notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, the poorer ſort of the *Mauritanians* never took care to manure the ground, being ſtrangers to the art of huſbandry, but roved about the country in a wild ſavage manner, like the antient *Scythians* or *Arabes Scenitæ*. They had tents, or *mapalia*, ſo extremely ſmall, that they could ſcarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, herbage, *&c.* which they frequently did eat green, without any manner of preparation; being deſtitute of wine, oil, and all the elegancies as well as many neceſſaries of life. Their habit was the ſame both in ſummer and winter, conſiſting chiefly of an old tattered, though thick, garment, and over it a coarſe rough tunic; which anſwered probably to that of their neighbours the *Numidians*, already deſcribed. Moſt of them lay every night upon the bare ground, though ſome of them ſtrewed their garments thereon, not unlike the preſent *African Kabyles* and *Arabs*, who, according to Dr. *Shaw*, uſe their *hykes* for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the moſt approved reading of a paſſage in *Horace* may be admitted, the *Mauritanians* ſhot poiſoned arrows; which clearly intimates, that they had ſome ſkill in the art of preparing poiſons,

and

and were excellent dartmen. This laſt obſervation is countenanced by *Herodian* and *Ælian*, who intirely come into it, affirming them to have been in ſuch continual danger of being devoured by wild beaſts, that they durſt not ſtir out of their tents or *mapalia* without their darts. Such perpetual exerciſe muſt render them exceedingly ſkilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The *Mauritanians* ſacrificed human victims to their deities, as the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, &c. did. This is not only probable from the authority produced in the *Carthaginian* hiſtory, but from the expreſs teſtimony of *Seneca* and *Euſebius*. 8. As the other cuſtoms of the nation we are now upon coincide with thoſe of the *Numidians* already related, for their farther ſatisfaction in this particular, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the *Numidian* hiſtory [f].

Arts.

WITH regard to the arts and ſciences of the *Mauritanians*, we have not much to ſay. The country-people were extremely rude and barbarous, as appears from what has been juſt laid down. Thoſe inhabiting cities muſt undoubtedly have had, at leaſt, ſome ſmattering in the literature of the ſeveral nations they deduced their origin from. That the *Mauritanians* had ſome knowlege in naval affairs, ſeems probable, not only from the intercourſe they had with the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, as well as the ſituation of their country, but likewiſe from *Orpheus*, or *Onomacritus*, who aſſerts them to have made a ſettlement at the entrance into *Colchis*, to which place they came by ſea. Magic, ſorcery, divination, *&c.* from what has been obſerved in the laſt ſection, they appear to have applied themſelves to in very early times. *Cicero* and *Pliny* ſay, that *Atlas* was the inventor of aſtrology, and the doctrine of the ſphere, *i. e.* he firſt introduced them into *Mauritania*. This, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, gave riſe to the fable of *Atlas*'s bearing the heavens upon his ſhoulders. The ſame author relates, that *Atlas* inſtructed *Hercules* in the doctrine of the ſphere and aſtrology, or rather aſtronomy, who afterwards brought thoſe ſciences into *Greece*. Some ſay that *Neptune*, and others that *Atlas*, firſt fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ſhips with ſails. Be that as it will, it is generally acknowleged, that both *Neptune*,

[f] STRAB. l. xvii. HOM. paſſ. HERODOT. in Melpom. XENOPH. Cyropæd. lib. vi. JER. c. xlv. ver. 9. EZECH. c. xvii. ver. 10. & c. xxxviii. ver. 5. SALLUST. in Jugurth. HYGIN. fab. cclxxv. HORAT. l. i. od. 22. HERODIAN. paſſ. ÆLIAN. l. xiv. c. 5. SENEC. ubi ſup. EUSEB. in orat. in laud. Conſtant. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. THEOPHAN. in vit. Juſtinian. SHAW ubi ſup. p. 289, 290. Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. c. 14. ſect. 2.

and *Atlas* his ſon, reigned in this country; for which reaſon it cannot be denied probable, that aſtronomy, aſtrology, geography, geometry, navigation, *&c.* were known to ſome of the *Mauritanians* in early ages. Let this be admitted, and it will almoſt neceſſarily follow, that a competent knowlege in hiſtory, chronology, *&c.* could not have been wanting amongſt them. That ſome of them were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great and illuſtrious figure the younger *Juba* made in the learned world, an account of which will be given towards the cloſe of the *Mauritanian* hiſtory [g].

Power. NOTWITHSTANDING *Mela* repreſents *Tingitania* as a poor deſpicable country, ſcarce deſerving any notice, yet *Strabo* aſſures us, that it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The antients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the *Heſperides* here, ſeem to concur with him in that opinion. *Salluſt*, in particular, diſcovers himſelf to have entertained the ſame ſentiment, when he tells us how formidable *Jugurtha*'s army was rendered by its junction with the *Mauritanian* forces; and *Dio*, when he intimates, that *Bogud* king of *Mauritania* cauſed victory to declare in favour of *Cæſar*, at the battle of *Munda*. We cannot well conceive it to have been otherwiſe, if we conſider its extraordinary fertility, the genius of its inhabitants for trade, the gold it abounded with, the bravery of its troops, and other inſtances of its power mentioned by writers of the beſt authority. The *Carthaginians* had generally ſome bodies of *Mauritanians* in their ſervice, which is a proof, that they were highly eſteemed by that famous republic. The name of *Mauri*, or *Mauruſii*, ſeems to have extended itſelf from the *Atlantic* ocean to the borders of *Africa Propria*, or, at leaſt, to the *Ampſaga*, as may be inferred from ſeveral authors. Nay, it ſurvived thoſe of the *Maſſyli* and *Maſæſyli*, which muſt have been occaſioned by the ſuperior eminence of the *Mauritanian* nation, and conſequently is an additional argument in favour of what has been juſt advanced [h].

[g] ORPHEUS, vel ONOMACRITUS, in Argon. ver. 741. CIC. in quæſt. Tuſcul. l. v. & de natur. deor. STATIUS in Theb l. viii. MANIL. l. iii. EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. ii. c. 4. PLIN. l. ii. c. 8. & l. viii. c. 56. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. TZETZ. hiſt. l. i. chil. 5. PLAT. PAMPH. HERODOT. PAUSAN. PLUT. ubi ſup. ALDRET. l. iv. c. 14. & alib. [h] POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 5. STRAB. l. xvii. SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. de bell. civil. & in Hiſpan. DIO, l. xliii. PLIN. ubi ſup. & alib. Vid. etiam PLUT. in Syl. & in Mar. CELLAR. lib. iv. c. 5. ALDRET. BOCHART. Univ. hiſt. vol. xvii. paſſ. & vol. xviii. c. 15. §. 1.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Mauritanians, *to the intire reduction of their country by the* Romans.

Accounts of the earlieſt tranſactions in Mauritania *little to be depended on.*

THE accounts tranſmitted down to us by the antients of the moſt early tranſactions in *Mauritania* are ſo inveloped with fable, that it is impoſſible for us from thence to form any tolerable idea of them; though theſe accounts are ſo prolix, that they would fill a conſiderable volume. It will therefore be ſufficient, for the information of our readers, to give a conciſe relation of the principal of them, ſtripped as much as poſſible of fable, and rendered as conſiſtent with itſelf as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, will permit it to be [a].

Neptune *and* Antæus *two of the firſt kings of* Mauritania.

THE two earlieſt princes of this country, except *Neptune*, mentioned by antiquity, were *Atlas* and *Antæus*. From ſeveral circumſtances, with which we are ſupplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that theſe were the ſame perſon. They were both of them the ſons of *Neptune*, who reigned over *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, and a great part of *Libya*; as may be naturally inferred from his having ſuch particular marks of diſtinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of thoſe regions. They both ruled with an abſolute ſway over a great part of *Africa*, particularly *Tingitania*. *Hercules* defeated and ſlew *Antæus* in the ſame war wherein he took the *Libyan* world from *Atlas*. Both *Atlas* and *Antæus* invaded *Egypt*, and contended with *Hercules* in the wars of the gods, and were both overcome by him. *Antæus*, as well as *Atlas*, ſeems to have been famed for his knowlege in the celeſtial ſciences. From whence, as well as from other conſiderations that might be offered, we may

[a] HESIOD. PIND. SOPHOCL. EURIPID. MEL. STRAB. PLIN. APOLLODOR. CIC. HYGIN. PHILOSTRAT. LUCAN. APOLLON. LUCRET. SENEC. STAT. MART. OVID. JUVEN. PROPERT. SIL. ITAL. PLUT. VIRG. SOLIN. SERV. DIOD. SIC. TACIT. EUSEB. PROCOP. SALLUST. FLOR. OROS. PTOL. DIO, PALÆPHAT. CLAUDIAN. ALBERIC. ATHEN. CÆS. GERMANIC. in Arat. phænom. JUBA apud Athen. omneſq; fere ſcript. antiq. paſſ.

fairly

fairly conclude them to have been the ſame king of *Mauritania* [b] (A).

Sir Iſaac Newton's *opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived, probable.*

ANTÆUS, in his wars with *Hercules*, who ſeems to have commanded an army of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, behaved with great bravery and reſolution. Receiving ſeveral large reinforcements of *Libyan* troops, he cut off vaſt numbers of *Hercules*'s men. But that celebrated commander, having at laſt intercepted a ſtrong body of *Mauritanian* or *Libyan* forces, ſent to the relief of *Antæus*, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he, and the beſt part of his forces, were put to the ſword. This deciſive action put *Hercules* in poſſeſſion of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, and conſequently of all the riches in thoſe kingdoms. Hence came the fable, that *Hercules*, finding *Antæus*, a giant of an enormous ſize, with whom he was engaged in ſingle combat, to receive freſh ſtrength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at laſt lifted him up in the air, and ſqueezed him to death. Hence likewiſe may be deduced the fable, intimating, that *Hercules* took *Atlas*'s globe upon his own ſhoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the *Heſperides*, and made himſelf maſter of all the golden fruit there. *Bochart* thinks, that the fable alluded chiefly to naval engagements, wherein *Hercules*, for the moſt part, was victorious, though *Antæus*, from time to time, received ſuccours by ſea. But at laſt *Hercules*, coming up with one of his ſquadrons having a ſtrong reinforcement on board, made himſelf maſter of it; which rendered *Antæus*, for the future, incapable of making head againſt him. The ſame author likewiſe inſinuates, that

[b] PIND. Pyth. od. ix. HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. APOLLON. Argon. l. iv. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIOD. SIC. l. i. & l. iii. PAMPHUS apud Pauſan. l. vii. c. 21. PLUT. de Iſid. AGATHARC. apud Phot. HYGIN. fab. cl. LUCIAN. de ſaltat. ALDRET. l. iv. c. 9.

(A) The oblique caſes of the word *Atlas*, to wit, *Atlantis*, *Atlante*, &c. are apparently compounded of the names *Atlas*, or *Atal*, i. e. *tall*, *lofty*, &c. and *Ante*, or *Antæus*. This is a preſumptive proof, that they both belonged to the ſame perſon, and conſequently, that *Atlas* and *Antæus* were the ſame king of *Mauritania*. The old nominative caſe in the *Greek* language, of all ſuch words, bore a near relation to the oblique caſes, tho' altered in proceſs of time. The word *Atal* anſwers very well to the ſtature of *Antæus*, according to *Pliny* and *Plutarch* (1).

(1) *Cumberl. in Sanch. p. 727. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Plut. in Sertor.*

the

the notion of *Antæus*'s gigantic ſtature, prevailing for ſo many centuries amongſt the *Tingitanians*, pointed out the ſize of the veſſels of which his fleets or ſquadrons did conſiſt. As for the golden apples, ſo frequently mentioned by the old mythologiſts, they were the treaſures that fell into *Hercules*'s hands upon *Antæus*'s defeat, the *Greeks* giving the oriental word מאל, *riches*, the ſignification affixed to their own term μῆλα, *apples*. Biſhop *Cumberland* ſeems, with *Sanchoniatho*, and the *Atlantian* theology in *Diodorus*, to allow *Atlas* to have been the ſon of *Ouranos*, i. e. according to him, *Noah*; and likewiſe to take for granted, with *Euſebius*, that *Antæus* was his ſon. But, ſhould this be admitted, we muſt allow *Hercules*, and conſequently *Antæus*, to have been cotemporary with *Miſraim*; that the remoteſt weſtern parts of *Africa*, even thoſe bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, were then fully inhabited; and that they had, even for ſome time, then formed a powerful kingdom. So that the north-weſtern part of *Libya*, according to this hypotheſis, made a conſiderable figure before *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence its firſt colonies were drawn, could in reality make any figure at all. Nay, from hence it will follow, that thoſe countries, particularly *Egypt*, ſent colonies into, and attempted the conqueſt of, almoſt the remoteſt regions, when they themſelves were in a manner uncultivated, and without inhabitants: abſurdities theſe ſo glaring, that even none in *Cteſias* can exceed them! Beſides, if *Euſebius* eſpouſed this opinion, as he ſeems to have done, by his citation from *Diodorus*, provided we fall in with biſhop *Cumberland*'s explanation of *Sanchoniatho*, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf. For he aſſerts *Hercules* to have vanquiſhed *Antæus* about three hundred and ninety-three years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, as we find by conſulting his *Chronicon*. Now, allowing that event to have preceded the Chriſtian æra twelve hundred years, which is higher than it has even been fixed by the followers of *Cteſias* and *Eratoſthenes*, both *Hercules* and *Antæus* muſt have lived betwixt ſeven and eight hundred years after the deluge; which, though much too early, in our opinion, muſt bring them down ſeveral hundred years lower than the age of *Miſraim*. The *Greek* mythic writers, particularly *Apollodorus*, will have *Atlas* to be the ſon of *Iapetus*, and grandſon of *Noah*, according to biſhop *Cumberland*; but this hypotheſis likewiſe, from what has been juſt advanced, muſt be acknowleged void of the leaſt ſhadow of probability. In fine, after the moſt diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheſes of hiſtorians and chronologers, relating to *Atlas* and *Antæus*, we find none ſo little clogged with difficulties, as that of the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*. According to that illuſtrious

author, *Ammon*, the father of *Sesac*, was the first king of *Libya*, or that vast tract extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean; the conquest of which country was effected by *Sesac* in his father's life-time. *Neptune* afterwards excited the *Libyans* to a rebellion against *Sesac*, slew him, and then invaded *Egypt* under the command of *Atlas* or *Antæus*, the son of *Neptune*, *Sesac*'s brother and admiral. Not long after *Hercules*, the general of *Thebais* and *Ethiopia* for the gods or great men of *Egypt*, reduced a second time the whole continent of *Libya*, having overthrown and slain *Antæus* near a town in *Thebais*, from that event called *Antæa* or *Antæopolis*: this, we say, is the notion advanced by Sir *Isaac Newton*, who endeavours to prove, that the first reduction of *Libya*, by *Sesac*, happened a little above a thousand years before the birth of *Christ*, as the last, by *Hercules*, did some few years after. Now, though we do not pretend to adopt every particular circumstance of Sir *Isaac Newton*'s system, yet we cannot forbear observing, that it appears undeniably plain from Scripture, that neither the western extremity of *Libya*, nor even the other parts of that region, could possibly have been so well peopled before the time of *David* or *Solomon*, as to have sent a numerous army to invade *Egypt*. For *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence the greatest part of the ancestors of the *Libyans* came, and which were much nearer the place from whence the first dispersion of mankind was made, could not themselves have been greatly over-stocked with inhabitants any considerable time before the reign of *Saul*. And that such an invasion happened in the reign of *Neptune*, or at least of his son *Antæus*, has been fully evinced by that most excellent chronologer [c].

A farther argument in support of Sir Isaac Newton.

To what has been already offered on this head we may add, that the *Libyans* are not taken notice of by Scripture, as a nation of any strength or power, till the fifth year of the reign of *Rehoboam* king of *Judah*, who was then invaded by *Sesac*. A body of *Libyan* troops attended that prince in this expedition; and therefore *Libya* must be considered as then newly become subject to him. About thirty years afterwards they made likewise something of a figure; since in the fifteenth of *Asa*, *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced to *Mareshah* with an army of a million of men, of which the *Libyans*

[c] Iidem ibid. & quamplurim. ex auctor. supra laudat. Boch. Chan. l. ii. c. 24. & præfat. in Chan. Euseb. in chron. ad num. 498. 835, &c. Cumberl. in Sanchoniath. p. 327, & seq. & in orig. p. 265. 277, &c. Newton's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp. and of the Greeks, p. 99. Gen. xiv. & alib. Exod. i. Jud. i. Newton's chronol. of the Greeks, p. 185—191.

formed

formed a conſiderable part. As this was but a ſhort time after the death of *Seſac*, and as *Zerah* muſt then have been maſter of *Egypt*, ſince otherwiſe he could not have marched his *Libyan* forces through that country, to attack *Aſa*'s dominions, it ſeems to us extremely probable from hence, in conjunction with what has been juſt obſerved, that *Libya* was annexed to the *Egyptian* monarchy by *Seſac*, and not before. From hence likewiſe it appears, that *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſonchoſis*, muſt have been the ſame *Egyptian* prince with *Seſac*, ſince thoſe names denoted that conqueror who firſt reduced *Libya*, and formed the great *Egyptian* monarchy, according to profane authors. No mention is made of the *Egyptians* on this occaſion, ſince ſoon after the death of *Seſac*, i. e. a little before the *Trojan* war, the *Ethiopians*, for a ſhort time, were maſters of *Egypt*, as appears from *Pliny* and *Herodotus*. If therefore all that vaſt tract, known by the name of *Libya*, was ſo inconſiderable, that it deſerved little or no attention, till the days of *Rehoboam* and *Aſa*, how obſcure muſt the country, called by the *Phœnicians Mauritania*, a ſmall part of it, have been in every age preceding *Seſac!* We may therefore infer from hence, that *Antæus*, or *Atlas*, could not have lived much earlier than the age Sir *Iſaac* has aſſigned him; however early ſome particular colonies of *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, a ſea-faring people always intent upon diſcovering unknown countries, might have ſettled in the weſtern parts of *Africa*. However, we are far from inſiſting upon what is here advanced as true; but only beg leave to ſubmit it, with all poſſible deference, to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers [d].

THE ſentiment we would here recommend to the conſideration of the learned is alſo countenanced by *Virgil*, and *Trogus Pompeius*, who hint the following remarkable particulars relating to it: 1. About nine hundred years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, *Libya* was independent on *Egypt*, ſince the eaſtern, if not the weſtern, part of it, was governed by a king of its own name, called *Iarbas*. This tallies extremely well with what Sir *Iſaac* has obſerved of the fall of the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammon* and *Seſac*. For, according to him, that empire was broken to pieces about the year before *Chriſt* 940. by the civil wars in the reign of *Amenophis*, which, in a great meaſure, occaſioned the revolt of the nations upon the coaſts of the *Mediterranean*

Virgil *and* Trogus *countenance his opinion.*

[d] 2 Chron. xii. 3. xiv. 9 & xvi. 8. MANETHO apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 110. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. NEWTON's chronol. p. 235—239. & alib.

and

and *Euxine* ſeas. 2. The *Libyans* much nearer *Egypt*, a polite and civilized kingdom, than thoſe bordering on the *Atlantic* ocean, had only a few villages, conſiſting of ſmall huts, probably the ſame as the modern *Daſhkras*, mentioned by Dr. *Shaw*, when *Dido* arrived in *Africa*; though poſſibly *Utica*, built and inhabited by *Phœnicians*, might then have made a better figure. *Tingis* likewiſe, as it appears to lay claim to a more antient founder than *Antæus*, being on the ſea-coaſt, was perhaps a town of ſome note before the time we are now upon. Nay, as we have obſerved from *Procopius*, ſome parties of *Canaanites* might erect a caſtle there, though before that time, if any traces of a town were in being, it could only have been an inconſiderable *Daſhkra*, or perhaps little better than a collection of thickets and caves of the earth. 3. The *Libyans*, even in and near the territory of *Carthage*, were a ſort of barbarians at *Dido*'s arrival there, living, in a manner, like wild beaſts, and ſtanding in need of *Dido*'s *Phœnician* followers to poliſh and civilize them. Theſe, and ſome other inferences, that might be drawn from the above-mentioned authors, add no ſmall weight to what Sir *Iſaac* has advanced with regard to *Atlas* or *Antæus*, as well as the riſe and fall of the *Egyptian* empire. But this we muſt ſuperſede, as not ſo properly belonging to that branch of antient hiſtory, to which we are obliged at preſent to confine ourſelves [e].

Nothing farther remarkable till the Roman *times.*

We find nothing worth relating recorded of the *Mauritanians* from the defeat of *Antæus* to the *Roman* times. *Livy* only tells us, that *Syphax*'s kingdom bordered upon the *Mauri*; which is nothing more than an implication, that ſuch a nation did then exiſt. *Juſtin*, indeed, from *Trogus*, intimates, that, in ſome of the earlieſt ages of *Carthage*, the *Mauri* were neighbours to the *Carthaginians*, and had ſome diſputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of moment concerning that people. *Diodorus Siculus* likewiſe ſays, that, in the interval between the overthrow the *Carthaginians* received from *Gelon*, and the firſt *Punic* war, they had ſometimes *Mauritanian* mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing further relative to the nation we are now upon. Nor ought this to be wondered at, ſince we are informed by *Salluſt*, that nothing of the *Mauri*, beſides their name, was known to the *Romans*, ſo late as the *Jugurthine* war; and the moſt antient *Greek* writers ſcarce ever conſidered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the *Libyans*. How

[e] Virg. Æneid. i. Justin. l. xviii. c. 6. Univ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 330, 331. Newton, ubi ſup. paſſ.

Bocchar,

Bocchar, king of *Mauritania*, lent *Maſiniſſa* a body of troops to eſcort him to his dominions, and what was conſequent thereupon, our readers will find related at large in the *Numidian* hiſtory [f].

PLUTARCH inſinuates, that the elder *Juba* pretended to be lineally deſcended from *Hercules*; but that biographer ſeems not to give overmuch credit to ſuch a pretenſion. However, it is natural enough to ſuppoſe, that the perſon who obtained this country, upon the diſſolution of the *Egyptian* empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Poſſibly *Bocchar* and *Bocchus*, ſon-in-law to *Jugurtha*, were of this family; ſince the affinity of names, and the country they governed, ſufficiently intimate them to have been of the ſame family, and of the blood royal of *Mauritania*. Be that as it will, *Bocchus*, from the account *Salluſt* gives us of him, ſeems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats the *Romans* menaced and cajoled him into an infamous action, *i. e.* to deliver (B) his father-in-law *Jugurtha* into their hands, after the moſt ſolemn engagements to ſupport him, and even a promiſe made to put *Sylla* into his power. *Jugurtha* indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty, of the moſt enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of (C) *Bocchus*. What is here hinted at may be found related at large in ſome former parts of this work [g].

HISTORY

[f] LIV. l. xxiv. c. 42. l. xxix. c. 30. & alib. JUSTIN. l. xix. c. 2. & l. xxi. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. paſſ. SALLUST. de bell. Jugurth. Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. c. 14. §. 3. [g] PLUT. in Sertor. LIV. & SALLUST. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 482.

(B) *Oroſius* intimates, that *Bocchus* did not enter into an alliance with *Jugurtha* till after *Marius* had taken *Capſa*, which contradicts *Salluſt* and *Plutarch*. He alſo deſcribes the firſt general action betwixt the two *African* princes and *Marius*, which he affirms to have happened near *Cirta*, as the moſt bloody and dubious one the *Romans* were ever concerned in. But as this deſcription, in many particulars, runs counter to *Salluſt* and *Plutarch*, or rather ſeems to be a confuſed account of ſeveral actions mentioned by them, we ſhall leave our readers to give what credit to it they pleaſe (2).

(C) Either this prince, or another of the ſame name, undertook an expedition againſt the weſtern or *Heſperian Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to that author, *Bocchus* found, in the country of theſe *Ethiopians*, ſome reeds of ſuch an enormous ſize, that the largeſt

(2) *Oroſ. l.* v. *c.* 15. *Vid. & Flor. l.* iii. *c.* 1.

joint

What happened to Bogud.

HISTORY is silent as to any farther particulars of the *Mauritanian* affairs, till the time of *Bogud* (D), who was cotemporary with *Julius Cæsar*, and his adopted son *Octavius*. *Bogud*, in conjunction with *Publius Sittius*, not a little contributed to *Cæsar*'s great success in *Africa*, as has been already observed. In *Spain*, likewise, he assisted *Cæsar* when he gained the ever-memorable victory at *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic. After that emperor's death he sided with *Antony* against *Octavius*; and endeavoured to make a diversion, in favour of the former, in *Spain*. But, whilst he was employed in this expedition, the *Tingitanians* revolted from him, and, being supported by a body of *Spaniards* in the interest of *Octavius*, and some of *Bocchus*'s troops, defeated him upon his return into *Africa*; which put *Bocchus* in possession of *Tingitania*. *Octavius*, or *Augustus*, afterwards confirmed this acquisition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of *Tingis* with the privileges of *Roman* citizens. *Bogud* was at last killed by *Agrippa* at *Methona*, as our readers will elsewhere find; and after *Bocchus*'s (E) death *Tingitania* was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province [h].

Augustus *gives the younger* Juba *the* Mauritaniæ, *and part of* Gætulia.

AUGUSTUS gave the younger *Juba*, a prince extremely in his favour, the two *Mauritaniæ*, together with part of *Gætulia*, some time after his marriage with the younger *Cleo-*

[h] STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. xli. HIRT. de bell. Afric. APPIAN. de bell. civil. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. ii. PLUT. in Pomp. & in Cæs. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. DIO, l. xliii. xlviii. xlix. l. STRAB. l. viii. Univ. hist. vol. xiii. p. 474.

joint of them would contain eight *chœnixes* of corn; which, together with some *asparagus* equally large, he sent as curiosities to his wife. What success attended this expedition, we neither find in *Strabo*, nor any other author (3).

(D) *Suetonius* informs us, that *Julius Cæsar* fell in love with *Bogud*'s queen *Eune*, or *Eunoe*, a *Mauritanian* lady. As he made both her and her husband presents of an immense value on this account, it is not improbable, that he enjoyed her by her husband's consent (4).

(E) *Pliny* relates, that one king *Bocchus*, having fastened thirty men to stakes, in order to their being destroyed by the same number of elephants, ordered certain persons to irritate those animals; but that, notwithstanding all their efforts, they found it impossible to make them subservient to that prince's cruelty. The same author likewise mentions an *African* historian of this name; but whether or no he was of royal extraction, he tells us not (5).

(3) *Strab. l.* xvii *p.* 569. (4) *Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c.* 52. (5) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 5. & *l.* xvi. *c.* 40.

patra,

patra, instead of his father's kingdom, *i. e. Numidia*, which still remained a *Roman* province. It is true, *Strabo*, as has been observed by Mr. *Bayle*, affirms, that *Augustus* restored *Juba* to the kingdom of his father, and moreover granted him the *Mauritaniæ*; but this geographer limits the *Roman* province, and the kingdom of *Juba*, in such a manner, as shews, that *Numidia* belonged to the *Romans*. We must not omit observing here, that the translator of *Dio* has committed an egregious blunder in his *Latin* version, which seems to have proceeded purely from inattention: *Cæsar*, says he, gave *Juba*, &c. IT *(i. e. Egypt.)*, and his father's kingdom; whereas *Dio* there affirms, *that* Cæsar *gave* (F) Juba HER, *(i. e. Cleopatra) and his father's kingdom.* That this observation, made first by Mr. *Bayle*, is indisputably true, appears

(F) *Juba* had a noble education bestowed upon him at *Rome*, where he imbibed such a variety of knowlege, as afterwards equaled him to the most learned *Grecians*. He did not leave that city, till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he so won the hearts of all his subjects, who ever retained the most grateful sense of the felicity they enjoyed under him, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to *Pausanias*, erected a statue in his honour. He was extremely well versed in the *Assyrian*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Punic*, *African*, and *Latin* histories, as well as those of other nations. He wrote the history of *Arabia*; the antiquities of the *Assyrians* and *Romans*; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatise upon the herb *Euphorbia*, which he so called from his physician, who first discovered the many excellencies of it, in which he greatly celebrates its singular virtues; and a piece concerning the source of the *Nile*. Many other works are also ascribed to him by *Suidas*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant. *Pliny* intimates, that his learning rendered him more illustrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as asserting or confirming the most curious particulars. According to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Juba*, from some *Punic* authors, affirmed the *Nile* to have had its source in an high mountain of *Mauritania*. The abbé *Sevin* has favoured the world with a short dissertation on the life and writings of the younger *Juba*, wherein he has inserted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of *Rome* 776. or 777. may be inferred from *Strabo* and *Tacitus* (6).

(6) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 1. *& alib. pass. Plut. in Cæs. Suid. in voc.* Ἰοῦβας. *Athen. deipnosoph. l.* i. *Juba rex de Nili origine apud Ammian. Marcellin. l.* xxii. *Strab. l.* vi. *&* xvii. *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 5. *Vid. M. Bayle in Juba, & M. l'abbé de Sevin, en tom* iv. *des mem. de l'acad. de belles lettres.*

ſufficiently from hence, that this *Juba* was never king of *Egypt*. *Suidas* relates, that the younger *Juba* was whipped publicly when led in triumph. But this ſeems highly improbable, and has not the conntenance of any other author to ſupport it. *Ptolemy* (G), his ſon by *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, ſurnamed *Selene*, ſucceeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by *Caius*, either through a principle of avarice or jealouſy, we may learn from *Suetonius* and *Dio*, as well as a former part of this hiſtory [i].

Tacfarinas raiſes troubles in Africa, but receives ſeveral defeats, and is at laſt killed.

TACFARINAS, a native of *Numidia*, who had ſerved among the *Roman* auxiliaries, a little before the third conſulate of *Tiberius*, occaſioned freſh troubles in *Africa*. At firſt he aſſembled a great number of barbarians, inured to robberies, and all kinds of rapine, by the allurement of plunder; out of which he formed a conſiderable army, and diſciplined it after the *Roman* manner. The groſs of the army conſiſted of *Muſulanians*, a powerful nation, bordering upon the *Sahara*, ſtill wild, and without towns, of whom *Tacfarinas* declared himſelf general. Theſe were joined by a large body of *Mauritanians*, commanded by their general *Mazippa*, whom *Tacfarinas* had found means to draw into the war. The *Cinithians*, likewiſe, a nation by no means deſpicable, he forced to come into his meaſures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached *Mazippa* to make

[i] STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. liii. ad an. urb. cond. 729. SUID. in voc. Ἰόβας. TACIT. an. iv. SUETON. in Caio, c. 26, 35. DIO, l. lix. PLUT. in Anton. SENEC. de tranquil. vit. P. NOR. cenotaph. Piſan. p. 235. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 299.

(G) *Ptolemy*'s pedigree has been diſcovered by the following *Roman* inſcription, communicated to Dr. *Shaw* by father *Ximenes*, which exhibits that of his father *Juba*:

REGI IUBAE REGIS
IUBAE FILIO REGIS
IEMPSALIS N. REGIS GAVD.
PRONEPOTIS MASINISAE
PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI
$\overline{\text{II}}$ VIR QVINQ. PATRONO
COLONI.

This inſcription differs ſomething from the authors who have ſupplied us with an account of *Maſiniſſa*'s family in the *Numidian* hiſtory (7).

(7) *Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* vi. *Dr. Shaw in excerpt. p.* 59. *vid. & Reineccium in hiſt. Jul. de famil. Lat.* xliii. *p.* 329. *& Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* xviii. *c.* 14. *ſect.* 3. *not. ult.*

excurſions,

excurſions, and haraſs the *Romans* by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. *Furius Camillus*, the *Roman* commander, advanced againſt the *Africans* with only a ſingle legion, and what troops the allies could ſpare him. This he did in order to draw them to a general action, ſince they ſeemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their intereſt to protract the war. Though *Camillus*'s troops were but an handful, in compariſon of the barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, poſting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horſe, on the right and left. He had no ſooner made this diſpoſition than the barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed, with great ſlaughter. However, the next year *Tacfarinas* renewed the war, making dreadful incurſions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. He poſted from place to place with ſuch celerity, that none of the *Roman* detachments could come up with him. After he had committed many devaſtations, he ſurrounded a *Roman* cohort, commanded by one *Decrius*, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, in a fort near the banks of the *Pagida*. The *Romans* behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were obliged to abandon the fort to the enemy, and betake themſelves to flight. *Lucius Apronius*, *Camillus*'s ſucceſſor, cauſed this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, drawn by lot, in conformity to the antient cuſtom, to be executed with a club. This rigour had ſuch an effect, that *Tacfarinas*'s army was routed, and forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Thala*, by a ſquadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined *Tacfarinas* to reſolve never, for the future, to attempt a ſiege, but to carry on the war in a deſultory manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, aſſaulting the rear. As long as the *African* obſerved this method, he eluded all the efforts of the *Romans*; but, withdrawing to the maritim places, and being, by the proſpect of an immenſe booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by *Apronius Cæſianus* with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The diſpute was neither long nor bloody; for the barbarians were ſoon overthrown, many of them ſlain, and the reſt obliged to diſperſe themſelves in the *Sahara*. However, *Tacfarinas*, though often repulſed, ſtill repaired his forces, and arrived at ſuch a pitch of arrogance, as to ſend embaſſadors to *Tiberius*, threatening him with eternal war, if he and his army had not a proper ſettlement aſſigned them. *Tiberius*, incenſed to the laſt degree at ſuch unparalleled impudence, ordered *Blæſus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Africa*, to offer a general indemnity to the

Africans, and to endeavour, by all means possible, to get *Tacfarinas* into his hands. *Blæsus*, in order to put an end to this war, made the following disposition of his forces; he detached *Scipio*, his lieutenant, to a post from whence *Tacfarinas* committed his depredations upon the citizens of *Leptis*, and then retreated amongst the *Garamantes*; his son he sent to protect the territory of the *Cirtesii*; and between both he marched himself with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. These measures, with some others equally good, had the desired effect; for *Tacfarinas*'s forces were dispersed, his brother taken, and he obliged to hide himself in the desert. Notwithstanding which, a great body of *Mauritanians*, through *Ptolemy*'s indolence, having joined him, as likewise a strong reinforcement from the king of the *Garamantes* (H), he once more made head against the *Romans*. But *Dolabella*, having fortified the proper posts, and executed the chiefs of the *Musulani*, who were meditating a revolt, advanced against the enemy, who, he was informed, had taken post near the castle of *Auzea*. After a forced march he came up with them, and intirely defeated them, putting to the sword *Tacfarinas* himself, and a vast number of his followers. A body of *Mauritanians*, king *Ptolemy* sent to assist *Dolabella*, did not a little contribute to this victory, which, for some time, settled peace in the *Roman* provinces, *Mauritania* and *Gætulia* [k].

Mauritania *reduced to a* Roman *province.*

PTOLEMY having been cut off by *Caius*, as related above, *Ædemon*, one of his freedmen, in order to revenge his death, assembled a body of forces in *Mauritania*. *Caius* being soon after assassinated, his successor *Claudius*, in order to disperse this corps, sent thither a *Roman* army, which was the first that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the first campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the senate persuaded *Claudius* to accept of triumphal honours for the success of his arms in *Mauritania*.

[k] TACIT. ann. l. ii. iii. iv.

(H) *Tacitus* intimates, that *Tacfarinas* drew together at this time a powerful army of *Africans*, by giving out, that the *Romans* were so embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon *Africa*; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might soon cut off all that remained there. The same historian also informs us, that, before the general action here mentioned, *Dolabella* forced *Tacfarinas* to raise the siege of *Thubuscum*, which he abandoned at the *Roman* general's approach (8).

(8) *Tacit. ann. l.* iv. *c.* 24.

The following year, *Suetonius Paulinus*, the *Roman* general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount *Atlas*, and penetrated into *Gætulia*. *Sidius Geta*, who ſucceeded *Paulinus* in the command of the *Roman* army in *Africa*, gave *Salabus*, the *Mauritanian* general, two overthrows, and purſued him into the *Sahara*. Having been ſupplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of periſhing, *Geta* concluded a peace with *Salabus* upon his own terms. It is probable, that, by this treaty, *Mauritania* was delivered up intirely into the hands of the *Romans*; ſince we find it ſoon after divided into two provinces, the one called *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, from the city *Tingis*, and the other *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, from *Cæſar*, a ſurname *Claudius* had in common with the other *Roman* emperors. That prince appointed two *Roman* knights to preſide over theſe provinces. Soon after, the *Romans* routed a body of *Gætulians* that infeſted ſome parts of *Numidia*, and thereby reſtored tranquillity to all their *African* dominions. It is obſervable, that *Auguſtus* ſettled nine colonies, and *Claudius* three only, here; which, in a region of ſo vaſt an extent, could neither have ſufficient power thoroughly to ſubjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the *Romans* [1].

CHAP. XVI.

The Hiſtory of the Gætulians.

Limits of Gætulia.

AS the limits of *Gætulia* have not been ſettled, either by *Ptolemy*, or any of the other antient geographers, it is impoſſible for us to define them. From ſeveral authors it may, however, be inferred, that they were not always the ſame. In *Pliny*'s time the *Gætulians* poſſeſſed a conſiderable part, at leaſt, of *Tingitania*; the *Mauruſii* having been ſo extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not make head againſt them. *Virgil* affirms this people to have extended themſelves from the *Regio Syrtica* to the *Atlantic* ocean; and *Feſtus Avienus* ſeems to have fixed their eaſtern boundary not far from the weſtern confines of *Marmarica*. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and ſituation of their country can be drawn either from thoſe authors or *Strabo*, who only intimates the *Gætulians* to have been a large nation, taking up a conſiderable part of *Libya Interior*, and

[1] PLIN. lib. v. c. 1, & alib. DIO, lib. lx. ALDRET. lib. iv. c. 20.

poſſeſſing ſome territories in the neighbourhood of the *Syrtes*. *Pliny* ſays, that *Gætulia* was terminated on the ſouth by the river *Nigris*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Nigir*, which, according to him, ſeparated it from *Ethiopia*. But, notwithſtanding the indefinite terms in which the antients have laid down this region, by comparing their ſeveral accounts and deſcriptions, we ſhall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the ſouthern parts of *Numidia* and the *Mauritaniæ*; and, by conſulting the beſt obſervations of the moderns, that it could not have reached to any great diſtance in the *Sahara*. Dr. *Shaw* (A), in one place, ſeems to inſinuate, that the proper *Gætulia* did not extend farther to the eaſt than the meridian of *Siga*, i. e. about 0° 10 E. of *London*, provided *Tackumbreet* be the antient *Siga*, as he imagines; ſince he there tells us, that the *Melanogætuli* and *Garamantes* occupied the tract behind *Numidia*, *Africa Propria*, and the *Regio Syrtica*, from that meridian to *Cyrenaica*: whereas in another place he fixes ſome *Gætulian* tribes in the remoteſt part of the diſtrict of *Zaab*, and meridian of *Conſtantina*, above ſix degrees more to the eaſtward than *Siga*. Whether or no either of theſe ſeemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is ſo, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only obſerve, that *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, a province of the kingdom of *Morocco*, at the foot of mount *Atlas*, ſeems to have preſerved ſome traces of the antient *Gætulia*. Could we lay any great ſtreſs upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of *Gætulia*; in which caſe Dr. *Shaw*'s firſt notion would have probability on its ſide. But, as the concurrent teſtimony of the antients favours the latter, we know not what to ſay. However, the aſcertaining the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of ſuch importance, as to deſerve any great regard. We ſhall therefore leave our geographical readers to chooſe which of theſe notions they pleaſe, or to reject both of them, if they think proper [a].

As

[a] PLIN. l. v. c. 2. VIRG. Æn. iv. ver. 40. & SERV. in loc. PHILOSTRAT. l. v. STRAB. l. xvii. FESTUS AVIEN. PTOL. geogr. lib. iv. AGATHEM. geogr. lib. ii. c. 5. SHAW ubi ſupra, p. 132. & 136. LEO AFRICAN. part. ii. MARM. l. iii. c. 51.

(A) Dr. *Shaw* alſo tells us, that *Gætulia* extended into the deſert or *Sahara*; which ſuppoſes, that nothing but deſert muſt be left to the direct ſouthward of it. Therefore *Melanogætulia*, and the country of the *Garamantes*, in conformity to the ſituation aſ-

ſigned

Its towns, rivers, mountains, &c.

As the *Gætulians*, before the time of *Jugurtha*, led their flocks from paſture to paſture, living, for the moſt part, in tents, without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Some, however, *Virgil* inſinuates there to have been, though his commentator *Servius* appears to be of a different opinion. *Philoſtratus* makes the *Gætulians* to have inhabited the interior part of mount *Abinna*, or *Abyla*, and conſequently, by intermixing them with the *Mauruſii*, allows ſome of them to have dwelt in towns. *Pliny* alſo intimates, that the *Gætulians* in his time were maſters of a good part of *Maſſæſylia*; and *Apuleius* aſſigns them ſome diſtricts, at leaſt, of *Numidia Propria*; which teſtimonies, if admitted, evince the ſame thing. But *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* render it indiſputable, when they mention the cities of *Autolala*, *Talubath*, &c. as appertaining to the *Gætulians*. The principal tribes of *Proper Gætulia* were the *Baniuræ*, *Darræ*, and *Autololes* (B), according to the laſt-mentioned geographers. It is probable, that the *Baniuræ* bordered upon *Tingitania*, as the *Darræ* did upon the *Ethiopians* called *Perorſi* and the *Pharuſii*. The *Autololes* ſeem to have been by much the moſt powerful, and to have ſpread themſelves over that part of *Tingitania* bordering on the coaſt of the *Atlantic* ocean. Their capital city *Autolala*, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it ſtood betwixt the *Subus* and the *Salathus*, the only two rivers of note, except the *Gir* and the *Nigir*, that watered *Gætulia*. Of *Talubath* nothing has been tranſmitted down to us by the antients, but the bare name. As the *Sahara* began not far from the ſouthern foot of mount *Atlas*, this country was undoubtedly, for the moſt part, ſandy and deſert; however, it was interſperſed with ſeveral fruitful ſpots. Mount *Sagapola*, eminent for nothing but its being the limit of *Gætulia* on the ſide of the *Melanogætuli*, and containing the ſources of the *Subus* and *Salathus* above-mentioned, ſeems to have been the only mountain of any note in the region we are now upon. As for the promontories, *&c.* we meet with none meriting any attention; though from *Pliny* it may be

ſigned them by the antients, muſt have lain E. S. E. of *Gætulia*, and conſequently have begun in an eaſtern direction from it (1).

(B) *Pliny* ſays, that the *Veſuni*, or, according to ſome MSS. the *Neſuni*, were a branch of the *Autololes*, who, ſeparating from their brethren, ſettled upon the borders of *Ethiopia*, and afterwards formed a diſtinct nation. *Oroſius* informs us, that the *Autololes*, or, as the MSS. falſly have it, *Auloles*, were called, in his time, *Galaules* (2).

(1) *Shaw ubi ſup. p.* 136.

(2) *Plin. in loc. citat. Oroſ. l.* i. *c.* 2.

inferred, that the *Promontorium Solis*, and ſome ports already mentioned, might have been in a territory afterwards annexed to the *Proper Gætulia*. The only curioſity here, deſerving a place in hiſtory, was the vaſt quantity of the purple-fiſh produced in that part of the *Atlantic* ocean waſhing the *Gætulian* ſhore, with which the rocks on this coaſt were frequently covered. The *Teladuſii*, *Soræ*, *Dryitæ*, *Elulii*, *Mazices*, *Nacmuſii*, and other obſcure nations, inhabiting either *Numidia*, or the confines of that country and *Gætulia*, in the time of *Ptolemy*, deſerve ſo little regard, that our readers will ſcarce expect a bare enumeration of their names. However, we muſt not omit obſerving, that, as *Ptolemy* places the *Pharuſii* to the north of mount *Sagapola*, they may be conſidered as a clan or canton of the *Gætulians*; eſpecially ſince *Pliny* affirms their diſtrict to have ſtretched itſelf out as far as the *Atlantic* ocean, and *Mela* makes them to have attended *Hercules* in his expedition againſt the *Heſperides*. It is not therefore probable, that mount *Phruræſus*, near four degrees eaſt of the *Mulucha*, ſhould have been ſo denominated from the *Pharuſii*; except we will ſuppoſe this ridge of mountains to have been the eaſtern limit of that nation, and that they were ſo numerous and powerful as to have ſpread themſelves over a tract extending from thence to the *Atlantic* ocean. In ſuch a caſe we might, with Dr. *Shaw*, allow, that the inhabitants of mount *Phruræſus* were part of the *Pharuſii*. Perhaps this notion may be countenanced by *Mela* and *Pliny*, when they intimate the *Pharuſii* to have been an opulent people in antient times, and to have bordered upon the *Nigritæ*, in the neighbourhood of the river *Nigir*, which, with *Ptolemy*, they make one of the boundaries of the *Gætulians*. The vicinity of the *Nigritæ* and *Pharuſii* is likewiſe taken notice of by *Dionyſius Afer* and *Strabo* [b].

The antiquity of the Gætulians.

ACCORDING to *Joſephus* and St. *Jerom*, *Chavilah*, or *Havilah*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, was the father of the *Gætulians*; for which reaſon we find them called *Evilæi* or *Havilæi*. As it is well known, that *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, ſettled in *Arabia Felix*, and that from him his deſcendents there aſſumed the name of *Chaulotæi* and *Chaulaſii*, it cannot well be doubted, but that *Gætulia* was firſt peopled from *Arabia Felix*, as has been already hinted. This likewiſe renders probable the authority of the antients, who aſſert, that the *Gætulians* intermixed themſelves with the *Perſians*, and that the *Pharuſii*, in particular, were of *Perſic* extraction. For,

[b] SALLUST. in Jugurth. VIRG. & SERV. ubi ſupra. APUL. in Apol. PLIN. & PHILOSTRAT. ubi ſupra. MEL. l. iii. c. 10. PTOL. ubi ſup. DIONYS. AF. v. 215. PRISCIAN. v. 200. STRAB. ubi ſup. SHAW ubi ſup. p. 135.

Perſia

Perſia and *Arabia* being, in a manner, contiguous regions, many *Perſians* probably attended ſome of the *Arabian* colonies paſſing into *Africa*, or at leaſt followed *Seſac* and *Hercules* in their *Libyan* expeditions. We find no obſcure traces of the *Daræ*, a *Gætulian* tribe above-mentioned, in *Leo* and *Marmol*, who deſcribe a province, bounded on the weſt by thoſe of *Gezula* and *Sus*, called *Dara*, correſponding nearly with the tract aſſigned that people by *Pliny*; and it is well known, that the *Darrhæ* are a nation of *Arabia Felix*, taken notice of by *Stephanus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*. This may ſerve as an additional argument in favour of an early migration of *Arabians* into *Gætulia*. To which we may farther add, in ſupport of that migration, that the word *Gætulia*, or *Chetulia*, bears no inconſiderable reſemblance to *Chavilah*, *Chevilah*, *Chavilath*, *Chevilath*, *Chavilat*, or *Chevilat*. Both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have remembred the river *Daras*, or *Darat*, which they ſay produced great numbers of crocodiles. If our readers ſhould be diſpoſed to allow the modern *Darodus*, or *Darodt*, to be that river, as it is not improbable ſome of them may, they would be convinced, that *Ptolemy* had not only placed his *Darat*, or *Daradus*, vaſtly too much to the ſouthward, but likewiſe made his *Mauritania Tingitana* to comprehend a great part of *Gætulia*, if not the whole country. It is certain, that the names and ſituation of the provinces of *Gezula* and *Dara* render this not a little probable. The word *Dara* ſeems to ſignify a generation or habitation of ſhepherds, and is therefore very applicable to a tribe of *Gætulians*, who, as well as the modern *Darans* and *Gezulians*, had ſcarce any other poſſeſſions than their flocks. Some antient authors related, that the *Tyrians* had, in very early ages, many cities here, and in the neighbouring parts of *Libya Interior*, which were deſtroyed by the *Nigrites* and *Pharuſii*; but this notion is rejected as fabulous by *Strabo* [c].

Their government, &c.

THE firſt *Gætulians*, according to the *Punic* hiſtorians, were ſome of the moſt antient inhabitants of *Africa*, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners, eſpecially ſuch as ever prevailed in a civilized ſtate. They lived upon the fleſh of wild beaſts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, taking up their lodging where-ever the night ſurpriſed them. Some of the *Pharuſii*, or *Phauruſii*, at firſt, if any credit may be given to *Strabo*, lived in caves

[c] JOSEPH. & D. HIERONYM. apud ALDRET. lib. iii. c. 9. MEL. PLIN. STRAB. ubi ſup. DIONYS. AF. ver. 953. FESTUS AVIEN. ver. 1136. ALDRET. ubi ſup. c. 10. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. LEO AFRICAN. l. vi. MARM. l. vii. c. 9. ALDRET. ubi ſup. c. 14.

like

like the *Troglodytes*. But this ſtate of barbarity, *Salluſt* tells us, continued only till *Hercules* came amongſt them; which is a farther proof of what Sir *Iſaac Newton* has advanced with regard to the age of that hero. For, as we have lately obſerved, the *Gætulians* were far from being perfectly civilized in the time of *Jugurtha*, and therefore *Hercules* did not probably precede that age ſo long as the generality of the antient chronologers ſuppoſed. It is believed by ſome good authors, to whoſe ſentiments we pay a great deference, that the *Gætulians*, however rude and barbarous, at leaſt towards the *Roman* times, were under the direction of certain (C) phylarchs, or heads of *Kabyles*, as their poſterity are at this day. However, if they had then any fixed or ſtated laws, we are now intirely ignorant of them. If they had any (D) cuſtoms likewiſe, different from thoſe of their neighbours the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, the knowlege of them has not reached us. As all the authors mentioning them are utterly ſilent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been the ſame with that of their neighbours already taken notice of, or with that of their progenitors the antient *Arabs*, which will hereafter be briefly deſcribed. *Leo* relates, that many of the antient *Africans* erected magnificent temples in honour of the *Sun* and *Fire*, which they worſhiped, wherein they had a perpetual fire; though others of them adored another planet. Probably the *Gætulians* were ſome of the former, as being partly deſcended from the *Perſians*, who profeſſed the *Magian* religion. Their language muſt undoubtedly have borne a near reſemblance to the antient *Arabic*, and the other *Oriental* tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewiſe from the *Showiahan* vocabulary given us by Dr. *Shaw*, moſt, if not all, of whoſe words are eaſily deducible from the *Arabic*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or

(C) *Strabo* calls theſe phylarchs kings; and tells us, that they ſo delighted in horſes, that, amongſt them, they brought up yearly an hundred thouſand colts. He likewiſe informs us, that theſe horſes, as well as the *Gætulian* larger cattle, had hoofs longer than thoſe of any other nation (3).

(D) One cuſtom, however, we muſt not paſs over here. *Lucan* ſeems to obſerve, that the *Gætulians* were mixed with their cattle in their *mapalia*, as Dr. *Shaw* relates of the *Bedoweens* in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis* at this day. The former author alſo inſinuates, that many of the *Gætulians* were carried about the country, with their *Penates*, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the antient *Scythians* (4).

(3) *Strab. l.* xvii. (4) *Lucan. l.* iv. *Shaw ubi ſup. p.* 288.

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erudition in such a country as *Gætulia*, and therefore will not suppose, that we have any thing to offer on that head here [d].

A brief account of the Gætulians *till the time of* Vespasian.

WITH regard to the transactions of this nation, we have not much to say. *Herodotus* and *Scylax* take no notice of the *Gætulians*; which renders it probable, that, when those writers lived, they were very obscure. The first authors that mentioned them were probably some of those old historians from whom *Livy* extracted the materials for his work; since he gives us to understand, that a corps of them served under *Hannibal* in the second *Punic* war. That general, according to him, having taken and razed *Acerræ*, formed a design upon *Casilinum*, and sent a body of *Gætulians*, under the command of their general *Isalca*, to attack it. *Isalca* soon took post before the town, when, finding every-where a profound silence, and not observing a creature to appear, he imagined that the garison kept themselves still within the town through fear; which encouraged him to attempt forcing open the gates. But he was repulsed by two *Prænestine* cohorts; who, sallying out upon him, cut many of the *Gætulians* to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire, with great precipitation, to the *Carthaginian* army, which was advancing to support them. Whether or no *Masinissa*, who so greatly extended his conquests in *Africa*, ever subdued them, history informs us not; but we are assured by *Sallust*, that his grandson *Jugurtha* taught them to keep their ranks, and instructed them in military discipline. However, they served that prince more by plundering the allies of the *Romans*, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had raised and disciplined in *Gætulia* was easily routed by *Marius* near *Cirta*. That part of *Gætulia* under the dominion of *Juba* (for it does not appear, that the whole country was ever subject to him) revolted to *Julius Cæsar*. But, that with *Numidia* it was reduced into a *Roman* province, we cannot positively affirm; especially since *Augustus* gave a part of *Gætulia*, probably this, with the *Mauritaniæ*, to the younger *Juba*, as an equivalent for *Numidia*, his father's kingdom, which, says *Dio*, had before put on the form of a province. Be that as it will, it was ravaged by *Sittius*, as has been already observed, when *Juba* had drawn all his forces out of it, in order to join the *Pompeians*; which might possibly occasion the aforesaid revolt. About the year of *Rome* 759. the *Gætulians* rebelled against king *Juba*, massacring all the *Romans* settled in his dominions, and committing most dreadful ravages in all the

[d] STRAB. & SALLUST. ubi sup. NEWTON's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp. ALDRET. ubi sup. c. 31. p. 445. I. LEO AFRICAN. ubi sup. SHAW in excerpt. p. 52.

provinces

provinces subject to him. *Dio* ascribes this defection to the resentment of the *Gætulians*, who were extremely incensed against the *Romans* for imposing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under the *Roman* government. But, however this may be, *Cornelius Cossus* gave them so complete an overthrow, that they were obliged to submit upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe. This was looked upon at *Rome* as so considerable an exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to assume the cognomen *Gætulicus*. Notwithstanding which, this people so recovered themselves, that in the elder *Pliny*'s time they had settlements in *Numidia* and *Tingitania*, as may be inferred from that author and *Philostratus* [c].

CHAP. XVII.

The History of the Melanogætuli, Nigritæ, *and* Garamantes.

The Melanogætuli, *or* Nigritæ.

PTOLEMY places the *Melanogætuli*, or black *Gætulians*, between the mountains *Sagapola* and *Usargala*, in a district south-east of *Gætulia Propria*, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river *Nigir*. They were a nation undoubtedly different from the *Gætulians*, and considered in that view by *Ptolemy*, though *Cellarius* insinuates them to have been a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this, but likewise, that their progenitors were different from those of the *Gætulians*. Of course, therefore, the *Daræ* ought not, as *Cellarius* imagines, to be looked upon as a clan of the *Melanogætuli*; nor does the situation of *Leo*'s *Dara* above-mentioned quadrate with such a supposition. Mount *Usargala* is called by *Leo Guargala*, and by Dr. *Shaw Huergla*. The former of those authors informs us, that near the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, some castles, and a great number of villages, whose inhabitants were very rich, as being adjacent to the *Agades*, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. *Ptolemy* says, that the *Bagrada* derives its streams from some fountains on mount *Usargala*; but the latest observations demonstrate this to be a mistake. The modern district of *Wad-reag* in the province of *Constantina*, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction, seems

[c] Liv. lib. xxiii. c. 18. Sallust. ubi sup. Dio, lib. xliii. sub init. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Dio, l. lv. p. 567. ad A. U. C. 759. Plin. & Philostrat. ubi sup.

to correſpond with a part of the country of the *Melanogætuli*, according to Dr. *Shaw*. *Ma-jyre*, the neareſt of theſe villages to *Zaab*, a territory anſwering, as ſhould ſeem, to the ſouth-eaſtern part of *Gætulia*, is ten leagues to the S. of *El-Fythe*, the laſt village of *Zaab*. *Tum-marnah*, the next place of note, is ſix leagues to the weſtward of *Ma-jyre*, and twelve to the N. E. of *Tuggart*, the capital of *Wad-reag*, and the *Tegort* of *Leo*. *Tuggurt* ſtands in a plain, without any river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as thoſe of the other villages of *Wad-reag*, being ſupplied with water by wells, dug 100, and ſometimes 200, fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourſe to, their territory being in a manner deſtitute both of rivulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of ſand and gravel, till they come to a fleaky kind of ſtone like ſlate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyſs, called by them *The ſea below-ground*. This ſtone is no ſooner broken through, than a flux of water aſcends ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch abundance, that the perſon let down to perform the operation has ſometimes been overtaken and ſuffocated by it, though raiſed up with the greateſt dexterity. The country likewiſe of the *Beni Mezzab*, ſituated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the mountains of the *Ammer*, ſuppoſed to be a part of the *Mons Phruræſus* of *Ptolemy*, the large village of *En-gouſah*, thirty leagues to the S. W. by W. of *Tuggurt*, and the populous city of *Wurglah*, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the *Nigir*, our learned and ingenious traveler believes might have been included in *Melanogætulia*. As *Ptolemy* places the *Melanogætuli* next to the *Pharuſii* in a ſouthern direction, fixing his *Nigritian Ethiopians* in a tract lying to the N. of the *Nigir*; and as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, ſeem to give the *Nigritæ* exactly the ſame ſituation with regard to the *Pharuſii* and the *Nigir*, but are quite ſilent as to the *Melanogætuli*; we cannot help thinking the *Melanogætuli* and *Nigritæ* one and the ſame people. If this be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the *Nigir*, and that they had ſome places of note in thoſe parts; ſince, according to *Ptolemy*, many towns ſtood not far from that river, of which the principal were *Peſſide*, *Saluce*, *Nigira*, *Thige*, *Cuphe*, *Thamondicana*, and *Vellegia*. The moſt noted rivers of this country were the *Gir* and the *Nigir*. The *Gir*, or, as it is now called in our beſt maps, *Ghir*, had its fountains on mount *Phruræſus*, or, according to Dr. *Shaw*, the mountains of the *Ammer*. It took its courſe through part of the *Sahara*, in a S. E. direction, ſome degrees to the ſouthward of the tropic of *Cancer*. The ingenious traveler juſt mentioned believes the modern *Wed Adge-dee* to be the *Gir* of *Ptolemy*, *Agathemerus*,

merus, and *Claudian*. But the principal river of *Nigritia*, and one of the moſt famous in the world, is that called by *Ptolemy* the *Nigir*, by the *Nigritians Wed*, or *Huid Nijar*, i. e. *The black river*, and by the *Europeans* the *Niger*. This river, according to the beſt modern geographers, has its ſource near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of *Gorhan*, not far from the confines of *Abaſſia*, or *Upper Ethiopia*. It croſſes the whole region of *Nigritia* in a weſtern direction, and, after being ſwelled by the acceſſion of ſeveral rivers in its courſe, at laſt diſcharges itſelf into the *Atlantic* ocean. The *Negroes* likewiſe call it the river of *Senegal*, and the *Arabs* the *Nile* of the *Nigritians*; this laſt nation conſidering it as a branch of the *Nile*, or rather the *Nile* and the *Niger* as two branches of the ſame river. According to *Pliny* and *Leo*, it overflows the adjacent territories in the ſame manner as the *Nile*; which, if true, may be another reaſon for the *Arabic* appellation. If any credit may be given to *Leo*, and the *African* hiſtorians, *Sabtecha*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, firſt peopled the *Sahara* betwixt the mountains of *Atlas* and *Nigritia*, and therefore probably *Nigritia* itſelf, or at leaſt part of it. From the ſame author it appears, that the various *Nigritian* dialects bear an affinity to the *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Egyptian* tongues; to which we may add, and conſequently to the *Ethiopic*, which does not differ widely from them. As for the cuſtoms, &c. of the people we are now upon, they muſt be reſerved for that branch of the modern hiſtory to which they moſt properly belong. Our readers may likewiſe there expect to find as accurate a geographical deſcription, and natural hiſtory, of this country, as can be drawn from the beſt obſervations that have hitherto been made. For it would be abſurd to inſert them here, as the antients were ſo little acquainted with *Nigritia*. The *Carthaginians*, however, had undoubtedly ſome knowlege of the *Nigritæ*, ſince it appears probable from *Frontinus* (A), that one part of their armies conſiſted of *Nigritian*

(A) From the paſſage of *Frontinus* here referred to, it is evident, that the *Carthaginians* had *Melanogætulian* or *Nigritian* troops in their ſervice before the time of *Gelon*, and conſequently that they had ſome knowlege of the *Blacks* above five hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. This will enable us to account for a ſtrange phænomenon in antiquity, *i. e.* ſeveral antique coins with a *Negro*'s or *Nigritian*'s head upon them. One of theſe coins is to be found in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s invaluable cabinet, and another in that of the reverend and learned Mr. *Wiſe*, *cuſtos archivorum*, and Fellow of *Trinity-college*, in the univerſity of *Oxford*. That of my Lord *Pembroke*, being well preſerved, is a moſt noble curioſity. Mr. *Wiſe* received his from one of the

Nigritian troops. The *Nigritæ* uſed ſcythed chariots in their wars, and were armed after the manner of the weſtern *Ethiopians*, i. e. with bows and arrows of the ſame make, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to the ſame author, the *Pharuſii*, and therefore, probably, the *Nigritæ*, adjacent to them, traveled in caravans through the deſerts to *Cirta*, and kept open a communication with the *Mauruſii*. On theſe occaſions they carried with them bottles filled with water, tied to their horſes bellies, leſt they ſhould die of thirſt in the vaſt deſerts they were obliged to traverſe. From hence it is undeniably clear, that theſe *Pharuſian* and *Nigritian* merchants lived at a vaſt diſtance from *Cirta*, and thoſe places of *Mauritania* to which they reſorted; as alſo that the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*, held an early correſpondence with the antient *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and *Carthaginians* [a].

THE *Garamantes* were ſituated to the S. E. of *Gætulia*, and E. of the *Nigritæ*. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to aſcertain (B); though, from what the antients

The Garamantes.

[a] PTOL. l. iv. c. 6. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. l. iv. c. 8. ſect. 2. p. 943. ed. Lipſ. 1732. STRAB. l. ii. & l. xvii. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. & c. 8. CLAUDIAN. l. i. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 10. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. I. LEO AFRICAN. & MARM. paſſ. Gen. c. 10. ver. 7. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. ut & ipſe ALFRAGAN. p. 36. Geograph. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. i. SHAW, p. 58. 87. 136, & alib.

authors of this hiſtory, who had it from Mr. *Beſwick*, whoſe brother was for ſome time the *Britiſh* conſul at *Tripoly*, near which city it was found. As the *Carthaginians* had a communication with *Nigritia*, it is probable, that they ſent ſome of their artificers upon certain occaſions thither. And, ſince they coined money in a very elegant manner, as above obſerved, we may conclude, that, upon ſome extraordinary event, either in *Nigritia*, or their own dominions, they ſtruck thoſe pieces. This will receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the country wherein Mr. *Wiſe*'s was dug up, which was ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; that nation being in poſſeſſion of all the maritim territories extending from their capital city to the borders of *Cyrenaica* (1).

(B) That the *Miſulani*, *Miſulami*, or *Muſulani*, were ſeated near the country of the *Garamantes*, or at leaſt not at a very great diſtance from it, appears from *Tacitus*. But we can neither preciſely determine the ſituation of this *Numidian* tribe, though at the foot of mount *Andus*, nor that of many others, to

(1) *Frontin. ſtrat. l.* i. *c.* 11, *ex.* 18. *Univ. hiſt. vol.* xvii. *p.* 328 (A).

antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may presume, that it extended to the borders of the (C) *Proper Ethiopia*. That it consisted of many large territories, may likewise be inferred (D) from *Herodotus*, *Virgil*, *Festus Avienus*, and others. However, it was not of any very considerable breadth, according to *Strabo*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that part of the antient *Garamantes* spread themselves over that tract comprehending the districts of *Gad-demz*, *Fezzan*, and some of the more distant cities and villages of the kingdom of *Tripoli*. Be that as it will, the region we are now upon abounded with wild beasts, and its most antient inhabitants were so savage, that they fled at the sight of a person belonging to any other nation. They were at the same time intirely destitute of arms, and had not the courage to defend themselves, if attacked; from which circumstances it is apparent, that at first they industriously avoided all kinds of correspondence with other nations. However, in process of time they built towns, or rather *dashkras*, the principal of which were *Garama*, the metropolis, near mount *Girgiris*, and the source of the *Cinyphus*, *Debris*, and *Matelgæ*. They like-

wit, the *Nasabutes*, *Mucuni*, *Tulensii*, *Machusii*, *Taladusii*, &c (2).

(C) *Virgil* joins the *Garamantes* with the *Indians*, only to denote, that they were both very remote nations; and that the *Roman* empire was to extend, or rather did extend, to the farthest parts. For they were not contiguous to each other, *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, &c. lying between them. So *Horace*, when he would intimate, that the merchant traversed the remotest regions for gain, says,

Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos:

where he is not to be understood as intending *precisely* the *Indians*, but any nation at a vast distance from *Rome*. *Servius* and others confirm what we here suggest (3).

(D) We might here give our readers a catalogue of the names of towns and clans, said to have appertained to the *Garamantes* by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. But, as the situation of none of them can be defined, and nothing but their names has been transmitted down to us by those authors, we think an insertion of it intirely superfluous. No rivers of note, belonging to the country of the *Garamantes*, except the *Cinyps*, or *Cinypus*, and the *Gir*, are taken notice of by the antients; nor do they mention any mountains in it, except those called by *Ptolemy Girgiris* and *Vallis Garamantica* (4).

(2) *Tacit. annal.* ii. iii. iv. *Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup.* (3) *Virg. ecl.* viii. *& Æn.* vi. *Serv. in loc. Hor. l.* i. *ep.* i. (4) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup.*

wise,

wiſe, when they became a little more civilized, aſſociated with the *Marmaridæ*, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the *Carthaginians*, *Arabs*, *Perſians*, and *Ethiopians*. This could ſcarce be avoided, if one branch of the *Carthaginian* commerce extended to thoſe remote countries by means of caravans, paſſing to *Carthage* from thence through the ſandy deſerts of the *Garamantes*; which we cannot think improbable. Though ſeveral arguments might be offered in ſupport of this opinion, we ſhall content ourſelves here with obſerving, as a ſtrong preſumption of its truth, that, according to ſeveral authors, the *Garamantes*, *Perſians*, and *Ethiopians*, ſupplied the *Carthaginians* with vaſt numbers of gems, which were almoſt invaluable. Notwithſtanding the cowardice of the moſt antient *Garamantes* mentioned by *Herodotus*, yet, in after-ages, their poſterity ſeem to have been of another diſpoſition, as may be collected from *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Feſtus Avienus*. Some of them roved about the deſerts of *Libya* in the ſame manner as their ſucceſſors the modern *Bedoweens* do at this day; whilſt others inhabited the (E) *daſhkras* ſcattered up and down theſe parched and unfruitful plains. The former lived very frugally in their *mapalia*, and ſupported themſelves by hunting, which ſometimes they continued to the winter-ſolſtice; the wild beaſts being refreſhed by the copious rains which fell at that time, and affording them then excellent diverſion. Nay, according to *Herodotus*, they hunted the *Troglodytes* themſelves, a barbarous nation living in caves under-ground, in vehicles, drawn by two pair of horſes, made for that purpoſe. *Nigritia*, and the country of the *Garamantes* ſeem, for the moſt part, to have been peopled at firſt from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, and conſequently to have been the deſcendents of *Miſraim* and *Cuſh*, though we doubt not but ſome colonies of *Arabs* likewiſe ſettled here. It appears from ſome of the moſt perfect *Egyptian* mummies now remaining, that the features of the antient *Egyptians* much reſembled thoſe of the preſent *Negroes*; which is a proof, that the latter muſt have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore, ſpoken in theſe re-

(E) *Herodotus* informs us, that, in the country of the *Garamantes*, there was a pillar, or rather mountain, of ſalt, with a fountain iſſuing from the ſummit of it, and palm-trees covering the adjacent lands; that the natives firſt laid freſh earth upon the ſalt, and then ſowed their corn there; and that they bordered upon the *Lotophagi*, whom we ſhall preſently have occaſion to mention (5).

(5) *Herodot. l.* iv.

gions, bore a great affinity at first to the *Egyptian*, *Arabic*, and *Ethiopic*; and may at this time, probably, be impure dialects of them. We have no farther particulars of moment relating to the religion of the *Garamantes*, than that they, in common with the *Arabs*, *Indians*, and *Ethiopians* (F), worshiped *Jupiter Ammon* (G), representing him, for the most part, with a ram's head, or, at least, with ram's horns, and had a famous temple sacred to him. *Pliny* mentions a surprising fountain near *Debris*, whose waters, from noon to midnight, grew extremely warm, but from thence to the sun's next approach to the meridian were so cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongst the *Garamantes*, the men making use of the women just as they fell in their way. At first they were governed by heads of tribes, or *phylarchs*, as the *Gætulians*, *Arabs*, &c. but afterwards monarchy seems to have taken place amongst them, as we learn from *Tacitus*. *Pliny* mentions a king of the *Garamantes*, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that resisted all who opposed them. Though *Ptolemy* asserts them to have been a large and powerful nation, extending themselves from mount

(F) The great veneration in which the nations here mentioned had *Jupiter Ammon*, as well as the form under which he was exhibited to public view in this temple, appears from the following lines of *Lucan*:

Ventum erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum
Inculti Garamantes habent: stat corniger illic
Jupiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina vibrans,
Aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus, Ammon.
Non illic Libycæ posuerunt ditia gentes
Templa, nec Eois splendent donaria gemmis;
Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon.

Herodotus says, that *Ammon* was represented by an image with a ram's head, because *Hercules* saw his statue covered with the skin of a ram; and *Diodorus*, because *Jupiter*, in all his wars, wore an helmet resembling the head of that animal. But this representation seems to have been rather an allusion to the great numbers of sheep produced in *Libya* (6).

(G) It is intimated by *Virgil* and *Silius*, that *Iarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, was a descendent of *Ammon*, and that he reigned over this country. But the authors, from whom they extracted this notion, are now lost (7).

(6) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Lucan. l.* ix. *Sil. Ital. l.* i.

(7) *Virg. Æn.* iv.

Usargala

Uſargala to the lake or moraſs *Nuba*, yet we find ſcarce any of their affairs recorded in hiſtory. *Maſiniſſa* took refuge amongſt them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by *Syphax*. As the roads to their country from *Mauritania* were rendered impracticable by robbers, the *Romans* knew little of them till after the expiration of the republic. *Lucius Cornelius Balba* intirely ſubdued them, for which he had a triumph granted him by *Auguſtus*. However, by ſome means or other, they afterwards ſhook off the *Roman* yoke; ſince we are informed by *Florus*, that, ſome years after, *Coſſus* detached *Curinius* with a body of troops againſt them, and the *Marmaridæ*; and by *Tacitus*, that the king of the *Garamantes* joined *Tacfarinas*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, againſt the *Romans*. After the laſt defeat and death of *Tacfarinas*, they ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to appeaſe the reſentment of *Tiberius*; which, we ſuppoſe, was done by an abſolute ſubmiſſion to him, ſince it appears probable, that the *Roman* empire extended on that ſide almoſt, if not intirely, to the northern bank of the *Nigir* [b].

As for the *Nubæ*, *Perorſi*, *Tarualtæ*, *Mimaci*, *Aſtacuſi*, *Aroncæ*, *Dermones*, *Matites*, *Gongalæ*, *Nabathræ*, and many other obſcure nations inhabiting that part of *Libya Interior* called by the antients the weſtern *Ethiopia*, and extending from the *Nigir* to the Line, we have nothing to ſay of them; the old geographers having tranſmitted to us only their bare names. However, it will be proper to obſerve, that the vaſt tract occupied by them comprehended the *Upper* or *Proper Guiney*, together with the kingdoms of *Gago*, *Guber*, *Bito*, *Temian*, *Ouangara*, *Dauma*, *Biafara*, *Mujac*, *Medra*, and ſome diſtricts of that of *Gorhan*. Hence it appears, that the antient *Nigritia* was but a part of the modern *Negroland*; and that in early times the *Nigritæ*, or *Negroes*, went by the general name of *Ethiopians*. As we find likewiſe the promontory *Soloes*, or *Soloentia*, ſituated in the country we are now upon, and ſeveral places to the ſouth of it, taken notice of by *Hanno* in his *periplus*, we may conclude from hence, that the

[b] Herodot. l. iv. Virg. l. vi. & Serv. in loc. Lucan. l. iv. Feſtus Avienus, v. 320. Mel. l. i. c. 8. Tacit. annal. i. ii. iii. iv. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & Dalechamp. in loc. Petron. Arb. in ſatyric. Vide & Chr. Hendr. de Carthag. repub. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 8. Sil. Ital. l. ii. & alib. Ptol. ubi ſup. Plin. l. viii. c. 4. Flor. l. iv. c. ult. Leo African. & Marm. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. xiii. p. 513. vol. xiv. p. 188, & alib. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 136. Gordon's eſſay towards explaining the hieroglyp. fig. on the copy of an ant. mum. belong. to Capt. *Lethieullier*, p. 2. Lond. 1737.

Carthaginians had a knowlege of the *Blacks* ſome hundred years before the deſtruction of their ſtate by the *Romans*. That the *Greeks* alſo were not ignorant of them in the age of *Scylax*, may be inferred from that author; but, as both he and *Hanno* ſtuffed their journals with fables, ſcarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* have given us faint deſcriptions of the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of ſome few of their clans, which will hereafter be touched upon. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* were greatly in the dark with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the weſtern *Ethiopians*; and *Strabo* only intimates, that, as ſcarce any intercourſe had ever been kept up between them and the *Roman* empire, the accounts publiſhed of them, in his age, were little better than downright fictions. To inſert therefore a collection of ſuch idle tales, would be unbecoming an hiſtorian; ſince it could neither afford inſtruction, nor give any real entertainment, to the rational part of his readers[c].

CHAP. XVIII.

The Hiſtory of the Libyans *and* Greeks *inhabiting the Tract between the Borders of* Egypt *and the River* Triton, *comprehending* Marmarica, Cyrenaica, *and the* Regio Syrtica.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Libyans *of* Marmarica.

The Libyans *of* Marmarica.

MARMARICA, according to *Scylax*, *Pliny*, and *Agathemerus*, with whom *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* agree in the main, was bounded on the eaſt and weſt by *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; on the ſouth by the *Sahara*, or deſerts of *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. After paſſing the *Glaucum Promontorium*, cape *Deris*, the port *Leucaſpis*, and other inconſiderable promontories and harbours, juſt mentioned by the antient geographers, we come to *Parætonium*, called *Ammonia* by *Strabo*, a city of conſiderable note. *Flo-*

[c] HANNO CARTHAG. in peripl. SCYLAX, CARYAND. in peripl. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. STRABO, MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. LEO AFRICAN. MOLL, SENEX, MAXW. aliique recent. geogr.

rus

rus ſtiles this city and *Peluſium* the two horns of *Egypt*; from whence it appears, that he looked upon *Marmarica* as part of *Egypt*, and *Parætonium* as a fortreſs of great ſtrength. The laſt article is confirmed by *Hirtius*, who ſeems to intimate, that he received ſome annoyance from it, though the gariſon could not hinder him from ſupplying himſelf with water. We learn from *Procopius*, that it remained for a long time diſmantled, but at laſt had its fortifications repaired by the emperor *Juſtinian*. At ſome diſtance from *Parætonium*, towards the frontiers of *Cyrenaica*, ſtood *Apis*, a town ſo denominated from the *Egyptian* deity of that name. *Pliny* relates, that it was famous on account of certain ſacred myſteries celebrated in it; which, in conjunction with the name, inſinuates vaſt numbers of the *Egyptians* and *Marmaridæ* to have reſorted thither, in order to pay their devotions to *Apis*. *Triſarchis*, *Zagylis*, and other places on the ſea-coaſts, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, are ſo obſcure, that they merit no regard. The principal *Libyan* nations inhabiting this region were the *Adyrmachidæ* and *Ammonii*, as appears from *Scylax* and *Herodotus*. As for the *Zygritæ*, ſeated near the *Greater Catabathmus*, and the *Buzes*, lying more to the ſouth, they are rarely mentioned by the antients. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the chief towns of the former were *Azicis*, *Tucciora*, and *Tachorſa*; and the capital of the latter *Thanuthis*. *Pliny* mentions the *Mareotæ* as a people ſeated near the *Adyrmachidæ*. Some authors ſeem to make the *Marmaridæ* a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the *Greater Catabathmus*; but we are inclined to believe, that *Marmaridæ* was a name common to all the *Libyans* of *Marmarica*. If ſo, all theſe *Libyans* drank chiefly beer brewed at *Alexandria*; though ſometimes they uſed *Libyan* wine. The *Adyrmachidæ*, according to *Silius*, fought with an *enſis falcatus*, or ſcymetar; and, if *Scylax* may be credited, were ſeated not far from the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile*. *Ptolemy*, on the contrary, places them, in his *nome* of *Libya*, more remote from the ſea. It was a common cuſtom with their wives to wear a chain of braſs on each leg; to take great pains in dreſſing their hair; and, if they happened to find a louſe, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they had received. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's preſence, that, if any one of them pleaſed him above the reſt, he might lie with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the *Libyan* habit, from whence probably they derived their name, *Addermuch* in *Arabic* denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almoſt in all points with the *Egyptians*; which tallies with what

what has been already obſerved. The (A) *Ammonii*, ſo called from *Jupiter Ammon*, or *Ammun*, their chief deity, lay nearer *Cyrenaica*, and about ten days journey from *Thebes* in the *Upper Egypt*. *Ptolemy* mentions a place named *Alexander*'s *camp*, and the city of *Ammon*, as appertaining to this nation. *Arrian*, on the other hand, will not allow *Ammon* to have been a city; but ſays, that it was only the ſpot of ground on which the temple of *Ammon* ſtood. It ſeems probable from *Herodotus*, that the *Ammonii* were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and made war upon their neighbours; though part of their territories could be conſidered only as a barren ſandy deſert. *Pliny* makes the temple of *Ammon* fifteen days journey from *Memphis*, and mentions the *Ammoniac nome* of *Egypt*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that though the aforeſaid temple (B) was ſurrounded by a ſandy deſert, yet its proper

(A) *Herodotus* affirms the *Ammonii* to have been originally a colony of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*; and ſays, that they ſpoke a language compoſed of words taken from both thoſe nations (1).

(B) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this diſtrict was fifty ſtadia ſquare, and that the inhabitants there enjoyed a perpetual ſpring. He likewiſe intimates, that, within the firſt wall of the caſtle ſtood the palace of the antient kings of *Ammonia*; within the ſecond the *Gynæceum*, containing the apartments of the royal family; and, within the third, places for the houſhold troops to lodge in. He farther relates, that, at a ſmall diſtance from the walls, there was another temple of *Ammon*, ſhaded with fruit-trees, and having a fountain cloſe by it, called *Fons Solis*, from the ſurpriſing effects of the ſun upon its water. The image of *Ammon*, according to him, was adorned with emeralds, and other precious ſtones of great value, and gave reſponſes to thoſe who came to conſult the oracle, in a ſingular and unuſual way. It was carried about in a golden ſhip by eighty prieſts, who advanced to the place whither the god, by a nod, directed them, great multitudes of matrons and virgins at the ſame time celebrating his praiſes in ſongs compoſed after the manner of their country.

Diodorus alſo gives us to underſtand, that, when *Alexander the Great* was introduced into the temple of *Ammon*, the ſenior prieſt addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: *God ſave thee*, MY SON, *and aſſume to thyſelf this title, which* AMMON *confers upon thee.* To whom, according to the ſame author, that prince replied: *I accept it, father; and, provided you will enable me to conquer the world, I ſhall ever eſteem it as the greateſt honour to be called your ſon.* Upon which the prieſt approached the altar; and when the perſons lifting up the image, according to cuſtom, upon a ſig-

(1) *Herodot. l.* ii.

nal

proper diſtrict abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with fountains. It had alſo ſeveral ſtreets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a caſtle fortified with a triple wall, and near it an holy fountain, called the fountain of the *Sun*, ſince the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. *Pedonia*, *Pnigeus*, *Climax*, and other inconſiderable mediterranean towns, deſerve not the leaſt attention; nor are the ſmall iſlands on the coaſt, *Pedonia*, *Phocuſæ*, *Æneſipaſta*, *Ædonis*, or *Ædonia*, important enough to be deſcribed. We learn from *Herodotus*, that *Cambyſes*, having advanced to *Thebes*, in his way to *Ethiopia*, detached from thence a body of fifty thouſand men, to lay waſte the country of the *Ammonii*, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. But, after ſeveral days march over the deſerts, a ſtrong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the ſouth, at the time of their dinner, raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, and brought in ſuch a torrent upon them, that the whole corps was overwhelmed thereby, and periſhed. *Alexander the Great*, near two hundred years after, met with better ſucceſs in his journey to the temple aforeſaid. Authors are not intirely agreed whether the *Marmaridæ* are to be looked upon as *Libyans* or *Egyptians*; but the greateſt part rank them amongſt the former. Father *Calmet*, in particular, thinks, that *Marmarica* was firſt peopled by the deſcendents of *Lehabim* the ſon of *Miſraim*, mentioned by *Moſes*. However, he believes, that the limits of the *Lehabim*, or *Lubim*, are not known, and conſequently, that they might have reached much farther than the borders of *Cyrenaica*; eſpecially, ſince almoſt the whole continent of *Africa* is ſometimes called *Libya*. If then the *Marmaridæ* were *Libyans*, what has been already delivered concerning the origin, religion, cuſtoms, *&c.* of the *Numidian* and *Libyan Nomades*, &c.

nal given, moved forwards, the prieſt anſwered, *That the god had granted his requeſt.* He then inquired *whether any of his father's murderers had eſcaped juſtice.* To which the oracle cried out: *Expreſs thyſelf better, ſince no mortal can kill thy father; but all the murderers of* PHILIP *have been brought to condign puniſhment.* The pretended deity afterwards told him, *That the uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs he had met with, was a full proof of his divine origin; and that he ſhould, for the future, ever continue to be victorious.* In this manner did the artful prieſts of *Ammon* ſooth *Alexander*'s vanity, and draw from him many valuable preſents; after which he returned with his army to the confines of *Egypt* (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvii.

will, in a great measure, hold true of them. Be that as it will, *Herodotus* assures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in most points of moment. Though therefore, in compliance with the general opinion, we have here detached *Marmarica* from *Egypt*, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was subject to the kings of *Egypt*, for an account of the transactions of which it was the theatre, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the history of that country, as well as those of the *Persians*, *Macedonians*, and *Romans*, who successively subdued this kingdom [a].

SECT. II.

The history of Cyrenaica.

Limits of Cyrenaica.

CYRENAICA was bounded on the east by *Marmarica*, on the west by the *Regio Syrtica*, on the north by the *Mediterranean*, and on the south by the *Sahara*. In the geography of *Cyrenaica*, we find none of the antients inconsistent with themselves but *Strabo*, who, almost in the same breath, asserts it to have extended as far as *Egypt*, and maintains that *Marmarica* lay betwixt those two regions. The maritim towns *Darnis*, *Cherſis*, *Phycus*, *Aptungis*, &c. were of no great repute, and therefore we shall pass them by; as likewise the promontories *Phycus* and *Zephyrium*, the ports *Parætonius*, *Nauſtathmus*, &c. with several other places of less note. The principal towns in this tract were *Cyrene* the metropolis, *Arſinoe* or *Teuchira*, *Berenice*, *Ptolemais* or *Barce*, and *Apollonia*, from whence the best part of it was named *Pentapolis*. *Adriane* or *Hadrianopolis*, so denominated from the emperor *Adrian*, could not vie with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no despicable place. The castle *Diacherſis*, *Tower of Hercules*, port *Diarrhœa*, promontory *Boreum*, near the *Greater Syrtis*, deserve little attention; nor is any thing further to be said of *Automala*, or *Automalax*, than that it was a fortress of considerable strength upon the frontiers of the *Regio Syrtica* [b].

[a] Herodot. l. iv. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Polyb. in excerpt. 115. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. sub fin. Plin. l. v. c. 5. & c. 6. Cæsar apud Hirt. in bell. Alex. Mel. l. i. c. 9. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Procop. l. vi. c. 2. Sil. Ital. l. iii. v. 278. Herodot. l. ii. c. 42. & l. iv. c. 181, & alib. Arrian. l. iii. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Calmet in voc. Libya.

[b] Herodot. Scylax, Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 38. p. 996. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 40. Suid. Steph. Byzant. Auct. fab. August. &c.

The

THE city of *Cyrene*, now called *Cairoan*, or *Corene*, ſtood at ſome diſtance from the ſea, upon a ſpot of ground in figure reſembling a table, according to *Strabo*. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as neceſſaries, of life. Its territory produced vaſt numbers of excellent horſes, which probably made the *Cyreneans*, whether *Libyans* or *Greeks*, apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of every thing relating to thoſe animals more than moſt other nations. *Berenice*, *Teuchira*, *Ptolemais*, *Apollonia*, and *Adriane*, ſtood along the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*; and their inhabitants carried on a conſiderable trade. *Cyrene* derived its name from the fountain (C) *Cyre*, near which it was ſituated. *Bochart* deduces *Cyre* from the *Phœnician* קור *kur*, the radix of מקור *makur*, *fons*; which, conſidering that the *Carthaginians* aſſiſted the *Greeks* in ſettling themſelves here, and were acquainted with the country long before their arrival, is by no means improbable. We ſhall paſs by here the religion, language, cuſtoms, *&c.* of the proper *Cyreneans*; ſince whatever has been ſaid of their *Greek* anceſtors, on each of theſe heads, is eqnally applicable to them [c] (D). *City of Cyrene.*

THOUGH a great part of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect deſert, yet there were ſome fruitful plains in both thoſe countries. The inhabitants were very ſubject to fevers, which ſome have attributed to the inſalubrity of the air. Except the *Lathon*, we find no conſiderable river of *Cyrenaica* taken notice of by the antients, and ſome of them have even fixed this in *Mauritania*. The *Montes Velpi* and *Anagombri* are the only mountains that ſeem to claim any re- *Nature of the ſoil, &c. of* Cyrenaica.

[c] STRAB. ubi ſup. PIND. in od. ad Arceſilaum Cyren. HERODOT. l. iv. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vi. LUCIAN. in encom. Demoſth. PAUSAN. l. vi. p. 366, & alib. ALEXIS apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. ut et ipſe ATHEN. paſſ. Vid. etiam CASAUB. animadverſ. ad Athen. l. iii. c. 21. MAX. TYR. ſerm. vii. MARMOL, l. viii. c. 10. CALLIMACH. hymn. in Apoll. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(C) *Juſtin* ſays, that this *Cyre*, or *Cyra*, was a mountain, but at the ſame time intimates, that it abounded with fountains; which countenances *Bochart*'s etymon, as well as the notion we have followed (3).

(D) It may not, however, be improper to take notice of one particular cuſtom of the *Cyreneans*, which ſeems to have been peculiar to them: When any perſon of diſtinction amongſt them was invited to an entertainment, he brought a great number of friends, chariots, *&c.* with him (4).

(3) *Juſtin. l.* xiii. *c.* 7. (4) *Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* xii. *ſub init.*

lation

lation to the country we are now upon; as the *Palus Paliuri* is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the *Heſperides* here, but others in *Mauritania*. The latter opinion appears to us the moſt probable, ſince it better correſponds with the word *Heſperides*, which imports a weſtern ſituation; and therefore we have already taken notice of thoſe gardens in the hiſtory of *Mauritania*. Some parts of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* were famous for the production of the *Silphium*, a plant or ſhrub greatly celebrated by the antients. The *Libyans* looked upon the ſtalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant, as moſt precious; and conſequently eſteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. *Strabo* intimates, that the *Libyan* barbarians had deſtroyed almoſt all the roots of the *Silphium* in their excurſions before his time, which is confirmed by *Scribonius Largus*. *Pliny* relates it to have been ſo ſcarce in his age, that a ſtalk of it was preſented to *Nero* as a ſingular curioſity; and yet, that the *Laſer*, a gum proceeding from the *Silphium*, or *Laſerpitium*, as we find it ſometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of *Severus*, may be inferred from *Galen*. *Ariſtotle*, *Ariſtophanes*'s ſcholiaſt, *Tzetzes*, *Heſychius*, and *Suidas*, inſinuate the figure of the *Silphium* to have been ſtruck on the *Cyrenean* coins; which is confirmed by many of them, that are ſtill to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The *Carthaginians* carried vaſt quantities of the *Laſer* and *Silphium* from *Charax*, a city near the confines of *Cyrenaica*, into their dominions, for which they ſupplied the *Cyreneans* with wine. This vegetable the *Cyreneans* offered to their firſt king *Battus*, whom they deified, looking upon it as the moſt valuable produce of their country; for which reaſon we find it on the reverſes of ſeveral of that prince's coins. That *Cyrenaica* likewiſe abounded with a rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by *Theophraſtus*. *Athenæus* relates, that the roſes, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the ſaffron, were famous for the fragant odours they emitted; and that, in the time of *Berenice*, a moſt charming ointment was made of the *Cyrenean* roſes. As for the *Silphium*, great quantities of it were imported into *Greece*, and many other countries. The antients prepared it various ways, both for food and phyſic, as appears from *Athenæus* and *Hippocrates*, to omit many other authors [d].

THE

[d] HERODOT. SCYLAX, STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. VIRG. Æn. iv. v. 480, & ſeq. ARISTOT. de Cyren. repub. SCRIBON. LARG. c. 16. PLIN. l. 19. c. 3. &. l. xxii. c. 23. ARISTOPH. ſchol. ad Plut. p. 92. SUID. TZETZES, & HESYCH. in Βαττε Σίλφιον. GALEN. de temperant. l. iii. c. 3. ſimpl. medic. fac. l. viii.

&

THE principal nations of this tract, or at leaſt contiguous to it, were the *Barcæi*, the *Pſylli*, and the *Naſamones*; the *Aſbyſtæ*, *Macatutæ*, &c. being too obſcure to merit any regard. *Barce* or *Barca*, the capital of the *Barcæi*, we find mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Scylax*, and *Ptolemy*; the two former of which make it to have occupied the ſame ſpot that *Ptolemais* afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It ſeems to have ſtood to the weſt of *Cyrene*, and had a port near the *Greater Syrtis*. As *Ptolemais* was a maritim city, it is moſt probable, that it ſtood by the port of the *Barcæi*, and not where *Barce* did; eſpecially, ſince that capital was an hundred ſtadia from the ſea, according to *Scylax*. *Herodotus* affirms *Barca* to have been built by the brothers of *Arceſilaus* III. king of *Cyrene*, above a generation before the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign. But we rather think, that it was of *Phœnician*, if not *Egyptian*, or *Libyan* extraction; for *Barca* was a *Phœnician* name, well known in theſe parts of *Africa*, as appears from *Silius Italicus*, and others. *Servius* intimates the citizens of it to have come originally from *Carthage*, which would tempt one to believe, that *Barca*, *Dido*'s brother, who attended her into *Africa*, with ſome of his countrymen, ſettled here. It is evident from *Virgil* and *Silius*, that the *Barcæi* ſpread themſelves over ſeveral conſiderable parts of *Libya*; and from *Servius*, that their metropolis made the greateſt figure of any city in the region we are now upon, except *Cyrene*. St. *Jerom* confirms the laſt authorities, when he aſſerts this town to have been ſituated in a deſert; and its inhabitants, or at leaſt their deſcendents, to have diſperſed themſelves over ſeveral diſtricts lying as far to the weſtward as *Mauritania*, and the eaſtward as *India*. The *Barcæi* learned, ſays *Stephanus*, the art of managing horſes from *Neptune*, and of driving chariots from *Minerva*; which evidently points out their high antiquity. They agreed, in moſt particulars, with the other *Libyan Nomades* already mentioned. The modern kingdom and deſert of *Barca*, extending from *Egypt* to the confines of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, correſpond with the antient *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica*; though they undoubtedly received their name from the *Barcæi*. This may be looked upon as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held among the various nations of *Libya* [e].

Principal nations of this tract.

THE

& de antidot. l. ii. p. 440. ed. Baſil. CATUL. ep. 7. DIOSCORID. l. iii. c. 97. ATHEN. deipnoſoph. l. xv. & alib. THEOPHRAST. plant. l. iv. c. 3. Vid. etiam CASAUB. animadverſ. in Athen. l. iii. c. 21. & EZECH. SPANHEM. de uſ. & præſtant. num. ant. diſſert. vi.

[e] HERODOT. SCYLAX, STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. SIL. ITAL.

THE *Pſylli* and *Naſamones*, according to *Pliny*, *Silius*, and *Lucan*, muſt have been ſeated near the *Greater Syrtis*; or behind the *Regio Syrtica* and *Cyrenaica*, if we chooſe to follow *Strabo*. The *Pſylli*, as *Herodotus* informs us, having once had all their reſervoirs of water dried up by the ſouth wind, advanced into the *Sahara*, in order to make war upon that wind; but, it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of ſand, and all periſhed. After which tragical event, their neighbours the *Naſamones* annexed the territories they poſſeſſed to their own dominions. *Herodotus* repreſents the *Naſamones* as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for ſome ſingular cuſtoms then prevailing amongſt them. During the ſummer-ſeaſon, they left their cattle on the coaſt, and diſperſed themſelves over the plains of *Ægila*, in order to get the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewiſe they found an immenſe quantity of graſhoppers, which, having dried in the ſun, they pulverized, and infuſed them in milk. The liquor compoſed of theſe two ingredients was highly eſteemed by them, as a moſt pleaſant and rich kind of drink. They had many wives, which they uſed in public, like the *Maſſagetæ*, after having erected a ſtaff for a mark. The bride, amongſt them, lay the firſt night with all the gueſts invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a preſent, which he had brought with him for that purpoſe. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the ſepulcres of thoſe who were generally eſteemed to have been the moſt juſt and excellent perſons amongſt them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their anceſtors; where, after certain prayers, they fell aſleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then happened to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually preſented a cup of liquor; and, if they had none, the parties took up ſome duſt from the ground, which they put into their mouths. From ſome authors it appears, that the *Naſamones* were looked upon by the antients as little better than a great gang of robbers; ſince they made frequent incurſions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a dreadful manner. We learn from *Philoſtratus*, that a people of the ſame name was ſeated in *Ethiopia*. The *Libyan* nations here mentioned poſſeſſed the countries they inhabited long before the *Greeks* built *Cyrene* [f].

l. i. VIRG. Æn. iv. ver. 41. & SERV. in loc. D. HIERON. ep. 129. ad Dard. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. SOPHOCL. in Electr. & alib. D. BERN. ALDRET. de Africa, l. iii. c. 20. REINEC. hiſt. Jul. tom. ii. de repub. Carthag. [f] HERODOT. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. LUCAN. l. ix. v. 439, & ſeq. SIL. ITAL. l. i. v. 408. PHILOSTRAT. l. vi. c. 12.

BATTUS

BATTUS the *Theræan*, according to *Herodotus*, with a colony of his countrymen, ſettled firſt in *Platæa*, an iſland on the coaſt of *Libya*. From thence they removed to that part of the continent oppoſite to this iſland, and ſeated themſelves in a delightful province, ſurrounded with agreeable hills, and watered by two rivers running on each ſide, called *Aziriſtus*. After ſix years reſidence here, the *Libyans* conducted them to *Iraſa*, a moſt charming country to the weſt of *Aziriſtus*. In this region, near a fountain ſacred to *Apollo*, they fixed their habitations, and built *Cyrene*, about the third year of the thirty-ſeventh Olympiad, according to *Euſebius*. We find nothing farther remarkable related of *Battus* I. except that he loſt the ſtammering in his ſpeech by the following accident: Being one day wandering alone in a defert place, he was ſurpriſed by a lion, which, unexpectedly ruſhing upon him, ſtruck him with ſuch terror, that he lifted up his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to ſome authors, ſo frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the ſame time delivered *Battus* from the impediment he before laboured under. His ſon *Arceſilaus* the firſt probably made no great figure, ſince hiſtory is intirely ſilent as to any particulars of his reign. *Battus* II. ſon to *Arceſilaus*, built the city of *Zoa*, and reigned forty years, and his ſon *Arceſilaus* II. ſixteen; which is all that we know of them. *Battus* III. ſon to *Arceſilaus* II. ſurnamed *The happy*, being ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a vaſt number of *Greeks*, who came to live under his government, defeated *Apries* king of *Egypt*, in a great battle, near the fountain of *Theſtis* in *Iraſa*. The victory was ſo complete, that ſcarce any of the *Egyptian* troops returned home; ſo that *Adicran*, a neighbouring *Libyan* prince, who had drawn *Apries* upon *Battus*, could not afterwards make head againſt the *Cyreneans*, nor conſequently give them any obſtruction in the poſſeſſion of thoſe territories they had before wreſted from him. *Arceſilaus* III. the ſon of *Battus* III. ſucceeded him; whoſe brothers, on account of ſome diſputes they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and, as *Herodotus* will have it, built *Barca*. Before that city was finiſhed, they found means to excite *Arceſilaus*'s *Libyan* ſubjects to a revolt. However, he marched againſt them with an army, and purſued them into the eaſtern parts of *Libya*. But, having there aſſembled a ſtrong body of troops, they came to a reſolution to give him battle; which ſoon after they did, and totally routed him, cutting ſeven thouſand of his men in pieces. *Arceſilaus*, in a ſhort time after this diſaſter, was diſpatched by his brother *Aliarchus*, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince's

Tranſactions of Cyrenaica till ſubject to the Romans.

wife

wife *Erixo*. *Battus* IV. *Arceſilaus*'s ſon, ſurnamed *the Lame*, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign *Demonax*, a *Mantinean* legiſlator, arrived at *Cyrene*; and, at the king's deſire, introduced ſeveral alterations into the preceding form of government. *Arceſilaus* IV. ſon to the former prince, endeavouring to put the *Cyrenean* conſtitution upon its former footing, was driven by his ſubjects to *Samos*; his mother *Pheretima* at the ſame time eſcaping to *Salamis* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. *Euelthon*, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent preſents; but found means to evade ſending an army to reinſtate her ſon in the poſſeſſion of his dominions. *Arceſilaus* afterwards retired to *Barca*, having married the daughter of *Alazar*, king of the *Barcæi*; but was aſſaſſinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time *Pheretima* eſtabliſhed her authority at *Cyrene*; and, after her ſon's death, applied to *Aryandes*, the *Perſian* governor of *Egypt*, for aſſiſtance, to revenge *Arceſilaus*'s death, who, ſhe pretended, was murdered for his cloſe attachment to the *Medes*. She had ſome grounds for ſuch an application, ſince her ſon had put himſelf under the protection of *Cambyſes*, and acknowleged himſelf a tributary to him. *Aryandes* firſt ſent an herald to *Barca*, to demand whether the *Barcæi* had been guilty of the aſſaſſination of *Arceſilaus*; and, upon their acknowleging it, he ſent a land-army, commanded by *Amaſis*, and a fleet, under the conduct of *Badres*, to take vengeance of the aſſaſſins. The *Perſians* ſoon inveſted the city of *Barca*, and carried on the ſiege ineffectually for the ſpace of nine months. However (E), at laſt they made themſelves maſters of it

(E) *Herodotus* relates, that when the *Perſians* endeavoured to ſap the foundations of *Barca*, an artificer in braſs diſcovered their ſubterraneous approaches in the following manner: He carried a brazen ſhield round the city within the walls, and, applying it to the ground, heard no noiſe where the earth was ſolid; but, when he came to the parts which were undermined, the ſhield rung. Upon which diſcovery, the beſieged fell to countermining, killed all the *Perſians* they found in the mines, and diſmounted all the enemy's engines of battery. *Amaſis*, therefore, finding he could not take the city by force, had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: He opened a large trench in the night, which he covered with ſlight planks of wood, and threw a proper quantity of earth upon them; which rendered that part like the adjacent ground. Early the next morning, after a conference with the beſieged, he concluded a treaty with them upon the ſpot that was undermined; the terms of which were to the following effect: "That "the agreement ſhould continue "in

it by treachery. *Amasis*, after the reduction of *Barca*, put the city into the hands of *Pheretima*; who caused all the men concerned in the murder of *Arcesilaus* to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place, by her consent, the *Persian* general gave up to his soldiers to be plundered; though he spared those persons who had been averse to the assassination of *Arcesilaus*, and permitted *Pheretima* to put *Barca* into their hands. *Badres*, the *Persian* admiral, had a strong desire, before his return to *Egypt*, to plunder *Cyrene*; but was prevented by *Amasis*. The *Libyans* extremely harassed the *Persians* in their march, cutting in pieces all the straggglers they met with, which must have been many, since they attended the enemy to the borders of *Egypt*. All the prisoners were sent to *Darius Hystaspis*, in whose reign those transactions happened, who settled them in a district of *Bactria*, which was from them denominated *Barca*. *Pheretima* is said afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms, which the historian looks upon as a punishment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the *Cyreneans*, and *Libyans* with whom they were intermixed, till the conquest of the *Persian* empire, are not very remarkable in history. *Aristotle* gives us to understand, that in his time *Cyrene* was a republic; which seems to imply, that, upon the extinction of *Battus*'s line, *Demonax*'s form of government took place; though the *Cyreneans* might have been tributary to, or at least under the protection of, the *Persians*. It appears from *Sallust*, that the people of *Cyrene* were free, when the contention happened betwixt them and the *Carthaginians* about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the *Macedonians* subdued *Egypt*, we find asserted by *Strabo*. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, one *Ariston* seized upon *Cyrene*, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were soon after composed, and all former acts of hostility

" in force as long as the earth on " which they stood should re- " main in the present condition; " that the *Barcæi* should pay a " competent tribute to the king " of *Persia*; and that the *Per-* " *sians* should introduce no in- " novations into *Barca*." The *Barcæi* then opened their gates to *Amasis*, upon the faith of this treaty. That general, finding himself master of the town, in order to free himself from the oath he had just taken, ordered the covering of the trench to be broken down, and afterwards treated the inhabitants in the manner here related (5).

(5) *Herodot. l.* iv. *sub fin.*

buried in oblivion. *Alexander* had not been long dead, when *Thimbro* invaded *Cyrenaica*, overthrew the *Cyreneans*, and obliged them to buy a peace with five thouſand talents of ſilver, and half of their armed chariots. However, *Mnaſiclus* a *Cretan*, one of his officers, afterwards ſpirited them up againſt him, forced him to abandon the port of *Cyrene*, and obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over him. Notwithſtanding which, *Thimbro*, bringing them to another general action, intirely defeated them, though he was ſoon after overthrown by *Ophellas*, and taken priſoner. This victory rendered that general maſter of *Cyrenaica*, and he delivered it into the hands of *Ptolemy*. However, it ſeems probable, from what we have obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Carthaginians*, that *Ophellas*, by ſome means or other, obtained the ſovereignty of this country. *Magas*, the brother of *Ptolemy Lagus*, whoſe daughter *Ptolemy Philadelphus* married, reigned at *Cyrene* fifty years, as we learn from *Agatharchides*. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from *Polyænus*, who has tranſmitted to us an account of one of his ſtratagems. *Plutarch* intimates, that *Nicocrates*, tyrant of *Cyrene*, being in love with *Aretaphila*, the wife of one *Phædimus*, or, as *Polyænus* will have it, *Melanippus* the prieſt of *Apollo*, killed her huſband in order to enjoy her; and that ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till ſhe found an opportunity of deſtroying him; which ſhe at laſt did, and thereby delivered her country from ſervitude. But whether this laſt event happened before the time of *Magas*, or afterwards, we are not given to underſtand. Be that as it will, it remained under the kings of *Egypt*, till *Ptolemy Phyſcon* made it over to his baſtard ſon ſurnamed *Apion*, who, in the year of *Rome* 658. left it by will to the *Romans*. The ſenate, inſtead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants, thoſe who were moſt potent in every diſtrict endeavouring to make themſelves ſovereigns of it. This threw the kingdom of *Cyrenaica* into great confuſion; but *Lucullus* in a good meaſure reſtored the public tranquillity, on his coming thither during the firſt *Mithridatic* war. The deſcendents of thoſe (E) *Jews*, ſettled here by the firſt *Ptolemy*, are ſaid to

(E) Amongſt the deſcendents of theſe *Cyrenean Jews* may be ranked *Jaſon*, who wrote the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* in five books, of which the ſecond book of *Maccabees*, ſtill extant, is an abridgment; *Simon*, who carried our Saviour's croſs; and others mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles (5).

(6) *Act.* c. ii. *v.* 1. & c. vi. *v.* 9.

have

have greatly contributed to the disturbances just hinted at. Be that as it will, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province, which happened about twenty years after the death of *Apion*, and seventy-six before the birth of *Christ*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time *Crete* and *Cyrenaica* formed one *Roman* province. Upon a revolt *Cyrene* was ruined by the *Romans*; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In process of time it fell to the *Arabs*, and last to the *Turks*, who are the present possessors of it [g]. For some of the principal learned men it produced, we shall refer our readers to the following note (F).

SECT.

[g] HERODOT. l. iv. PIND. Pyth. od. iv. & v. PAUSAN. in Phocic. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. POLYÆN. l. ii. c. 28. ex. 1, 2. & l. viii. c. 38, 41. PAUSAN. in Attic. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Athen. diepnosoph. l. xii. PLUTARCH. de virtut. mulier. JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 7. CALLIMACH. in hymn. SOLIN. c. SOLIN. c. 30. SALLUST. in Jugurth. STRAB. l. xvii. EUSTATH. in Dionys. EUSEB. in chron. ad an. 3. Olymp. 37. p. 122. PLUT. in Lucul. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. LIV. epit. lxx. Justin. l. xxix. EUTROP. l. vi. c. 11. Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 458—462.

(F) This country produced several persons who made an illustrious figure in the republic of letters, amongst the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. *Aristippus*, a disciple of *Socrates*, and the chief of the *Cyrenaic* sect. He lived about the ninety-sixth Olympiad, and the year of *Rome* 360. He was the first that took money of his scholars for teaching them philosophy. He once sent his master *Socrates* twenty *mina's*; but that philosopher refused it, saying, "GOD would not permit him to "receive it." *Xenophon* was an enemy to him; on which account he wrote a treatise against *pleasure*, in order to expose him. *Theodoret* and *Plato* likewise were very severe upon him. He could adapt himself to all persons, places, and times, and, without difficulty, act any part; which rendered him agreeable to *Dionysius*. He went frequently to court; kept several mistresses, and, amongst the rest, the famous *Lais*; and fared deliciously, in conformity to the principles of his philosophy. When he was censured by an acquaintance for living too luxuriously, he said, "That if it were not a good "thing to feast and eat well, "people would not practise it on "their holy festivals." He was extremely quick at repartees, as appears from *Diogenes Laertius*. He asked a certain person, who reproached him for having had a sumptuous entertainment, "Whether he would not have lived "in as elegant a manner, if he "could have done it for three "oboli?" To which the other replied, he would. "Then," said he, "I find you are fond of "money, and not I of pleasure." One time a fellow pursuing him with

SECT. III.

The History of the Regio Syrtica.

Description of the Regio Syrtica.

THE *Regio Syrtica*, so called because the two *Syrtes* were the northern extremities of its eastern and western limits, was bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the

with opprobrious and scurrilous language, and asking him, "Why "he made such haste away?" "Because (said he) thou art "accustomed to give foul lan- "guage, and I am not accustom- "ed to hear it." *Dionysius* had once three harlots to wait upon *Aristippus*, out of whom he ordered that philosopher to choose one; but he carried them all three off, saying, "That PARIS "had greatly suffered by pre- "ferring one goddess to an- "other." One desired to know of him what he would have for educating his son; to whom he answered, "Five hundred drachmas. "I can buy a slave" (answered the other) "for that sum." "Do so (replied *Aristippus*), and "then you will have two." He wrote three books of the history of *Libya*, which he dedicated to *Dionysius*; and a volume consisting of twenty-five dialogues, composed partly in the *Attic*, and partly in the *Doric* dialect. The principles of his philosophy were these: The soul has two particular motions, or sensations, to wit, pain and pleasure; all pleasures are alike; virtue is only so far to be esteemed, as it conduces to sensuality. For all the other particulars of his life, we must refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*. His name seems to confirm what several authors have suggested of the *Cyreneans*, to wit, that they were famous for being good horsemen.

2. *Areta*, daughter to *Aristippus*, who presided over the *Cyrenaic* school after the death of her father.

3. *Aristippus* the younger, son to *Areta*, by whose instructions he became a famous philosopher, and from thence was stiled *Metrodidactos*.

4. *Anniceris*, who reformed the *Cyrenaic* sect, or rather founded another that was called the *Annicerian*.

5. *Callimachus*, a celebrated poet and historian, the son of *Battus* and *Mesatma*, and disciple of *Hermocrates* the grammarian. He married the daughter of *Euphrates Syracusanus*, and lived in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, being then the royal librarian. Several pieces we find ascribed to him, though he was no voluminous author, it being a trite observation with him, *That a great book was a great evil.* The principal of these were: 1. A satirical poem upon his adversary, whom he called *Ibis*. 2. Those hymns which are still extant. 3. Αἰτία, or a treatise upon the origin and causes of sacred things, taken notice of by *Martial*. 4. A poem intituled *de coma Berenices*. *Suidas* mentions another *Callimachus*, nephew

the south by the country of the *Nasamones*, and the *Sahara*; on the east by *Cyrenaica*; and on the west by *Africa Propria*.

nephew to this, as a tolerable poet; but it is generally agreed, that he did not make any great figure in the learned world.

6. *Eratosthenes*, the son of one *Aglaus*, or, according to others, *Ambrosius*, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician, in great favour at the *Egyptian* court. He was the scholar of *Ariſto* the *Chian*, *Lysanias* the grammarian, and the poet *Callimachus*. He flourished in the hundred twenty-sixth Olympiad, being about that time librarian to the king of *Egypt*. He first asserted the ambit or circumference of the earth to be two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia; on which account we find him stiled *the measurer of the earth*. Besides his philosophical pieces, he wrote some poems, several historical and astronomical tracts, a collection of dialogues, and some observations relating to comedy. He died at eighty-one years of age.

7. *Carneades*, the son of *Epicomus*, or *Philocomus*, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the second founded by *Arcesilaus*. He pretended to discover an uncertainty in the most evident notions, and was a grand stickler against the *Stoics*, attempting vigorously to confute *Chrysippus*, one of their principal pillars. *Carneades* did not much apply himself to physic and natural philosophy, but cultivated morals with particular diligence. His surprising eloquence made him feared by the *Roman* senate, during his residence at *Rome* with two other embassadors. Whilst he was there, he is said to have disputed admirably well for justice one day, and the next against it. He gave himself up so intirely to study, that he neglected frequently all other things; insomuch that he sometimes sat at table, and forgot to eat, till roused from his thoughfulness by his maid *Malissa*. According to *Diogenes Laertius*, he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, about the fourth year of the clxiid Olympiad, though *Cicero* stretched his life to ninety; which makes it difficult to determine precisely the time of his death. The former author says, that when *Carneades* understood, that *Antipater* had poisoned himself, he did the like; and likewise makes an eclipse of the moon to have then happened. He is said to have written many letters to *Ariarathes* king of *Armenia*. For a fuller account of him we must beg leave to refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*, *Cicero*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and others.

8. *Cronus Apollonius*, the master of *Diodorus* the logician, whose name was assumed by his scholar (6).

(6) *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 576. *Diog. Laert. in Aristip. in Carnead. & alib. Posidon. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l.* vii. *Suid. in* Ἐρατοσθένης, *in* Καλλίμαχος, *& alib. Schol. in Aristoph. ran. act.* iv. *sc.* 2. *Plut. de placit. philos. advers. Stoic. & alib. Martial. l.* x. *Aul. Gell. l.* vii. *c.* 14. *& l.* xvii. *c.* 15. *Val. Max. l.* viii. *c.* 8. *Cic. in Academ. quæst. l.* i. *in Tuscul. quæst. l.* v. *de orat. l.* ii. *& alib. Ouzelius in Aul. Gell. ubi sup. Galen. in lib. de opt. docend. gen. ab Henric. Stephan. edit. an.* 1562. *aliiq; script. mult.*

The tower of *Euphrantas*, and the town of *Charax* above-mentioned, were the principal maritim places in the neighbourhood of *Cyrenaica*, as *Auxiqua*, *Leptis Magna*, *Garapha*, *Abrotonum*, *Sabrata*, and *Tacape*, were on the ſea-coaſt betwixt the rivers *Cinyps* and *Triton*. As for *Geriſa*, *Iſcina*, *Amuncla*, *Sicapha*, *Muſta*, *Butta*, and ſeveral other obſcure mediterranean towns mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the *Itinerary*, we ſcarce ever find them taken notice of by any antient hiſtorian. The *Cinyps* of *Scylax*, however, ſeems to have been a city of ſome repute. *Pliny* and *Herodotus* intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful diſtrict called *Cinyphe*, which, as well as the city above-mentioned, might have been ſo denominated from the river of the ſame name. To paſs by the *Samamycii*, *Damenſii*, *Nigbeni*, *Nycpii*, *Nigintimi*, *Mucl-thuſii*, and many other inconſiderable tribes recited by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the only nations of this country deſerving any regard were the *Cinethii*, *Gindanes*, *Macæ*, and *Lotophagi*. The *Cinethii*, or *Cinithii*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, ſituated behind the *Machyni*, about the *Leſſer Syrtis*, were a reſpectable nation, as we learn from *Tacitus*. The *Gindanes*, according to *Herodotus*, were ſeated not far from the *Cinyps*: their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and ſhe who had the greateſt number was the moſt eſteemed. The *Macæ* bordered upon the *Garamantes*, and were a pretty potent nation. They ſhaved their heads all over, except the middle of the crown, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the ſkins of oſtriches inſtead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the ſea-ſide, and in ſummer to the inland places near ſome fountain or river, for the ſake of water, according to *Scylax*. They are called likewiſe by the antients *Macæ Cinyphii*, and *Macæ Syrtitæ*, from their vicinity to the *Cinyps* and the *Greater Syrtis*. But the *Lotophagi* were the moſt famous people of the tract we are now upon. If we may believe *Scylax*, they extended themſelves almoſt from the *Greater* to the *Leſſer Syrtis*. That author calls them *Libyes Lotophagi*, and tells us, that the *Lotus* ſerved them both for meat and drink; from which circumſtance they derived their name. *Pliny* ſays, that ſome authors called them *Alachroæ*, and that many of them were found about the *Philænorum Aræ*. *Strabo* likewiſe affirms the country of the *Lotophagi* to have extended from the *Leſſer Syrtis*, which he calls *Lotophagitis Syrtis*, to the confines of *Cyrenaica*; and that this people were not ſenſible of the want of water in the burning ſandy region they inhabited, ſince the root, ſtalks, *&c.* of the *Lotus* ſupplied them

them with rich liquor, as well as delicious food. *Homer* relates, that in his time the iſland *Meninx*, on the coaſt of *Byzacium*, abounded with the *Lotus*, and was the chief ſeat of the *Lotophagi*; as alſo, that *Ulyſſes* touched here in his return to *Ithaca*. A good part of the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect deſert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree and plant of the *Lotus*. *Herodotus* tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the ſame ſize with that of the *Lentiſcus*, but exceedingly ſweet like the date; as alſo that the *Lotophagi* made wine of it. *Pliny* ſays, that the *Lotus* was tranſplanted to *Italy*, but that its qualities were pretty much altered by that tranſplantation. He likewiſe aſſerts its fruit to have been of the ſize of a bean, and of the colour of ſaffron, when ripe; though he allows this to have been different, according to the different degrees of maturity at which it arrived. In *Africa* it reſembled that of a myrtle. The beſt ſpecies of this tree produced a fruit without any kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a ſtone. The wine expreſſed from it taſted like mead, being extremely ſweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itſelf, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruiſed and mixed with wheat, the *Libyans* laid up in large veſſels, which ſerved them for food. *Theophraſtus* and *Dioſcorides* make the plant *Lotus* to have reſembled a lily, and repreſent it both as phyſic and food. Some of the moderns think one ſpecies of it to have been the ſame as the *Colocaſia*, or *Faba Ægyptia*, and the other as the *Nymphæa Nilotica*. But though it might agree with theſe plants in many particulars, yet that it differed conſiderably from them, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverſes of many antient *Egyptian* coins. Several of theſe coins, ſtruck in the times of *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, exhibit the leaves, ſtalk, and fruit, of the plant *Lotus*, and conſequently give us a tolerable idea of it: however, the moderns can arrive at no certain concluſions concerning either the plant, or the tree. The principal river of this tract was the *Cinyps*, which derived its ſtream from a fountain, or an hill, called *Zuchabari* in the country of the *Macæ*, and emptied itſelf into the *Sinus Syrticus*. The word *Zuchabari*, in *Punic*, *Phœnician*, or *Libyan*, ſignified the *hill of the Graces*, as we find it called by *Herodotus*. The river *Cinyps*, according to *Bochart*, derived its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief mountains of the *Regio Syrtica* were *Gigius* and *Thizibi*, of which yet we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories *Hippus* and *Cephalæ* ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned.

tioned. Of the islands appertaining to this country the most noted were *Meninx* and *Cercina*; *Ptolemy*'s *Gaia*, *Pontia*, and *Misynus*, being quite obscure. The island *Myrmex* more properly belonged to *Cyrenaica*, as it was not far distant from the port of the *Barcæi*. *Pliny* makes *Meninx* (F), near the *Lesser Syrtis*, to be twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and further observes, that it had two towns, to wit, *Meninx* facing the coast of *Africa*, and *Thoar*, opposite to the *Lesser Syrtis*. We find it named *Lotophagitis*, not only by the authors above-mentioned, but likewise by *Polybius* and *Eratosthenes*. As for *Cercina*, it lay N. E. of *Meninx*, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the same name, and two most commodious harbours. Thus stands the geography of the *Regia Syrtica*, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of *Tripoli* seems at present to correspond [h].

Its inhabitants subject to the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Cyreneans, Numidians, *and* Romans.

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other *Libyan Nomades*, whose history has already been given, we can say nothing of their antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, &c. (G) without being guilty of a repetition. The transactions they were concerned in, before they became subject to *Carthage*, could not, we

[h] Herodot. Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Virg. Æn. i. v. 110. & Æn. iv. v. 41. Lucan. l. i. v. 367. & l. viii. v. 184. Senec. de beat. vit. c. 14. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Antonin. itinerar. Sallust. in Jugurth. Cæs. in civ. l. i. c. 38. Dionysius Characenus, ver. 480. Diod. Sic. l. iii. l. v. & alib. Plin. l. xiii. c. 17. Sil. Ital. l. iii. v. 310. Heliodor. l. x. p. 457. Herodot. ubi sup. Theophrast. hist. pl. l. iv. c. 10. Plut. de Isid. p. 355, 378, & alib. Herodot. l. ii. c. 92. Theophrast. hist. pl. l. iv. c. 5. p. 87. Dioscorid. l. iv. c. 114. Solin. exercit. p. 683. Plutarch. & Iamblic. apud Tristan tom. i. p. 605. Seguin. num. select. p. 121. Ezech. Spanhem. de præst. & us. num. ant. dissert. vi. p. 301—308. Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 52. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 48. Polyb. l. i. c. 39. Eratosthenes apud Plin. l. v. c. 7. Homer. Il. I. v. 84, & alib.

(F) This island was called *Girba* about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name *Zerbi* or *Zarbi* (7).

(G) From *Egypt* to the lake *Tritonis* the *Libyans* were breeders of cattle; eat flesh, and drank milk; but abstained from beef and pork, as well as the *Egyptians*. The women of *Cyrene* accounted it a crime to strike a cow. For the customs, manners, and religion, of the *Libyans* inhabiting the country to the west of the *Triton*, we must refer our readers to *Herodotus* (8).

(7) *Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 3. (8) *Herodot. l.* iv.

apprehend,

apprehend, have been very conſiderable. However, we believe them to have been ſubdued by the founder of the *Egyptian* empire, whom *Joſephus* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* take to be the ſame prince with *Seſac*. How long they remained ſubject to the *Egyptians*, hiſtory informs us not; but it is probable a corps of them formed part of *Zerah*'s numerous army, for the reaſons already offered. Part of the *Regio Syrtica* ſeems to have been under the dominion of the *Cyreneans* till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the *Carthaginians* mentioned by *Salluſt*; but when this happened, cannot be preciſely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, till it was wreſted out of them by *Maſiniſſa*; for that it was wreſted out of them by that prince, appears clearly from *Appian*. In after-ages it met with the ſame fate as the reſt of his dominions, an ample account of which has been already exhibited to our readers in the hiſtory of the *Numidians* [i].

Some particulars relating to Libya *hitherto omitted.*

THUS have we gone though the hiſtory of all the principal *Libyan* nations, which, we may venture to aſſure our readers, has not been done by any other author. Some few particulars, however, relating to them, hitherto omitted, we muſt not paſs over in ſilence. *Herodotus* obſerves, that the *Libyans* in general went by the name of *Atlantes* or *Atlantides*, though at the ſame time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation; who, he tells us, curſed the *Sun* every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, purſuing him with the bittereſt invectives, becauſe he conſumed both them, and their country, with his burning rays. From that author and *Diodorus* it likewiſe appears, that the *Atlantides* were ſeated upon, and in the neighbourhood of mount *Atlas*, which, from its height, the *Libyans* ſtiled the *pillar of heaven*, i. e. *the high* or *lofty pillar*; which evinces the *Libyan* language or languages to have been related to the *Oriental* tongues. *Herodotus* alſo intimates, that no one of this nation did either eat fleſh, or was ever diſturbed in his ſleep by dreams; the laſt of which properties was probably the conſequence of the firſt. In the territories of the *Atlantides*, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped conſiderable advantages from ſeveral mines of ſalt, which was of two colours, to wit, white and purple. *Herodotus* farther ſays, that many of the *Libyans* built houſes of this ſalt, which, as no rain ever fell in thoſe parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered with regard to the *Nigritæ*, we

[i] SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. ed. Tol. Amſt. 1670. NEWT. in chronol. p. 70. Vid. etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. c. 14. §. 3.

muſt beg leave to add, that they were known to the *Egyptians*, *Ammonii*, and *Cyreneans*, before the time of *Herodotus*. For that author, when in *Egypt*, learned from ſome *Cyreneans*, who had the relation from *Etearchus* king of the *Ammonii*, that five bold *Naſamonian* youths, ſent to make new diſcoveries through the deſerts of *Libya*, at laſt came to a city inhabited by men of a low ſtature, by which ran a great river abounding with crocodiles, that *Etearchus* judged to be the *Nile*. This relation tallies extremely well with *Marmol*, who aſſures us, that the people ſeated on the northern bank of the *Nigir* are perfect dwarfs (H); and alſo ſeems to add ſome weight to the authority of the *Arabian* geographers, who make the *Nile* and the *Nigir* different branches of the ſame river, and aſſert the ſource of this river to be in *Ethiopia*. From hence we may deduce the probability of the *Negroes* being deſcended from the *Ethiopians*, and likewiſe the region of *Nigritia*'s being peopled very early, as *Leo* ſuggeſts. For the *Ethiopians* on the banks, or near the ſource, of the great river above-mentioned, obſerving how the adjacent grounds were fertilized by its inundations, as they increaſed, might follow it weſtward, every one ſtriving to be the firſt poſſeſſor of a great quantity of ſuch excellent ſoil, and therefore advance forward till the *Atlantic* ocean put a ſtop to any farther progreſs. If this be admitted, it will follow, that the *Blacks* are not ſo different from all the reſt of mankind as ſome are willing to ſuppoſe; that their deſcent from *Adam* is eaſy and natural, in oppoſition to what our modern infidels pretend; and that their colour is only an accidental conſideration. But theſe points will be fully diſcuſſed in that branch of the modern hiſtory which they will naturally fall under. The word *Libya* may be deduced either from the proper names *Lehabim*, *Lubim*, &c. above-mentioned, or from the *Hebraw laab*, with which the *Arabic lub* correſponds, ſignifying *dry*, *parched*, &c. or rather *a dry*, *parched country*, &c. Such an appellation agrees extremely well with what the antients have related of *Libya*, and particularly the tract betwixt *Tripolis* and *Pentapolis*, which went by the names of *Xerolibya* and *Libya Propria*. Dr. *Hyde*,

(H) From the ſituation of the *Naſamones*, it is evident, that theſe youths muſt have approached the northern bank of the river, which the dwarfs here mentioned are ſaid to have inhabited. Now *Marmol* aſſures us, that on the ſouthern bank of the *Senegal* the inhabitants are large and luſty, but on the oppoſite ſide ſmall and puny; which laſt article, agreeing ſo well with *Herodotus*, almoſt demonſtrates the river here hinted at to have been the *Nigir* (9).

(9) *Marm.*

however,

however, thinks that this word may be more naturally deduced from *labi*, *a lion*, or rather *a yellow flame-coloured lion*, with which ſpecies of animals *Libya* was known to abound; or elſe from *lahab*, *a flame*, ſince the burning ſands of *Libya*, by the continual reflexion of a vaſt quantity of the ſolar rays, appeared, at ſome diſtance, to travelers like a flame. As theſe ſands were frequently ſo heated as to be almoſt in a ſtate of inflammation, we muſt own ſome regard due to ſuch an etymon. As for the word *Africa*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Afrikia*, which ſeems to have been unknown to *Herodotus*, *Ariſtotle*, *Strabo*, and the other moſt antient *Greek* authors, Dr. *Hyde* takes it to be the ſame with the *Phœnician* or *Punic* הברקה *Habarca*, *Havarca*, *Havreca*, &c. or אברקה *Avreca*, i. e. *The* BARCA, or *the country of* BARCA. This our readers will allow extremely probable, eſpecially ſince *Barca* was a moſt remarkable part of *Africa*, as above obſerved; and the *Romans*, who firſt brought the name of *Africa* into *Europe*, might not pronounce it exactly in the ſame manner as the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received it. The principal difficulty in this etymon will vaniſh, when we conſider, that the *Orientals* for the moſt part pronounced the ſecond letter of their alphabet like a V, and that nothing was more uſual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the firſt diviſion of the world was into two parts only, to wit, *Aſia* and *Europe*, or the eaſtern and weſtern parts, *Europe* comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and *Africa*; which diviſion ſtill prevails amongſt many of the *Orientals*. This may not only be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewiſe from the words *Europe* and *Aſia* themſelves, the former importing *occidental* or *weſtern*, and the latter *half*. When that vaſt region now called *Africa* was firſt conſidered as a diſtinct part of the world, we cannot take upon us to determine; nor whether *Europe* and *Africa* were ever joined together by an iſthmus uniting *Spain* and *Mauritania*, as ſome authors ſuggeſt; nor laſtly, if this ſhould be admitted, when, or by what means, ſuch an iſthmus came to be deſtroyed. The *Nubian* geographer affirms it to have been effected by labour and art; but *Averroes* by an earthquake. The iſland *Cerne*, taken notice of by *Hanno* and *Scylax*, ſeems to have been ſomewhere on the coaſt of *Libya Interior*; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be diſcovered from the antients, who differ widely amongſt themſelves with regard to its ſituation; which probably induced *Strabo* to deny the very being of it. We muſt own ourſelves likewiſe as much in the dark

dark in relation to *Plato*'s iſland *Atlantis*, which he makes of a larger extent than *Aſia* and *Africa* together. Some of the moderns are diſpoſed to think, from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was that vaſt continent called now *America*; others, that it lay nearer the pillars of *Hercules*; and laſtly, others, that every thing related of it is to be conſidered as a downright fiction. Much may be ſaid in defence of each opinion; however, the firſt appears to us the moſt probable. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* affirms *Plato* on this occaſion not to have written fable, but a true hiſtory; and *Proclus* cites *Marcellus* an *Ethiopic* hiſtorian in defence of what that philoſopher has advanced concerning this iſland. *Crantor* alſo, *Plato*'s firſt interpreter, takes this relation to be a true hiſtory. That the iſland here under conſideration was not ſo near the *Streights* as ſome modern authors ſuppoſe, ſeems probable from *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the *Phœnicians* in early times ſailed beyond *Hercules's Pillars*, along the *African* coaſt, and there meeting with ſtorms and tempeſts, were carried to the remoteſt parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vaſt iſland at a great diſtance from *Libya*, and lying very far weſt. This country, continues the ſame author, had a fruitful ſoil, navigable rivers, *&c.* and, from the *Phœnicians*, the *Carthaginians* came to the knowlege of it. And in the ſame place he ſays, that the *Carthaginians* would not permit any other nation to ſettle in this new region, but reſerved it for themſelves, that, if ever they ſhould be driven from their native ſoil, they might have a place to retire to. *Ælian* brings *Silenus* expreſly aſſerting to *Midas*, that there was a vaſt continent beyond *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, which ought to be conſidered as iſlands ſurrounded by the ocean. Theſe, and other paſſages, that might be extracted from the antients, induced the learned *Perizonius* to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had ſome faint knowlege of *America*, derived to them either from the *Egyptian* and *Carthaginian* traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them [k].

CHAP.

[k] Herodot. l. ii. & l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. I. Leo African. Avicen. paſſ. Ælian. de animal. paſſ. RR. Kimchi, Aben-Ezra, & Jonas in Oſe. c. xiii. ver. 5. Virg. Æn. l. iv. Lucan. l. i. Serv. in Virg. ubi ſup. Averroes apud Hieron. Vital. in voc. Terræmotus. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 2. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. 1. Hyde in Peritſol. p. 13, 14, 15, 16. Plat. in Timæ. & in Crit. Strab. l. ii. p. 33. Polyb. & Corn. Nep. apud Plin. l. vi. c. 31. Hanno & Scylax in peripl. Diotim. apud Strab. ubi ſup. Ptol. l. iv.

Ephorus

CHAP. XIX.

The Hiſtory of the Ethiopians.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Ethiopia.

The Pro-per Ethiopia where ſituated.

SEVERAL of the antients gave the name of *Ethiopians* to all perſons either perfectly black, or of a very ſwarthy complexion. The *Arabs* therefore, and other *Aſiatics*, as well as a great number of *Africans*, came under this denomination. The *Africans* we find divided into the weſtern or *Heſperian Ethiopians*, and the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, ſituated to the E. of the former. The *Heſperian Ethiopians* inhabited that vaſt tract called *Libya Interior*, the hiſtory of whoſe principal nations we have already gone through. The eaſtern *African Ethiopians* (for ſo thoſe above *Egypt* may be properly ſtiled) were much better known to the antients than the others, by reaſon of their commerce with the *Egyptians*, and looked upon by them as the proper *Ethiopians*. Theſe are the people, whoſe tranſactions, from the earlieſt accounts of time, we are now to relate; which we hope to do in ſuch a manner as will prove ſatisfactory to all, at leaſt the moſt candid part of, our readers [a].

Limits and extent of Ethiopia.

ETHIOPIA then, or rather *Ethiopia Propria*, was limited on the north by *Egypt*, on which ſide it extended to the *Leſſer Cataract*, and the iſland *Elephantine*; on the weſt by *Libya Interior*; on the eaſt by the *Red Sea*; and on the ſouth by a part of *Africa* unknown to the antients, but probably that including the modern kingdoms of *Gingiro*, *Alaba*, *Machida*, and part of *Adel* or *Zeila*. However, as the proper *Ethiopia* might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the ſides of *Libya Interior* and *Libya Incognita*, we cannot pretend to fix, with any preciſion, its frontiers.

EPHORUS apud Plin. ubi ſup. LYCOPHRON. ſcholiaſt. adverſ. xviii. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. verſ. 219. DIOD. SIC. l. v. CRANTOR in Plat. ubi ſup. MARCELL. apud Procl. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. & ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. iii. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. JAC. PERIZON. in Ælian. ubi ſup. [a] HERODOT. l. iii. & l. vii. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. viii. HOMER. apud Strabon. l. ii. ut & ipſe STRAB. l. i. & l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. iv. DIO, l. liv. p. 524. PTOL. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 8. Vid. & HOMER. Il. iv. v. 23. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8. ſect. 3.

Never-

Nevertheleſs it ſeems, for many ages at leaſt, to have been the ſame tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abaſſia*, with part of *Adel* or *Zeila*; and conſequently to have taken up ſeventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of *Cancer* to within ſix degrees of the Line. *Ludolfus* intimates, that the modern geographers, depending upon the authority of *Paulus Jovius*, have extended the ſouthern limits of *Abaſſia* much farther; but at the ſame time that author rightly obſerves them to be guilty of a miſtake. It is of no great conſequence to our readers how this point ſtands, and therefore we ſhall not dwell any longer upon it [b].

Different names of Ethiopia.

THE proper *Ethiopia* had various names given it by the antients. Sometimes they called it *India*, and its inhabitants *Indians*; which appellation they applied to many of the remoteſt nations, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Garamantes* (A). This country, or at leaſt a neighbouring part of

[b] STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. PTOL. ubi ſup. JOB. LUDOLF. in hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 2. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 88, 89. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4.

(A) *Bochart* thinks, that the *Garamantes* were a colony of the *Amantes* or *Hammanientes* of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, ſeated to the W. of the *Greater Syrtis*. This notion he grounds not only upon the neighbouring ſituation of thoſe nations, but likewiſe upon the affinity of their names. For, as גר *gar* ſignifies in *Hebrew to inhabit*, *Gar-Amante* might originally have denoted *The habitation* or *dwelling* of the *Amantes*; or rather גר *ger*, from the aforeſaid verb, may be naturally ſuppoſed to have ſignified *colonus*, *advena*, &c. and then *Gar-Amante* will be equivalent to *One belonging to a colony of the* Amantes. The laſt nation that ingenious author likewiſe believes to have been the ſame with the *Ammonii* or *Amonii*, whoſe name, by an eaſy tranſpoſition of letters, intirely agrees with that of *Moſes*'s *Anamim* or *Anamæi*. Several things, according to him, concur to render this conjecture probable: 1. The *Anamim* in all likelihood deduced their name from the word ענם *Anam*, which might have denoted a *ſheep* in the *Egyptian* language, as a word compoſed of the ſame letters did in *Arabic*. 2. According to ſome authors, the idol of *Jupiter*, in the territory of the *Ammonii*, was called *Ammon* from the *ram* that pointed out the ſpot of ground his temple was erected upon. And it is well known, that the *Ammonii*, in the opinion of the antients, were ſo denominated from *Ammon* or *Ammūn*, a name the *Egyptians* gave *Jupiter*. 3. That part of *Libya*, where *Moſes* ſeems to place the *Anamim*, abounded with ſheep, which ſupplied the natives not only with food, but cloaths, and agreed very well in ſituation with the country of the *Ammonii*. 4. The

of *Libya*, was likewise denominated *Atlantia* and *Ætheria*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, or, as *Hesychius* will have it, *Aeria*. It also went, in very early ages, under the name of *Cephenia*. But we apprehend it to have been most usually called *Abasene*, a word approaching very near, both in sound and signification, to the modern *Habash*, *Habesh*, or *Abassia*; the true etymology of which will be exhibited to our readers, when we come to the history of *Arabia* [c].

On the other hand, we find *Chaldæa*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, &c. stiled *Ethiopia* by some very good authors; nay, it must be allowed, that the antients called all those countries, extending themselves beyond each side of the *Red Sea*, indifferently *India* or *Ethiopia*. The eastern people at this day sometimes name that kingdom *India*, which the *Europeans* call *Abassia*, particularly the *Persians*, who for the most part give the appellation of *Siah Hindou* or *Hindi*, to an *Abassine* or modern *Ethiopian*. It appears from several authors, that the *Red Sea* itself went formerly under the name of the *Indian Sea*; and *Ludolfus* observes, that the antients denominated all those

[c] Plin. l. vi. c. 30. Herodot. Strab. ubi sup. Hesych. Agatharchides Cnidius de Mar. Rubr. l. i. c. 3. apud Phot. in bibliothec. p. 1323. Philostorgius apud Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4. aliique mult. Vid. etiam Le Grand. dissert. ii.

The idol of *Jupiter Ammon* had either *ram*'s horns, or a ram's head upon it; which seemed to point at the origin of the word *Anamim*. If we admit what *Bochart* has advanced on this occasion, the etymon of the name *Nasamones* or *Nasamon*, applied to a neighbouring people, may easily be discovered. For *Nasamon*, on this supposition, must be apparently the same as נשי אמון *Nase-Amon*, i. e. *Homines Amon* or *Ammonii*; and consequently the *Nasamones*, as well as the *Garamantes*, were a branch of the *Anamim*. That the *Garamantes*, in their own tongue, were stiled *Gar-Amane*, *Ger-Amane*, or, by contraction, *Gar-Ame*, *Ger-Ame*, &c. appears from the name of their metropolis *Garama*, or, as the *Nubian* geographer intimates it to have been denominated in his time, *Germa*. This observation will go a good way towards confirming those ingenious conjectures which we have here inserted from the learned *Bochart*; especially, since *Herodotus* affirms that part of *Libya* adjacent to the country of the *Ammonii* to have been famous for the sheep it abounded with. These nations were nearly related to the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from the same *Herodotus* (1).

(1) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Hygin. Germanic. in Arat. Mel. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 5. *Solin. c.* 28. *Gen.* x. 13. *Geogr. Nub. clim.* ii. *par.* 1. *Boch. Phal. l.* iv. *c.* 30. *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p.* 90.

nations

nations under the *Torrid Zone*, whose names they were ignorant of, *Indians* [d].

Called in Scripture Cush.

ACCORDING to the *Jews*, the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgate*, and other versions (B), *Cush*, when taken for a country in

[d] PROCOP. GAZ. comment. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. JOS. SCALIG. in comp. eccles. Æthiop. THEODOR. in hist. ecclesiast. l. i. c. 22. LE GRAND ubi sup. & I. LUDOLF. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1.

(B) The eastern people affirm *Cush* the son of *Canaan*, and grandson of *Ham*, to have had a son whose name was *Habaschi* or *Haboschi*, the father of the *Abyssinians* or *Egyptians*, whom the *Persians* call *Black Indians*. The *Hebrew* grammarians derive the word *Habaschah*, which signifies *Ethiopia*, from *Habouscha*, which denotes a people raised from a mixture of different nations, originally of different countries. According to *D'Herbelot* and others, the *Abyssinians*, *Nubians*, and *Fungi*, are all comprehended under the word *Habasch*. The inspired writers are silent as to *Cush* the son of *Canaan*, and his son *Habaschi*. We find mention made there only of *Cush* the son of *Ham*, and his sons *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and *Nimrod*. It is said, that *Arabia Felix* went formerly under the name of *Ethiopia*, because the *Abyssinians*, who conquered it, possessed it for a long time. *Dhou-Iren* king of *Yaman* drove them from thence with the assistance of the *Persians*. Some authors believe, that by *Cush* upon the river *Gihon* is meant only the antient country of the *Scythians* upon the *Araxes*. *Herodotus* intimates, that the first habitation this people had was upon the *Araxes*; and that, being forced from thence by the *Massagetæ*, they passed this river, and retired into the country of the *Cimmerians*. *Justin* makes the *Phasis* and *Araxes* to be, as it were, the limits of the *Scythians* on the south side. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that the *Scythians*, who were near *Media*, abode at first upon the *Araxes*, and that the *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ* are different branches of the *Scythians*. The words *Cuthæi* and *Cuthæ*, whence some have deduced *Scythæ* or *Scuthæ*, are the same as *Cush*. The *Chaldees* generally put the *Tau* where the *Hebrews* use *Schin*, and therefore say *Cut* or *Cuth* instead of *Cush*. The *Cuthæans*, who came to and inhabited the country of *Samaria*, did originally belong to that part of *Media*, which bordered upon the *Caspian* sea, and therefore most have appertained to the *Cush* we are speaking of. There are very sensible footsteps of this name to be met with in various parts round about this country, as the district of *Cotacene*; the cities of *Citamum*, *Cotomana*, *Cyta*, *Cotaca*, *Cotamba*, *Cotæa*; the *Cotyi*, *Cossæi*; river of *Cissa*, &c (2).

(2) *D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p.* 409. *Gen.* x. 7, 8. *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 201. *& l.* iv. *c.* 11. *Justin. l.* i. *& l.* ii. *Diod. Sic. l.* xi. *p.* 355. *Ptol. pass. Valer. Flac. l.* vi. *v.* 693. *Steph. Byzant. Propert. ex emend. Scalig. l.* i. *el.* 1.

Scripture,

Scripture, is always to be underſtood of the *Proper Ethiopia*. This notion is ſupported by *Philo*, *Joſephus*, *Eupolemus* in *Euſebius*, *Euſtathius*, the author of the *Alexandrian* chronicon, and the concurrent teſtimony of the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers. Notwithſtanding which, *Bochart*, depending upon the authority of *Jonathan*'s *Targum*, and ſeveral plauſible arguments, affirms the land of *Cuſh* to have been ſituated in *Arabia*; and conſequently maintains, that *Cuſh* never in Scripture denotes the *Proper Ethiopia*. But neither of theſe opinions ought to be looked upon as ſtrictly true. For *Cuſh* is ſometimes in Scripture undoubtedly to be taken for the *Proper Ethiopia*, as may be evinced not only by the great authorities above-mentioned, but ſeveral circumſtances likewiſe, *which* evidently point at that country. And, on the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that ſome of the ſacred writers give the name of *Cuſh* to the whole peninſula of *Arabia*, or a part of it bordering upon the *Red Sea*, or both. When the prophet *Jeremiah* aſks his countrymen, *Whether the* CUSHITE *can change his ſkin?* he muſt be conſidered as having in his eye a proper *Ethiopian*. For the nation there pointed at was black, differing greatly in colour from the *Jews*; the prophet's queſtion being proverbial, of the ſame import with that common adage of profane writers, *to waſh the* ETHIOPIAN *or* BLACKMOOR *white*. Now this cannot be underſtood of the *Arabs*, who were of much the ſame complexion with the *Jews*, as *Bochart* himſelf not only allows, but proves; whereas the *Abaſſines*, or proper *Ethiopians*, might eaſily and naturally have given occaſion to ſuch a proverb. In the book of *Iſaiah* we find *Egypt*, *Pathros*, and *Cuſh*, joined together, and conſequently *Cuſh* taken for *Ethiopia*. For it appears from various authors, and even *Bochart* himſelf, that the land of *Pathros* was either the *Upper Egypt*, or a part of that country near the confines of *Ethiopia*; and therefore *Cuſh*, in this paſſage, muſt naturally refer to *Ethiopia*, ſince the region here denoted by that word was S. of the *Upper Egypt*, and contiguous to it. In defence of our ſecond aſſertion, ſeveral paſſages of Scripture may likewiſe be produced. When the LORD threatened *Egypt* with utter deſolation, he declared, *That* HE *would lay it waſte from the tower of* SYENE *to the border of* CUSH (C). Now that *the border of*

(C) Our readers will obſerve, that, out of complaiſance to a great number of learned men, we have here given this text the moſt received interpretation; tho' we muſt own ourſelves by no means inclinable to come into it. The words in the original are: ממגדל סונה ועד גבול כוש i. e. *From* MIGDOL *to* SYENE, *and*

of CUSH *and the tower of* SYENE are intended here to represent two opposite limits of *Egypt*, cannot be denied; and that *Syene* was the *Egyptian* frontier on the side of *Ethiopia*, appears from *Pliny* and *Strabo*. Wherefore *Cush* here evidently denotes *Arabia*, or at least that part of it adjacent to *Egypt*, which was diametrically opposite to the tower of *Syene*, and not *Ethiopia*, whose border extended to that tower. *Moses*'s wife *Zippora* was a native of *Cush*, and at the same time

and the border of CUSH: or *From* MIGDOL *and* SYENE, *and to the border of* CUSH. If we admit the first of these translations, we must suppose an Ellipsis of the preposition עד betwixt ממגדל and סונה, than which nothing is more frequent in the *Hebrew* Scripture; as may be inferred from *Deut.* xxxiii. 17. *Mich.* vii. 12. and many other passages enumerated by *Noldius*. If we prefer the latter, we must admit a suppression of the Copulative ו before סונה, which is likewise extremely common in the original of the *Old Testament*, as appears from *Gen.* xxvii. 33. *Cant.* viii. 6. *Jud.* ix. 2. and an infinite number of other instances produced by the same *Noldius*. Now *Migdol* is the proper name of a town about twelve miles from *Pelusium*, on the *Nile*, near the coast of the *Mediterranean*, and diametrically opposite to *Syene*; and of course, in conjunction with *Syene*, denotes the whole breadth of the land of *Egypt*, agreeably to the prophet's intention. This city we find mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah*, xliv. 1. and xlvi. 14. who joins it with *Tahpanhes*, or, as the *Greeks* called it, *Daphne*, and *Daphnæ Pelusiæ*, another city in the neighbourhood of *Pelusium*. This circumstance, in conjunction with the *Septuagint*, which has there ἐν Μαγδωλῷ, *at* Migdol, and εἰς Μαγδωλὸν, *in* Migdol, renders extremely probable the version of this passage, which we would propose to the consideration of our learned readers. In the mean time we cannot but own ourselves greatly surprised at *Cellarius*, who has with so much boldness insinuated, or rather affirmed, that the *Greek* interpreters have, in agreement with the *Vulgate*, translated the text at present under consideration ἀπὸ πύργου Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων· Whereas both the *Vatican* and *Alexandrian* MSS. of the *Septuagint* have it ἀπὸ Μαγδωλοῦ καὶ Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων· Which, togegether with the *Arabic* version expressing it *From* MIGDOL *and* ASUAN *to the borders of* ETHIOPIA, seems to render indisputable what is here advanced; and consequently, to evince, that this famous passage is so far from proving *Cush* to point out *Arabia*, that, on the contrary, it evidently demonstrates that word sometimes to denote the *Proper Ethiopia* (3).

(3) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 30. *Steph. Byzant. de urb. Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 8. *Vid. etiam Val. Schind. pentaglot. p.* 281. *& Christiani Noldii concord. particular. Ebræc-Chaldaic. cum annotat. Joh. Gottfr. Tympii, Jenæ,* 1734.

a *Midi-*

a *Midianite*. The prophet *Habakkuk* makes the territories of *Cuſhan* or *Cuſh*, and *Midian* or *Madian*, to have been the ſame. *Joſephus*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Jerom*, mention a city of *Arabia* on the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, called *Madian*. From all which we may infer, that part of *Arabia* at leaſt goes ſometimes in Scripture under the name of *Cuſh*. *Job* intimates, that *Cuſh* was famous for the excellent topazes it produced. Now none of the antients have taken notice of the *Ethiopian* topaz; whereas *Pliny* relates, that the beſt topazes came from the *Arabic* iſland *Chitis* or *Chutis*, whoſe name ſeems to have been the ſame with *Cuſh* or *Cuth*. *Agatharchides Cnidius*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, have likewiſe mentioned this iſland. From hence, therefore, it appears, that ſome of the ſacred writers denominated at leaſt part of *Arabia Cuſh*. *In that day*, ſays the LORD, *ſhall meſſengers go from me in ſhips, to make the careleſs* CUSHITES *afraid*, &c. Which menace may be ſuppoſed more properly to point at the *Arabs*, whom the *Egyptians* and others viſited in ſhips on the *Red Sea*, than the *Ethiopians*, with whom they had a communication by land. But, to omit other paſſages that occur, both the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* might have very properly been ſtiled *Cuſhites*, ſince the deſcendents of *Cuſh* formed a great part of both nations. Nay, that the *Arabs* themſelves had the appellation of *Ethiopians*, and *Aſiatic Ethiopians*, clearly follows from what has been advanced by *Xenophon* and *Herodotus*. However, we cannot help thinking, that the antient *Hebrews* rightly looked upon the *Ethiopians* as the proper *Cuſhites*. For *Zerah*'s moſt formidable army conſiſted chiefly of *Cuſhites*, neighbours to the *Libyans*, i. e. the *Ethiopians*, of which people only he is called king by the ſacred hiſtorian; though from Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and what we have already obſerved, it may be proved, that he was in poſſeſſion of all the dominions of *Seſac*, i. e. *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Troglodytica*, *Arabia*, &c. The extremely numerous hoſt he commanded adds great weight to this notion. *Pliny* intimates, that the *Ethiopians*, whom he diſtinguiſhes from the *Arabians*, were maſters of *Egypt* not long before the deſtruction of *Troy*; which, conſidering that this period falls in with the time of *Zerah*, brings no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to what is here advanced [e].

WE

[e] PHILO JUDÆUS, HIERONYM. EUSEB. EUSTATH. Auct. chron. Alexandr. aliiq; apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. EUPOLEM. apud Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. ix. JONATH. Targ. in Gen. x. 6. & alib. Exod. ii. 16. 21. Num. xii. 1. ISAI. xi. 11. JER. xiii. 23. EZEK. xxix. 10. HABAK. iii. 7. JOB xxviii. 19. EZEK. xxx. 9. 2 Chron. xiv. 9. & xvi. 8. JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7. PLIN. l. v. c. 9.

We cannot therefore allow, that *Ludim* is the only name given in Scripture to the *Ethiopians*, as M. *Bochart* undertakes to proves. Moſt of the arguments he offers to evince this point are extremely frivolous, as our readers will find upon an examination of them, and the others not of any conſiderable force. But, ſuppoſing them to prove, that the word *Ludim*, in all places of Scripture he cites on this occaſion, is to be underſtood of the *Ethiopians*, which is the utmoſt that he could ever have pretended to; yet it will not follow from hence, that *Ethiopia* is never called *Cuſh* by any of the ſacred writers. Such an aſſertion cannot be maintained, tho' it ſhould be granted, as we are willing to do, that part of the *Ludim* took up their habitations in *Ethiopia*. And yet ſeveral learned men have come into *Bochart*'s opinion [f].

Different nations of Ethiopia.

The antients believed the blackneſs of the *Abaſſines* or *Abyſſinians* to be occaſioned by the intenſe heat of their climate, and therefore called them *Ethiopians*. We find them likewiſe called *Ætherii* and *Aerii* by *Heſychius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Pliny* relates, that the *Blemmyes*, an *Ethiopian* nation ſeated near the borders of *Egypt*, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breaſts. This ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might poſſibly proceed from their having very ſhort necks. However, that ſome *Blemmyan* captives exhibited an extremely odd appearance at *Rome*, we learn from *Vopiſcus*. The *Nobatæ* inhabited one of the banks of the *Nile*, near the iſland *Elephantine*, having been removed thither from *Oaſis*, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repreſs the courſes of, the *Blemmyes*. Some authors refer the *Troglodytes* to *Egypt*, and others to *Ethiopia*. Be that as it will, they were a very ſavage nation, living in caves, according to *Strabo*, feeding upon ſerpents, lizards, *&c.* and having a language conſiſting of no articulate ſounds, but reſembling the ſhrieking of bats, according to *Herodotus*. The *Nubians* we find juſt mentioned by the antients as a people of *Ethiopia*, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors aſſert the *Pygmies* to have been a canton of the *Troglodytes*, and others one of the *Nubians*. But it is generally agreed, that they had their ſituation not far from the

c. 9. ex emend. P. Harduini. Strab. l. xvii. Joseph. apud Boch. ubi ſup. Hieronym. apud Cellar. l. iii. c. 14. Ptol. in Arab. Plin. l. xxxi. c. 8. Agatharchides Cnidius, Diod. Sic. & Strab. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. & ſeq. & l. vii. c. 69. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. vi. c. 1. Newton's chronol. p. 236. Herodot. l. ii. c. 110. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. P. Harduin. in chronol. vet. teſt. p. 57.

[f] Bochart, Phal. l. iv. c. 2. 6.

Ethiopic shore of the *Red Sea*. *Nonnosus* in *Photius* tells us, that they were extremely short, black, and hairy all over. Most of these nations are represented by *Strabo* as inconsiderable, and little better than so many gangs of robbers. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Troglodytes*, including the *Pygmies* or *Pygmæi*, were stiled by the *Hebrews* סכיים, i. e. *Succhæi*, from סכה *succhah, a den*; for that word signifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence, it is natural to suppose, the *Troglodytic* town *Succha*, on the coast of the *Red Sea*, mentioned by *Pliny*, the modern *Suaquem*, the seat of a *Turkish* Bashaw, deduced its name. In support of this notion it may be observed, that the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* versions render סכיים Τρωγλοδύται, *Troglodytæ*, a word derived apparently from τρώγλη, i. e. *a cave, den, passage*, &c. and rank this people among the *Cushites*, *Libyans*, and other nations, that formed the numerous army of *Sesac*. The *Aualitæ* or *Abalitæ* were seated near the *Abalitic* gulph; which is all that we have to say of them. *Agatharchides*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Agathemerus*, inform us, that the *Struthophagi*, who lived upon ostriches as big as stags, were seated immediately to the south of the *Memnones*. The *Acridophagi*, *Chelonophagi*, *Ichthyophagi*, *Cynamolgi*, *Elephantophagi*, *Rhizophagi*, *Spermatophagi*, *Hylophagi*, *Ophiophagi*, &c. derived their names from the locusts, tortoises, fish, bitches milk, elephants, *&c.* they fed upon. The *Acridophagi* were very small, swift, black, and short-lived, the oldest of them not exceeding forty years of age. They used locusts for food, with which they were plentifully supplied by certain winds that covered their country with them, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. As for the *Chelonophagi*, they covered their houses with the shells of tortoises, and lived upon their flesh. The *Ichthyophagi* occupied a maritim part of *Ethiopia*, bordering on the *Red Sea*, and not far from the frontiers of *Egypt*. As they lived upon all kinds of fish, large as well as small, *Aben-Ezra* takes them to be the ציים *Tziim* of the Psalmist, to whom God gave the heads of *Leviathan*, under which name, according to that author, *Moses* comprehends all fish of a vast size, for meat. This notion seems to receive some accession of strength from several circumstances. The *Troglodytes* made their very bread of the flesh of fishes dried in the sun. The Psalmist, in the passage referred to, is speaking of *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who were drowned in the *Red Sea*, and afterwards thrown upon the *Troglodytic* shore. *Tziim* properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, such as was that of the *Troglodytes*; and other texts of Scripture, compared with this, not a little favour such an opinion. They built their houses of whalebones, and shells of fishes. The ribs served

for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their very cattle with fish. Some of them inhabited caves in mountains, formed by vaſt quantities of ſea-weed from time to time thrown on ſhore, and conſolidated by the force of the tide beating upon it, and perpetually bringing a freſh acceſſion of matter to it, together with the heat of the ſun. From this, as well as from what has been advanced by ſeveral authors, it appears, that the *Red Sea* was exceeding ſhallow at certain times; that it was covered with an immenſe quantity of this ſea-weed, which gave it a very green colour; and that from hence the *Hebrews* denominated it ים סוף *yam ſuph*, i. e. *The ſea of the weed.* The *Cynamolgi* kept great numbers of dogs, in order to hunt wild beaſts, and ſometimes fed upon bitches milk. *Pliny* fabulouſly relates, that they had dogs heads. The *Elephantophagi* ſeem to have had their ſituation in the ſouthern parts of *Ethiopia*, and deſtroyed elephants in a very dextrous manner, as will be related elſewhere. The *Rhizophagi* were ſeated not far from the conflux of the *Aſtaboras*, *Aſtapus*, and the *Nile*. Their territory abounded with moraſſes, that produced a great number of canes, whoſe roots ſerved them for food. The *Spermatophagi* and *Hylophagi* formed two neighbouring cantons; the firſt of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in the ſummer, but the reſt of the year upon a ſweet plant, with a ſtalk ſomething reſembling that of a turnep; and the latter, with their wives and children, upon the buds and tender ſhoots of trees. The *Hylogones*, neighbours to the *Elephantophagi*, lived for the moſt part in the woods, and generally ſlept on trees. Their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beaſts, we ſhall hereafter deſcribe. The *Pamphagi* uſed every thing indiſcriminately for food; and the *Agriophagi* fed upon the fleſh of wild beaſts. The *Ophiophagi* or *Serpent-eaters* inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from *Pliny*. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* or *Man-eaters*, mentioned by *Marcianus* and *Ptolemy*, ſeem to have been the *Cafres*, and not a people of *Proper Ethiopia*. As for the *Gapachi*, *Ptoemphanes*, *Catadupi*, *Pechini*, *Catadræ*, and other obſcure *Ethiopic* tribes, we know nothing of them but their bare names. The number of nations inhabiting antient *Ethiopia* will not ſurpriſe us, when we have ſeen *Ludolfus*'s deſcription of the kingdom of *Abyſſinia* [g] (D).

THIS

[g] HERODOT. l. iv. PHILOSTRATUS & CTESIAS CNIDIUS apud Phot.

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the following: 1. The *Hippophagi* or *Horſe-eaters* of *Agathemerus*,

THIS region did not abound in cities and towns of any considerable note. *Auxume*, *Auxumis*, or *Axome*, the metropolis of *Ethiopia*, according to *Arrian* and *Nonnosus* in *Photius*, undoubtedly was the same city as the modern *Axuma*, or, as the *Abassines* call it, *Ascum*. The noble palace, beautiful structures, *&c.* this city was formerly so famous for, sufficiently appear from the present remains of it. It stands about forty-five *Portuguese* leagues from the *Red Sea*, and in 14° 30′ N. lat. It looks now like a village, being almost totally ruined, and scarcely affording shelter to an hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be seen here the remains of a magnificent temple, which have supported themselves against the injuries of time. The *Portuguese*, who first visited this country, called *Axuma* corruptly *Chaxumo* or *Cassumo*. Behind the temple above-mentioned, which was an hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each side, and a double porch, with an ascent of twelve steps, stand several obelisks of different sizes, and others have been thrown down by the *Turks*. Amongst the rubbish is a great square stone, on which appears some part of an antient inscription, so effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing can be distinguished except some *Greek* and *Latin* letters, and the word *Basilius*. When the *Abassine* monarchs were formerly crowned here, they sat on a throne of stone in the inner porch of the aforesaid temple. *Pselchis* or *Pselcha*, and *Premnis*, through which *Petronius* marched in his

Cities.
Auxume.

Phot. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de Mar. Rubr. l. iii. in excerptis PHOTII. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. & l. xvii. MEL. l. iii. c. 8. & alib. PLIN. l. vi. c. 24. 29. 30. & alib. pass. ARRIAN. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. OLYMPIODORUS apud Photium, p. 112. PTOL. l. iv. c. 8. FLAVIUS VOPISCUS in Prob. c. 17. PROCOP. de bell. Pers. l. i. c. 19. ZOSIM. l. i. c. 71. ANTONIN. itinerar. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. x. c. 4. DIONYS. AF. v. 220. CLAUDIAN. de Nil. v. 19. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 5. NONNUS Dionys. 17. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. in peripl.

rus, who were bounded on the south by the northern borders of *Libya Incognita*. 2. The *Macrobii*, a powerful nation, some of whom attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years, according to *Herodotus*. 3. The *Sambri*, not far from the *Nubian* city *Tenupsis* upon the *Nile*, all whose quadrupeds, even the elephants themselves, were without ears. 4. The *Asachæ*, a mountainous people continually employed in hunting of elephants (4).

(4) *Herodot. l.* iii. *Agathemer. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 30.

Ethiopic expedition, ſtood upon the weſtern bank of the *Nile*; but their true ſituation cannot be diſcovered. *Napata*, where *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* reſided, was on the oppoſite bank; but in what direction it is to be ſought for, we cannot preciſely inform our readers. *Ptolemy* mentions two towns called *Premis* or *Primis*, one of which might poſſibly have been the *Premnis* of *Strabo*. The emporia or marts of *Malis*, *Mondus*, *Abalis*, *Moſylon*, *Coloe*, and *Opone*, probably made a good figure in antient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. *Petronius* reduced *Pſeltha*, *Premnis*, and *Napata*, in the above-mentioned expedition, raſing *Napata*, and leaving a gariſon of four hundred men in *Premnis*, with proviſions for two years. *Pliny* mentions a city of the *Nubians* upon the *Nile* called *Tenupſis*, with which poſſibly either *Couxa*, *Nuvâla*, *Galva*, *Duncâla* or *Ielâc*, all placed by the *Nubian* geographer near the conflux of the *Nile* and the *Aſtaboras*, may correſpond. *Duncâla*, the *Dumcâla* of *Jacutus*, the *Dungâla* of *Leo*, and the preſent *Dongola*, the capital of the *Nubians*, all whoſe cities are ſeated upon the *Nile*, ſeems to bid the faireſt for it. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deſerve the leaſt attention [h].

Mountains.

ETHIOPIA, as appears from the beſt modern geographical deſcriptions of *Abaſſia*, as well as the antients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note taken notice of by the antients, except the mounts *Garbata*, and *Elephas* or *Phalangis*. Whether or no the mountains of *Tigre*, the higheſt of which is *Lamalmon*, beginning about two days journey from the *Red Sea*, anſwer to either of theſe, we ſhall not preſume to aſſert; though that they did, by the ſituation aſſigned them, ſeems not improbable. Be that as it will, the path over *Lamalmon*, whoſe aſcent is vaſtly ſteep and dangerous, is ſo narrow, that the perſon who gives way to another there falls headlong into an abyſs, and is irrecoverably loſt. Several provinces of *Abaſſia*, to wit, *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder*, *Gojam*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, &c. are but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are thoſe of *Amhara* and *Samen*. The *Aorni*, as the *Abaſſines* call them, are rugged rocks of ſuch an incredible height, that the *Alps* and

[h] STRAB. MEL. PLIN. ARRIAN. PTOL. MARCIAN. HERACL. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi ſup. NONNOSUS apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 90, 91. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. par. 4. LEO AFRICAN. l. vii. c. ult. FRANCISC. ALVAREZ, c. 17. & apud GOLIUM, ubi ſup. I. LUDOLF. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 251, 252, & ſeq. Vid. etiam LUDOLF. l. ii. c. 11. & LE GRAND, diſſert. ii.

Pyrenees

Pyrenees are but low hills in comparison of them. *Curtius* relates, that the *Indians* called a famous rock in their country *Aornos*, as being above the flight of a bird; but that author mistakes the etymology, since the word, from what has been here observed, cannot be looked upon as of *Greek* extraction. Amongst the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of *Abassia*, arise steep and craggy rocks of various forms, some resembling towers, others pyramids, *&c.* so even on the sides, that they seem to be the effect of labour and art; insomuch that men, cattle, *&c.* are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of these rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, fish-ponds, *&c.* which very copiously supply the animals seated thereon with all the conveniencies of life. The most remarkable of these rocks is *Geshen* or *Amba-Geshen*, on the confines of *Amhara*, towards *Shewa*, prodigiously steep, in the form of a castle built of freestone, and almost impregnable. Its summit is about half a *Portuguese* league in breadth, and its circumference at the bottom near half a day's journey. The ascent at first is easy, but afterwards so steep and rugged, that the *Abassine* oxen, which will otherwise clamber like goats, must be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages amongst shrubs and wild cedars, with an allowance barely sufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to *Kircher*, in the province of *Gojam*, a rock so curiously hollowed by nature, that at a distance it resembles a looking-glass; and opposite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be so softly whispered, but that it may be heard a great way off. Between many of these rocks and mountains are vast profundities or abysses, which appear most dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above-mentioned *Amba*, as *Amba-Salam*, *Amba-Geshen*, *Amba-Dorho*, *Amba-Damo*, *Amba-Samet*, &c [i].

The climate of Ethiopia.

In so mountainous a region as *Ethiopia* the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where so many different seasons may be found in so small a compass. The *Ethiopic*, as well as the opposite coast of the *Red Sea*, together with those low open places called by the modern *Abassines Kolla*, and the islands of this sea, are intolerably scorched by the solar rays in the summer-season. Nay,

[i] Strab. l. xvii. Agathemer. geogr. l. ii. c. 15. Ludolf. l. i. c. 6. Curt. l. viii. P. Balthazar Tellez, apud Ludolf. ubi sup. ut & ipse Ludolf. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. pass. Le Grand, dissert. ii. Athan. Kirch. in musurg. univers. t. iii. l. ix. c. 6.

Gregory the *Abaſſine* related the heat in the iſland of *Suaquemæ* or *Suaquena* to be ſo intenſe, as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard *Indian* wax in a cabinet, and ſear a garment like red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; nay, according to father *Tellez*, the ſummer heats are milder in ſeveral diſtricts of *Abaſſia* than in *Portugal*; and even in *Samen* the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In ſome provinces of *Ethiopia* the winter is extremely ſevere, in others as warm as the ſummer in ſeveral parts of *Europe*. The *Ethiopians* have little or no ſnow, but only a ſmall ſort of hail, that ſometimes covers the ground, and at a diſtance looks like ſnow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempeſts, that terrify both man and beaſt, which proceed from the exceſſive variety of air. *Ludolfus* thinks, that *Gregory*'s four ſeaſons, *Matzau*, *Tzadai*, *Hagai*, and *Cramt*, are in reality but three; to wit, the ſpring, ſummer, and winter. The ſpring begins on the twenty-fifth day of *September*; the ſummer conſiſts of two parts, the firſt called *Tzadai*, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of *December*, and the ſecond denominated *Hagai* in the *Abaſſine* tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of *June*; laſtly, *Cramt*, or the winter, concludes the *Ethiopic* year. The climate here in general is ſo healthy, that it is no uncommon thing for the natives to arrive at an hundred years of age. However, towards the beginning of the ſpring, that is to ſay, in the months of *September* and *October*, an epidemic fever ſometimes makes great havock amongſt the inhabitants of *Tigre* [k].

THE days and nights in *Ethiopia*, as lying betwixt the tropic of *Cancer* and the *Line*, are for the moſt part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are, generally ſpeaking, ſalubrious and pleaſant; but the atmoſphere over the plains, for want of them, ſtagnates, and becomes unwholſome. The wind *Sendo*, however, is far from being beneficial to the *Abaſſines*. It is a whirlwind ſo impetuouſly violent, that it throws down all before it; and therefore in ſome reſpect may ſeem to anſwer its name, which in the *Amharic* dialect ſignifies a ſerpent or ſnake. *Gregory* told *Ludolfus*, that it might be ſeen, and repreſented an immenſe ſerpent, whoſe head moved on the ground, and the body erected itſelf in curls and windings up to the ſky. The ſoil in thoſe parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces väſt quantities of grain, pulſe, and fruit. Metals likewiſe, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a ſur-

[k] NONNOSUS apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. ∑ GREGOR. ABASSIN. apud Iob. Ludolf. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 5.

priſing

prising variety of animals, it abounds with; but these our readers will expect a description of in another place. We find it asserted by the best authors, that the *Abassines* have sometimes two, and sometimes three, harvests in a year. They neither sow nor mow for the sake of their cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual distillation of moisture from the mountains, producing grass in great abundance, and covering the fields with a most beautiful verdure through all the different seasons of the year. Though they have most delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongst them, yet they almost intirely confine themselves to malt-liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in some parts of *Europe* [1] (D).

Rivers. OF all the rivers that water *Ethiopia*, the most famous is *The* Nile. the *Nile*, which has its source in that country. Many of the antient geographers, and in particular *Ptolemy*, placed the fountains of this river beyond the Line, on some mountains which they called *the mountains of the moon*. But the moderns, particularly the *Portuguese*, have discovered this to be a mistake. What they have advanced on this head has been, in a great measure, confirmed by *Gregory* the *Abassine* in a letter to the famous *Job Ludolfus*. According to that curious person, the spring-head of the *Nile* first appears in a tract called *Secut*, upon the top of *Dengla*, near the frontiers of *Gojam*, to the W. of *Bagemdra*, *Dara*, the lake of *Tzana*, and *Bada*. From thence it takes its course towards *Amhara*, leaving *Gojam* on the right, and *Bagemdra* on the left. Having passed the limits of *Amhara*, and in such a manner surrounded the kingdom of *Gojam*, as always to leave it on the right, it washes the confines of *Waleka*, and then approaches the fartheſt bounds of *Mugara* and *Shewa*. Then, running between *Bizama* and *Gonga*, it comes into the country of the *Chankalas*; from whence, winding to the right, and gradually leaving the western climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of *Sennar*. But, before its arrival there, it is greatly increased by the accession of two large rivers from

[1] STRAB. l. xvii. GREG. ABASS. ubi sup. PP. HIERONYM. LUP. BALTHAZ. TELLEZ. ALPHONS. MENDEZ. & IOB. LUDOLF. pass.

(D) This appears from what the young *Abassinian* told the learned gentleman hereafter mentioned at *Jerusalem*, and receives some accession of strength from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Those authors affirm this liquor to have been extracted from millet, as well as barley, and in flavour and excellency to have equaled wine (5).

(5) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *Strab. l.* xvii.

the

the eaſt, to wit, the *Tacaza* falling out of *Tigre*, and the *Guangua* deſcending from *Dambea*. After taking a view of the kingdom of *Sennar*, it moves to the borders of *Dongola*, and ſo to the kingdom of *Nubia* (E). From hence, turning to the right, it reaches at laſt a region called *Abrim*, where its ſtream becomes unnavigable by reaſon of the cliffs and rocks, and ſoon afterwards enters *Egypt*. The travelers therefore from *Sennar* and *Abaſſia*, after having paſſed thro' *Nubia*, leave the *Nile* to the E. and croſs upon camels a deſert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing elſe but ſand, is to be ſeen. From *Abrim* it continues its courſe to *Rif* or *Upper Egypt*, where the above-mentioned travelers again come up with it; and, after having traverſed the kingdom of *Egypt* in a northern direction, empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* neat *Alexandria*. Father *Payz*, who viewed the fountains of the *Nile* himſelf, ſays, that the ſource of this river conſiſts of two round ſpring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is quaggy and marſhy. However, the water does not iſſue out immediately from theſe two ſpring-heads, but from the foot of the hill, about a muſquet-ſhot from whence, towards the eaſt, the river begins to flow. Then, winding to the north about the fourth part of a *Portugueſe* league, it receives another river, and a little farther two more from the eaſt, ſoon after which it inlarges itſelf with the addition of ſeveral other ſtreams. Laſtly, about a day's journey farther it ſwallows up the river *Jema*; and, after flowing twenty *Portugueſe* leagues in a weſtern direction, turns to the eaſt, and plunges itſelf

(E) It is obſervable, that *Gregory* here diſtinguiſhes the kingdom of *Sennar* from that of *Nubia*, though at preſent they are looked upon to be the ſame. However, in our opinion, *Gregory*'s authority is ſuperior to that of *Pomet* and the miſſionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends. We find no mention of *Sennar* in any of that numerous tribe of *Oriental* and other authors cited by the excellent *Golius* in his incomparable notes upon *Alfraganus*, though they take notice both of *Nuba* or *Nubia*, and the country of the *Fungi*. Wherefore it ſhould ſeem probable, that *Sennar* is only a part of *Nubia*, or elſe a kingdom different from it. The *Nubian* geographer intimates, that in his time the city of *Somna*, probably *Sennar*, was an inconſiderable place, and its diſtrict or territory diſtinct from the kingdom of *Nuba* or *Nubia*. *Ludolfus* makes the modern kingdom of *Sennar* to be the ſame with the country of the *Fungi*, and a part of the antient *Nubia* (5).

(5) *Geogr. Nubienſ. clim.* i. *par.* 3. *ſub fin. Ludolf. hiſt. Æthiop. l.* i. *c.* 2.

into

into a vaſt lake (F). It is remarkable, that all the rivers of *Ethiopia*, at any conſiderable diſtance from the ocean, except the *Hanazo* riſing in *Hangota* or *Angote*, and the *Hawaſh* or *Aoaxe* running through the kingdoms of *Dawara* and *Fatagara* or *Fategur*, flow into the *Nile*. The *Eteſian* winds contribute little or nothing to the inundations of the *Nile*, as ſome authors have imagined; nor the ſnow melted from the *Ethiopian* mountains, according to others. This has been clearly evinced by *Seneca* and *Ludolfus*. But the prodigious maſs of waters flowing from all parts, and proceeding from the immoderate ſhowers with which the countries under the *Torrid Zone* are waſhed, when the ſun returns into the winter ſigns, undoubtedly occaſions them. *Juba* makes the *Nile* to have had its ſource in *Mauritania*, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which runs counter to fact, as well as moſt other authors who have treated of this river. Perhaps he might extend the ſouthern parts of *Mauritania* as far as the *Niger*, which agreed almoſt in all points with the *Nile*, as juſt obſerved; and therefore miſtake the latter for the former, which he might falſly imagine had its riſe in *Mauritania*, becauſe it ran by the borders of that region. *Strabo* countenances this opinion, when he intimates, that the rivers in the ſouthern parts of *Mauritania* abounded with animals and vegetables like thoſe produced in and about the *Nile* (G). The modern *Abaſſines*, tho' they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the *Nile* deduces its ſource, are far from being perfectly

(F) This is probably the lake of *Tzana*, through which the *Nile* paſſes, ſtill preſerving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the ſouth, it waſhes on the left hand the principal kingdoms of *Abaſſia*, to wit, *Bagemdra*, *Amhara*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, *Damota*, &c. and takes along with it the rivers of thoſe countries, to wit, the *Baſhlo*, *Tzohha*, *Kecem*, *Jema*, *Roma*, and *Woncit*. Then on the right hand ſurrounding *Gojam*, and ſwelled with the *Muga*, *Abaja*, *Aſwari*, *Temei*, *Gult*, and *Tzul*, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the weſt; leaves *Abaſſia* upon the right; and runs in a northern direction through ſeveral thirſty nations, and ſandy deſerts, in order to fertilize *Egypt* with its inundations (6).

(G) It is not improbable, that the *Segelmeſſa* was one of theſe rivers mentioned by *Strabo*; ſince, according to the *Nubian* geographer, it nearly reſembled the *Nile*, in almoſt all particulars. Nay, we are told, that the river *Sus* at preſent fertilizes all the adjacent country by its inundations, as the *Nile* does *Egypt*; which adds no ſmall weight to the authority of *Strabo* (7).

(6) *Greg. Abaſ. apud Ludolf. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Ludolf. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 122, 123, *& ſeq.* (7) *Geogr. Nubienſ. Moll, De la Croix, &c.*

perfectly acquainted with the course of that river after it leaves them. However, the constant and antient tradition amongst them is, that near a certain mountain, at some distance from the city of *Sennar*, it divides itself into two streams, one of which runs to the westward, and forms the river *Niger*, and the other in a northern direction takes its course through *Egypt*. This we learn from the *Nubian* geographer, who at the same time intimates, that the chanel running to the east of this mountain, watering *Nubia* and the land of *Egypt*, is divided in the *Lower Egypt* into four parts, three of which fall into the *Syrian* sea, and the other discharges itself into a salt lake near *Alexandria*. It is probable, that the separation of these two streams is caused by some rocky mountain meeting the river above-mentioned, and splitting it into two chanels. *Leo Africanus* adds great weight to the authority of the *Nubian* geographer, when he assures us, that the *Nile* flows through the region of the *Nigritæ*. The *Abassines*, according to *Gregory* above-mentioned, say, that the *Niger* separates from the *Nile* in the country of *Dongola*; that the greatest flow of water passes into *Egypt*; and that the other stream, descending towards the region of *Elway*, at last throws itself into the *Atlantic* ocean. All which seems to be confirmed by what we have lately observed from *Herodotus*; as well as by the express testimony of *Pliny*. For that author assures us, that the *Nile* and the *Niger* agree in colour and taste of water; produce the same sorts of reeds, papyrus, and animals; and increase, as well as overflow, at the same seasons. If the above-mentioned particulars be admitted, it seems possible for the king of *Abassia* either so to stop up the fountains of the *Nile*, or so to divert the course of the river proceeding immediately from thence, that *Egypt* should not be overflowed; which would prove the total ruin of that kingdom. This receives some accession of strength from *Elmacinus*, who relates, that the khalif *Mustansir* sent *Michael* the patriarch with magnificent presents to the *Abassine* monarch, to prevail upon him to open the chanel that conveyed water to *Egypt*, which for some time had been stopped. His petition that prince immediately granted. The consequence of which was, that the *Nile*, which had before greatly failed, rose three yards in one night, and rendered the land of *Egypt* as capable of cultivation as ever. This has induced some authors to assert, that the Grand Signor pays an annual tribute to the king of *Abassia*, that his *Egyptian* subjects may enjoy all the advantages of the *Nile*'s inundations, which their ancestors have done. *Gregory*, cited above, intimated to *Ludolfus*, that he had heard from some *Abassines* of undoubted veracity, that

near the *Cataracts* of the *Nile* the land to the eaſt was a perfect plain; and that, by only opening a paſſage through one mountain for this river, it would flow rather that way than into the *Mediterranean* through (H) *Egypt*. However, we muſt own ourſelves far from being certain as to this point; though a gentleman of great learning and veracity has informed us, that he met with a young *Abaſſine* at *Jeruſalem*, who intimated to him, that ſuch a kind of notion ſtill prevailed amongſt his countrymen. The preſent *Ethiopians* call their part of this river *Abawi*, though in the old *Ethiopic* language we find it ſtiled *Gejon* or *Gewon*, probably by an antient miſtake from the *Greek* word Γεὼν *Geon*, or *Hebrew Gihon*, *Gen.* ii. 13. ſince ſome authors have imagined that river to be the *Nile*. The prophets *Jeremiah* and *Iſaiah* give the river under conſideration the name of *Sihor* or *Sichor*, i. e. *The black river*, from the colour of its water, as the *Greeks* did that of *Melas*, and the *Latins Melo*, for the ſame reaſon. And, agreeably to this notion, *Virgil* ſays:

Et viridem Ægyptum *nigra fœcundat arena,*
Et diverſa ruens ſeptem diſcurrit in ora
Uſque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.
VIRG. *Georg. l.* iv. *v.* 291—293.

Dionyſius Afer and *Stephanus Byzantinus* ſay, that the *Ethiopians* denominated that part of this river running through their territories *Siris*, which is evidently the ſame as *Sihor*; but that, as ſoon as it reached *Syene*, it received the name of (I) *Nile*. Beſides the *Nile*, the antient geographers mention two

(H) It is obſervable, that the kings of *Abaſſia* are ſtill perſuaded, that the keys of the *Nile* are in their hands, and that they can, when they pleaſe, change its courſe, as the king *Teklimanout* intimated to the baſhaw of *Cairo* towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incenſed at the aſſaſſination of the ſieur *Du Roule*, a *Frenchman*, at *Sennar*, threatened the baſhaw with his reſentment, in caſe an immediate ſtop was not put to ſuch flagrant violations of the law of nations. He told him, that he could make the *Nile* the inſtrument of his vengeance, ſince GOD, by placing in his hands the fountains, paſſage, and increaſe, of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (8).

(I) To what has been ſaid of the *Nile*, we ſhall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch *Alphonſo Mendez*. "The "*Nile* (ſays he) receives ſeveral

(8) *See the ſequel to father Lobo's voyage to Abaſſinia.*

"rivers,

two other rivers, called *Aſtaboras* and *Aſtapus*, meeting near the iſland or peninſula of *Meroe*, and joining the *Nile* ſoon after.

" rivers, the moſt remarkable " of which are the *Baxilo* or " *Bachilo*, which divides the " kingdoms of *Bagemeder* or " *Bagemdra* and *Ambara*; the " *Gulcem*, which bounds the ſame " kingdom of *Ambara* and *Ole-* " *ca*; the *Maleck* and *Auguer*, " which, having joined their " ſtreams, water the countries, " of *Damot*, *Narea*, *Bizamo*, the " *Gafates*, and the *Gongas*. The " *Tacaza*, called by the antients " *Aſtaboras*, hath three different " ſources near the mountains, " which ſeparate the two king- " doms of *Angote* or *Angota* and " *Bagemeder*; it runs towards " the weſt through the deſert of " *Oldeba*; then, entering *Dam-* " *lar*, falls into a large bed of " ſands; and afterwards, having " croſſed part of the kingdom " of *Decan*, diſcharges itſelf into " the *Nile*. It is ſaid, that, be- " ſides crocodiles and river-horſes, " there are in this river abun- " dance of torpedoes, which im- " mediately benumb the arm of " any man that touches them. " The *Mareb*, riſing two leagues " from *Debaroa*, falls, after a " long courſe, from a rock thirty " cubits in height, and ſinks " under-ground; but in the win- " ter it runs through many other " provinces, and by the mona- " ſtery of *Alleluja*, and then " loſes itſelf. The army, when " they invaded theſe regions, dug " into the ſand, and found under- " ground both good water, and " excellent fiſh." To which we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin a ſhort deſcription of the courſe of the *Nile*, as delivered to us by the beſt modern geographers ſince the time of *Gregory* and *Ludolfus*. It riſes in the kingdom of *Gojam*, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of *Dambea* or *Tzana*. Afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of *Bagemeder*, or, as *Gregory* calls it, *Bagemdra*. Then, ſtill running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of *Ambara*. From whence, continuing its motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of *Oleca*, betwixt which and *Ambara* it receives a conſiderable river, as it did before the *Bachilo* on the confines of *Ambara* and *Bagemdra*. From the kingdom of *Oleca* it moves to that of *Choa* in the ſame direction, and from thence by *Debra* thro' *Galla*, and the kingdom of the *Cafates*, to that of *Gonga*. Afterwards it viſits the country of the *Changalas*, N. E. of *Gonga*. From thence, in a northern direction, it flows to the city and kingdom of *Sennar*. And then to *Corte* or *Corti* in *Nubia*, through the deſert of *Babiouda* N. W. of *Sennar*. Betwixt *Sennar* and *Corti* it paſſes by *Barbar*, near which is a *Cataract* N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the W. and reaches *Corte*. *Kaniſe* W. of *Corte* next receives a viſit from it; and then *Dongola* N. of *Kaniſe*. Continuing its courſe N. E. it arrives at the *Greater Cataract*; and afterwards takes its leave of *Nubia* near the *Leſſer Cataract*. Laſtly, having traverſed *Egypt* in a northern direction, it diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral mouths into the *Mediterranean*.

after. As these rivers had their sources to the east of the *Nile* (the first deducing its streams from the lake *Coloe* in the district of *Amaza*, and the other from some fountains betwixt the mounts *Garbata* and *Elephas*, not far from the *Aualitic* gulph), we must submit it to our readers, whether the present *Tacaza* and *Mareb*, considering the situation and direction assigned them by the modern geographers, do not intirely correspond with them. *Pliny*, *Heliodorus*, and *Strabo*, mention a third considerable river falling into the *Nile*, whose name they do not intirely agree in. But, as it has been omitted by several of the antient geographers, and especially by *Ptolemy*, who had the best means of informing himself as to the truth of every particular relating to it, we shall supersede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to say of the rivers of *Ethiopia* [m] (K).

[m] Greg. Abass. apud Ludolf. & ipse Ludolf. in hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. Mel. l. i. c. 9. & alib. Strab. l. xvii. & alib. Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. Herodot. l. ii. c. 34. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. i. Plin. l. v. c. 9. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Plutarch. Incert. Auct. Theophylact. Diod. Sic. Aristid. Dio, Strab. Heliodor. Theodoret. de increment. Nil. Virg. Georg. l. iii. Dionys. Af. v. 223. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Isai. c. xxiii. v. 3. Jer. c. ii. ver. 18. Heliodor. Æthiopic. l. x. Ptol. l. iv. Ennius apud Serv. in Æn. i. Senec. quæst. natural. l. iv. c. 2. Solin. c. 27. 43. Plin. l. v. c. 8. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. Georg. Elmacin. in hist Saracen. Leo African. l. i. c. 7. PP. Pays & Tellez. apud Ludolf. l. i. c. 8. Alf. d'Albuquer. comment. in Tellez. par. 4. c. 7. Athan. Kirch. in supplement. prod. & lexic. Copt. p. 524. c. 2. Is. Voss. de orig. Nil. & flumin. Vid. & Le Grand, dissert. iii.

ranean. Our curious readers will excuse this minute description of the source and course of a river so celebrated amongst the antients; especially as its head was unknown to them, and they endeavoured ineffectually to discover the causes of its inundations (9).

(K) We must not omit observing, that, as the advantages afforded the fields in other countries by the rains are derived from the rivers in *Ethiopia*, the places perfectly dry in winter are overflowed in summer. Several of these rivers do not empty themselves into the sea, as in other regions, but are sucked up in the sand; so that it is more difficult to discover their mouths than the sources of other streams (1).

(9) *Alphons. Mendez. apud Le Grand, dissert. iii.*

(1) *Ludolf. in præfat. ad hist. Æthiop.*

We

Lakes, promontories, ports, &c.

We find no remarkable fountains and lakes in *Ethiopia*, besides the sources of the rivers above-mentioned, except the lake of *Pseboa* above *Meroe*, that of *Tzana* being, as far as we can collect from the old geography, unknown to the antients. The principal promontories were, *Basium*, *Mnemium*, *Aspis*, *Saturni promontorium*, *Mosylon*, *Dire*, *Zengisa*, *Noti Cornu*, *Prasum*, and *Raptum*, the last of which was inhabited by *Cannibals* or *Anthropophagi*. But the three last capes seem rather to have belonged to the *Cafres* or *African* barbarians, than the proper *Ethiopians*. The chief ports and empories of *Ethiopia* were those of *Adulis*, *Mondus*, *Opone*, *Mosylon*, and the principal city of the *Aualitæ*, seated upon the *Red Sea*. From their country into these places the *Arabs* imported fruit, corn, wine, cloaths, *&c.* and exported from thence to *Ocelis* and *Musa*, opposite harbours in *Arabia*, spices, cassia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and several other (L) commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortress of *Sabid*, probably the *Sabat* of *Ptolemy*, now in a ruinous condition. The most noted islands appertaining to *Ethiopia* were *Meroe*, if that should not rather be deemed a peninsula, the *Sporades* of *Agatharchides*, *Astratæ*, *Ara Palladis*, *Gythitis*, *Myronis*, *Daphnine*, *Magi*, *Acanthine*, *Isis*, *Mondus*, and *Menuthias* (M). *Meroe* contained a large tract, together with a very considerable city, its metropolis, of the same name. *Josephus* informs us, that its original name was *Saba*; but that *Cambyses*, from his sister, afterwards called it *Meroe*; which seems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, tho' it does not appear from *Herodotus*, that this prince penetrated so far into *Ethiopia*. *Timosthenes*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*'s admiral, related, that the city of *Meroe* was sixty days journey from *Syene*. *Eratosthenes* made this distance six hundred and twenty-five miles; *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* five thousand stadia, which agrees with *Era-*

(L) It is remarkable, that most of these commodities have for a long time failed in *Ethiopia*, as the *Lotus* and *Silphium* in *Egypt*, and *Cyrenaica*; but *Arabia* and *India* sufficiently supply the *European* merchants with them (2).

(M) To which we may add the island in the great lake of *Pseboa*, sometimes occupied by the *Libyans*, and at other times by the *Ethiopians*, just as success attended their respective arms, according to *Strabo*. From the situation that author assigns this lake, in conjunction with what we shall offer concerning *Meroe* in note (N), our readers may possibly be induced to believe, that the present lake of *Tzana* or *Dambea* is the *Pseboa* of the antients (3).

(2) *Bochart. ubi sup.* (3) *Strab. l.* xvii.

tosthenes;

toſthenes; *Artemidorus* ſix hundred miles; and *Seboſus* computed ſixteen hundred miles from the fartheſt or moſt northern part of *Egypt* to this famous town. But, according to *Pliny* (N), the road between *Meroe* and *Syene* was diſcovered in the

(N) The computation we find in *Pliny* is as follows: From *Syene* to *Hiera* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Tama* ſeventy-five miles; from thence to the borders of the *Ethiopians* called *Euonymites* an hundred and twenty miles; from thence to *Acina* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Pitara* twenty-five miles; from thence to *Tergedus* an hundred and ſix miles; from thence to *Napata* eighty miles; and laſtly, from *Napata* to the city of *Meroe* three hundred and ſixty miles.

What part of *Sennar* or *Abaſſia* anſwers to *Meroe*, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. The Jeſuits have pitched upon the kingdom of *Gojam*, as being almoſt encompaſſed by the *Nile*, and conſequently a peninſula, as *Meroe* was thought to have been by ſome of the antients. But M. *Ludolfus* has intirely overthrown this notion, by proving, amongſt other things, that nothing related of *Meroe* by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, is applicable to *Gojam*; *Meroe* being nearer *Egypt*. Beſides, as that learned author obſerves, had *Meroe* been *Gojam*, and the antients had known that country, they muſt conſequently have known the ſource of the *Nile*; which we find they did not. *Voſſius* believes the city *Baroo* or *Baroa*, ſituated in 16°. 22′. N. lat. where the *Bahrnagaſh* generally reſides, to correſpond with the capital of *Meroe*. As this opinion depends upon the ſuppoſition, that the preſent *Mareb* or *Moraba* is the *Aſtaboras* of the nations, which muſt be admitted, it ſeems to have ſome appearance of truth. Mr. *Senex*'s map of this country, which to us appears the moſt accurate of any that has hitherto been publiſhed, ſeems to point out the tract anſwering to the antient *Meroe*. We find there a ſort of peninſula with many of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of *Meroe* handed down to us by the antients. This peninſula is formed by the *Rahd*, the *Nile*, the *Goze*, the *Mareb* or *Moraba*, the *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, and a river compoſed of theſe three laſt, which unites its ſtream with that of the *Nile* in near 18°. N. lat. The chief places ſeated on the *Nile* in this peninſula are *Chanedi*, *Ghenedetoul*, *Garri*, *Helfaia*, *Cotragne*, *Nogue*, and *Habkharas*; upon the *Rahd Enbulbul* and *Geſen*; and upon the conflux of the *Moraba* and *Tacaza* the city of *Derkin* or *Dequin*. We have been thus particular, in order to give our readers a better idea of the tract we have in view. Now the peninſula of *Meroe* reſembled a ſhield, and was three thouſand ſtadia long, and one thouſand broad, according to *Strabo*; it was likewiſe ſurrounded on the weſt by the *Nile*, and on the eaſt by the rivers flowing into it. *Solinus* ſays, that *Meroe* was formed by the *Nile*, and ſix hundred miles from the ſea; and *Mela*, as corrected by *Salmaſius*, pretty

the reign of *Nero* to be eight hundred and seventy-four *Roman* miles long. The *Nubian* geographer does not differ greatly from some of these computations; for he intimates, that travelers are generally above two months in traversing *Nubia*, or that vast tract lying betwixt the confines of *Egypt* and *Abassia*. We find, that, when *Ethiopia* was in its most flourishing state, the city of *Meroe* made a prodigious figure, insomuch that, if some of the antients may be credited, it could send into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and contained four hundred thousand artificers, though in *Pliny*'s time it was but a small town. Several queens of this part of *Ethiopia*, called *Candace*, that having for a considerable number of years been a sort of surname to them, held their residence here. *Strabo* makes it to have been ten thousand stadia from *Alexandria*, and the capital of *Ethiopia*. As the other islands are in a manner obscure, they merit no regard; only it may be proper to observe, that *Hardouïn*, *Bochart*, and *Salmasius*, believe *Madagascar* to be the antient *Menuthias*, though *Isaac Vossius* takes it to have been the same with that island which the moderns call *Zanzibar*. How far either of these notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to say; neither is it of any consequence to our readers which of them, or whether either of them, is so [n].

THE

[n] HERODOT. l. ii. c. 29. STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. ii. c. 73. & l vi. c. 29, 30. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. AGATHARCHID. CNID. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. ubi sup. PTOL. ARRIAN. MARCIAN. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. DIOSCORID. l. i. ÆTIUS, tetrab. i. serm. 2. c. 156. SERAPION ex emend. Cl. Bocharti. PLIN. l. xii. c. 15. SIMEON SETHUS & GALEN. apud BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 23. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 878. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 37. GOLII notæ in Alfraganum, p. 89. HARDUIN. ad Plin. l. vi. c. 31. VOSS. ad Mel. p. 303. ATHAN. KIRCH. in Oedip. Ægypt. synt. i. c. 7. p. 57. LUDOLF. ubi sup. c. 8.

pretty nearly agrees with him. *Pausanias* intimates, that the *Nile* entered a great lake beyond *Meroe*, which it passed through, and traversed the whole country of *Ethiopia*. The rivers *Astapus* and *Astaboras*, i. e. the *Tacaza* and *Moraba*, joined the *Nile* above *Meroe*, i. e. the city of *Meroe*. All which particulars, as well as several others suggested by *Pliny*, *Timosthenes*, *Sebosus*, *Eratosthenes*, and the *Nubian* geographer, in the passages here referred to, considering the many turnings and windings of the *Nile*, are more applicable to the peninsula at present under consideration, than any other part of *Sennar* or *Abassia* that can be assigned for this purpose. From the same chart, and the authors

THE principal curiosities of this country are: 1. The rocks called *Amba-Dorho*, or *the rock of the hen* above-mentioned. 2. The solid gold found on the banks of several rivers about the size of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by *Pliny*, with which the provinces of *Damot* and *Enarea* are said to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold mines some parts of it are so famous for. 4. The mountains of salt in a district upon the confines of *Tigre* and *Angota*, called *the land of salt*. In the mountains the salt is soft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being exposed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red salt mentioned by the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, and said to be indued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral *stibium*, called in the *Ethiopic* tongue *cuehel* or *cohol*, which is produced in several provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the history of *Abyssinia* ° (O). *Curiosities*

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. *of the* Ethiopians.

IT appears from what has been advanced in the former section, that the sacred writers did not always apply the name of (P) *Cush* to one particular country. They sometimes under- *Antiquity of the* Ethiopians.

° STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. apud Ludolf. ut & ipse LUDOLF. l. i. c. 6, 7.

it is deduced from, we must allow it probable, that Mr. *Senex*'s river *Rahd*, arising out of *Dambea* east of the *Nile*, is the *Guangua* of *Gregory*; as also that the *Goze*, *Mareb* or *Moraba*, and *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, may be reputed the *Astosabas* or *Astusapes*, *Astaboras*, and *Astapus*, of the antients. Some modern writers seem inclined to believe, that the *Mareb* of the present *Abassines* answers to the *Astusapes* of the antients, though we have here supposed the *Goze* to be that river (4).

(O) To these curiosities we may add the gold mines near the coast of the *Red Sea* mentioned by *Agatharchides*; which, according to that author, also produced the finest and whitest marble in the world (5).

(P) Sometimes in Scripture the word *Cush* comprehends both *Arabia* and the *Proper Ethiopia*, as in *Ezek.* xxxviii. 5. Persia, Cush, *and* Libya *with them*; *all*

(4) *Pausan. Eliac. poster. Joseph. antiquit. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *Strab. l.* xvii. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 29. *Jesuit. Voss. & Ludolf. apud Le Grand, dissert.* ii. (5) *Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l.* v. *c.* 10. *apud Phot. p.* 1339. *Vid. etiam Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 8.

underſtood by it that region watered by the *Araxes*, which was the ſeat of the antient *Scythians* or *Cuthites*; and ſometimes that country bordering on the *Red Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*. In ſome paſſages likewiſe they ſeem to have had in view the whole peninſula of the *Arabs*, or at leaſt the greateſt part of that peninſula. But, notwithſtanding what has been offered to the contrary by many perſons of vaſt erudition, we cannot help believing, that it moſt uſually and properly denoted the tract ſituated above the *Upper Egypt*, comprehending the modern kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abaſſia*. In order to evince the probability of ſuch a notion, we ſhall not only beg leave to refer our readers to the remarkable paſſages already cited on this occaſion, but likewiſe obſerve, that the prophets *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, make the *Cuſhites* neighbours to the *Libyans*; which can only hold true of the proper *Ethiopians*. The Pſalmiſt alſo foretold, that Cuſh *ſhould ſtretch out her hands to* GOD; and the prophet *Zephaniah*, that *the ſuppliants of the* LORD, *from beyond the rivers of* Cuſh, *even the daughter of his diſperſed, ſhould bring* HIS *offering*. Both of which predictions ſeem clearly to point at the eunuch baptized by *Philip*, who came to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*. For, as he was treaſurer to queen *Candace*, it can ſcarce be doubted but that he and his retinue brought a valuable *offering* or donation with them; and *Candace* was queen of the *Proper Ethiopia*, or at leaſt the peninſula of *Meroe*, a conſiderable part of it, as we learn from *Pliny* and *Strabo*. The words *Cuſh* and Αἰθίοπες, therefore, in the texts here referred to, muſt be underſtood of the territories and people of the *Proper Ethiopia*. *Ezekiel* propheſied, that the *Egyptians* from *Migdol* to *Syene* ſhould fall by the ſword; which not a little ſupports the interpretation of a famous text already given in favour of our preſent opinion. King *Abaſuerus* in *Eſther* reigned from the *Indies* to *Cuſh*, that is to ſay, as far as the modern *Abaſſia*; ſince *Scythia* or *Arabia* cannot be there meant as being contiguous to *Perſia*, and *Herodotus* intimates *Darius Hyſtaſpis* to have received tribute from the nations bordering upon the *Proper Ethiopia*. *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Judith* ſent embaſſadors to *Geſem*, and as far as the frontiers of *Ethiopia*, that is, the kingdom ſo called to the ſouth of *Egypt*. In fine, ſeveral remarkable paſſages of Scripture, underſtood, for above a century paſt, of *Arabia*, or part of it, may well enough be interpreted of the *Proper Ethiopia*, as is acknowleged by *Calmet* himſelf. It is there-

of them with ſhield and helmet: &c. Compare alſo *Ezek.* xxx. 5.
i. e. *Perſia, Arabia, Ethiopia,* with *Jer.* xxv. 20. 24.

fore

fore but reaſonable to conclude, that *Cuſh* the eldeſt ſon of *Ham* was the great progenitor of the *Ethiopians* [P].

A body of Bab-al-Mandab, *paſſed into* Ethiopia.

HOWEVER, many authors are agreed, that ſome of the early deſcendents of *Cuſh* ſettled firſt in the land bordering on the eaſtern ſide of the *Red Sea*, moving gradually from thence to the ſouthern extremity of *Arabia*; and afterwards, by means of the eaſy paſſage over the ſtreights of *Bab-al-Mandab*, tranſplanted themſelves into *Ethiopia*. According to *Euſebius*, this migration happened whilſt the *Iſraelites* were in *Egypt*; but *Syncellus* places it in the time of the *Judges*. The *Arabian Cuſhites* were antiently called *Abaſeni*, and made up a great part of the *Sabæans* or *Homerites*, as may be inferred from ſeveral authors. The *Ethiopians* went under the ſame name, agreed in many points with the *Arabian Cuſhites*, and were believed by moſt of the *Aſiatic* nations in *Joſephus*'s time to have had the ſame origin. *Diodorus Siculus*, it muſt be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign cuſtoms; though he aſſerts, that in ſeveral things they correſponded with the *Egyptians*. However, notwithſtanding what is advanced by that hiſtorian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already ſuggeſted, that part of *Cuſh*'s poſterity moved gradually along the weſtern ſhore of the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, which, by this means, was tolerably well peopled, when the *Arabian Cuſhites* firſt found their way into it. The great difference of at leaſt a conſiderable body of the *Abaſſines* from the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, the ſituation of the kingdom of *Midian*, where ſome of the earlieſt *Cuſhites* probably ſeated themſelves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both ſacred and profane, tend to evince the juſtneſs of ſuch a concluſion. *Bochart* believes ſome traces of *Obal*, or, as the *Arabians* pronounce it, *Aubal*, one of *Joktan*'s ſons, to be diſcernible in the empory *Abalites*, the *Abalitic* gulph, *&c.* and conſequently, that ſome of the children of *Eber*, after having inſinuated themſelves into *Arabia Felix*, migrated into *Ethiopia*. Some of the *Ludim* likewiſe might find a paſſage into this country, though undoubtedly the bulk of them moved towards the *Atlantic* ocean; ſince, as *Moſes* intimates them to have been the firſt branch of *Miſraim*'s iſſue, they in all likelihood puſhed

[P] JER. c. xlvi. v. 9. EZEK. c. xxx. v. 4, 5. & c. xxxviii. v. 5. DAN. c. xi. v. 43. NAH. c. iii. v. 9. Pſal. lxviii. v. 31. ZEPHAN. c. iii. v. 10. Acts c. viii. v. 27. EZEK. c. xxx. v. 6. EST. c. i. v. 1. & c. viii. v. 9. HERODOT. l. iii. JUDITH, c. i. v. 9. Vid. etiam STRAB. l. xvii. & PLIN. l. vi. c. 29.

forwards towards the main land of *Africa*. The *Ethiopians* therefore might very well vie with the *Egyptians*, and even be deemed ſuperior to them, in point of antiquity, ſince *Cuſh* their great anceſtor was the eldeſt ſon of *Ham*. They might likewiſe have been eſteemed of equal antiquity with the *Arabians*, ſince from the kingdom of *Midian* the *Cuſhites* penetrated both into the ſouthern parts of the peninſula of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopia*. The communication betwixt *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as well as the proximity of blood of *Cuſh* and *Miſraim*, introduced that ſimilitude of manners obſervable amongſt their reſpective inhabitants, which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to take notice of [q].

Government of the Ethiopians.

PLINY relates, that *Ethiopia* was antiently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he inſinuates that of *Meroe* to have been the moſt powerful and flouriſhing. But, whether theſe were independent on each other, or under one ſupreme head, he no-where informs us. Be that as it will, as all the old *Oriental* governments were abſolute, and the *Abaſſine* princes known to the *Europeans* ſince their firſt intercourſe with *Abaſſia* have been deſpotic, there is no reaſon to doubt but that the kings of *Ethiopia* always ruled with an (Q) uncontroulable ſway. If we admit the *Ethiopian* tradition, that a long ſeries of princes deſcended from *Solomon* reigned in the country we are now upon, it can ſcarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the *Hebrew* monarch knew no bounds.

[q] EUSEB. in chron. SYNCELL. in chronograph. URANIUS apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. PTOL. l. iv. PROCOP. GAZ. in 1 Reg. c. x. *v.* 1. JOS. SCALIG. in comput. eccleſ. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii. JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7. DIOD. Sic. l iii. & alib. HIERONYM. quæſt. Hebr. in Geneſ. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & l. ii. c. 23. Gen. c. x. v. 13. HERODOT. l. ii. & alib. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. & alib. JOB. LUDOLF. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1. LE GRAND, diſſert. ii.

(Q) This ſeems likewiſe in ſome meaſure to appear from the conſtitution of the preſent kingdom of *Abaſſia*. The king's authority there is ſo unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with juſtice proprietor of any thing, nor doth any man, when he ſows his field, know that he ſhall reap it. For the king may beſtow the fruits upon whom he pleaſes, and all the ſatisfaction the former poſſeſſor can hope for, is, that ſome man be appointed to bring in the eſtimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimburſement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the preſent owner, whom he preſumes to have more intereſt than the perſon diſpoſſeſſed (6).

(6) *Le Grand, diſſert.* v.

It

It appears from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, that ſome *Ethiopic* nations were governed always by queens, whoſe common name was *Candace*, as that of the *Egyptian* kings was *Pharaoh*, *Ptolemy*, &c. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us to underſtand, that a good part of *Ethiopia* was compoſed of ſeveral elective monarchies (R), the heads of which were choſen out of their prieſts; and that all theſe princes made the laws of their reſpective kingdoms the baſis of their government. However, as the ſame author remarks, that every new king, immediately after his election, was worſhiped as a god, and conſidered as inveſted with the ſupreme authority by Divine Providence, though he had a particular regard to the laws and cuſtoms of his country through the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, we may look upon them all as arbitrary monarchs. The extraordinary honours paid them leave no room to doubt, that they were the interpreters of theſe laws, and conſequently made them ſubſervient to their will. Nor does this interfere with their conferring rewards, and inflicting puniſhments, according to the laws, that is, the political deciſions and determinations, of their anceſtors, ſince ſome of the moſt arbitrary governments in the world now do the like. But, after all, the *Greeks* knew very little of the *Ethiopians*; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relating to them. *Seſoſtris* and *Zerah* muſt undoubtedly be conſidered as princes bearing an abſolute ſway over the dominions they governed, of which the *Proper Ethiopia* was a part. The ſurpriſing conqueſts made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, in order to the reduction of a powerful neighbour, ſeem to ſet this point beyond diſpute[r].

[r] PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. LUDOLF. hiſt. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 3, 4. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi ſup. HERODOT. APOLLON. RHOD. APOLLODOR. PAUSAN. HYGIN. LUCAN. aliique mult. paſſ. 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. c. xiv. v. 9. & c. xvi. v. 8. Vid. etiam NEWT. chronol. of the empire of Egypt.

(R) Though the preſent kingdom of *Abaſſia* be ſo far hereditary, that only one family can ſit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of chooſing out of the royal family whom he pleaſes for a ſucceſſor. But, if he omits this, it is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king, whom they judge moſt capable of ſo high an office. If this was the cuſtom formerly, as does not appear improbable, it might eaſily have given occaſion to the account of *Diodorus*, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have received an exact information of the cuſtoms, laws, and conſtitution of *Ethiopia* (7).

(7) *Idem ibid.*

Laws. ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, the laws of *Ethiopia* agreed in ſubſtance with thoſe of *Egypt*. This, continues the ſame author, the *Ethiopians* accounted for by aſſerting, that *Egypt* was firſt peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of *Egypt* to have been at firſt, for a conſiderable period, intirely covered with water, and afterwards raiſed gradually, ſo as to become inhabitable, by the freſh acceſſion of mud the *Nile* brought every year out of *Ethiopia*. This is likewiſe confirmed by *Herodotus*, who affirms *Egypt* to be *the gift of the* Nile, and that the whole region, except the territory of *Thebes*, in the time of *Menes*, was one continued moraſs. However, he makes the *Ethiopians* to have been civilized by the *Egyptians*, and to have learned the cuſtoms and manners of that people, ſo late as the reign of *Pſammiticus* I. which, conſidering what has been already advanced, will not eaſily be admitted for truth. Yet ſome cuſtoms and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might poſſibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a complete enumeration of the particular laws, or political maxims, that prevailed antiently in *Ethiopia*; but the following ſeem to have been ſome of the principal of them. 1. Several tribes of *Ethiopians* looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their prieſts. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of *Ethiopia*, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion amongſt ſome *Ethiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his ſiſter's ſon (S) mounted the throne; and, in caſe the female branches

(S) We are informed by *Plutarch*, that a certain *Ethiopian* nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The ſame author, however, *judiciouſly* obſerves, that all the high poſts were filled with men. Poſſibly the modern kingdom of *Zendero*, governed always by an elected monarch, who is ſaid to reſemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correſpond with this nation. It is certain *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pliny* ſtile the animal now called a baboon, *cynocephalus*, from the reſemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated *cyon* or dog by *Plutarch* was an ape or baboon; eſpecially ſince the *cynocephalus* was produced only in *Ethiopia*. However, this we can only propoſe to our readers as a conjecture (8).

(8) *Plutarch. adverſ. Stoic. Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 54. *Fernand. & Tellez. apud Job. Ludolf. in hiſt. Æthiop. l.* i. *c.* 6.

of

of the royal family failed of iſſue, they choſe the moſt beautiful and valiant perſon amongſt them for king. 4. It was eſteemed a moſt enormous crime in any perſon capitally convicted to attempt making his eſcape into a foreign country. *Diodorus* relates, that a criminal condemned to die, having once meditated a flight out of *Ethiopia*, after the ſign of death had been ſent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who thereupon ſtrangled him with a garter, he not offering the leaſt reſiſtance, leſt an indeleble ſtain ſhould thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to diſpatch (T) himſelf, whenever he received a meſſage from the prieſts of *Meroe*, the moſt revered of any in *Ethiopia*, with an intimation, that the gods commanded him, for the good of his ſubjects, to do ſo. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domeſtics were obliged to wound and maim themſelves juſt in the ſame manner. 7. At the king's death all his houſhold ſervants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indiſpenſable cuſtom, killed themſelves, this being looked upon as the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their ſincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the *Ethiopic* clans above *Meroe* on both ſides the *Nile*, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninſula, and the parts of *Ethiopia* nearer *Egypt*, elected the moſt induſtrious ſhepherds to preſide over them. Others beſtowed the kingdom upon the moſt opulent perſons they could find, imagining them the moſt capable of adminiſtring with their riches to the wants and exigencies of the public [s].

JUPITER AMMON, according to the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, ſeems to have been the principal object of religious worſhip in *Ethiopia*, though the natives (U) paid likewiſe divine honours *Religion.*

[s] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 5, & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. NIC. DAMASCEN. in excerptis Valeſii, p. 518, 519.

(T) This vaſt power the prieſts enjoyed till the time of *Ergamenes* king of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who, being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of *Æſculapius*, where they reſided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the ſword. After this he made ſeveral regulations, and in a manner new-modeled the public worſhip of the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (9).

(U) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ethiopians* valued themſelves upon their being the firſt nation that had a religious eſta-

(9) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii.

bliſhment.

honours to *Isis*, *Pan*, *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, and others, whom they considered as the greatest benefactors to mankind. In short, if these authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the *Egyptians*; which is not to be wondered at, considering their vicinity to, and intercourse with, that people. However, *Diodorus* assures us, that some of them were atheists, who looked upon the sun, by reason of his scorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern *Abassines*, the *Ethiopians*, or at least a considerable part of them, adhered zealously to the law of *Moses* from the time of *Solomon* to their conversion to Christianity. According to this tradition, the queen of *Sheba*, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the south, and who ruled over at least a powerful nation of *Ethiopia*, had a son by *Solomon* named *Menilehec*, who was educated at that prince's court, and instructed there in the law of God through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of *Ethiopia*, and sent home to take possession of his kingdom, at the desire of several eminent *Israelites*, and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced there his father's religion, which continued amongst his subjects and their posterity till the time of St. *Athanasius*. What regard is to be paid to this tradition, we shall not take upon us to determine; since the learned are not a little divided in their sentiments concerning the situation of the kingdom of *Sheba*, whose queen had an interview with *Solomon* at his own court. St. *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, Cardinal *Baronius*, *Suarez*, *Lorinus*, *Pineda*, *Bochart*, and the *Arabs* in general, fix her residence in *Arabia Felix*. The last call her *Belkis*, and affirm her to have been the daughter of *Hod-Had* king of the *Homerites*. On the other hand, the *Abassine* nation, *Josephus*, *Origen*, St. *Austin*, the learned *Hugo Gro-*

blishment. They believed, that, for this reason, adds he, their sacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than those offered by any other people. Which notion, continues *Diodorus*, *Homer* himself seems to countenance, when he introduces *Jupiter*, attended by the other gods, as present at an anniversary sacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the *Ethiopians*. In order to reward their transcendent piety, according to the same author, the gods never suffered them to be conquered by any foreign prince, *Cambyses*, *Semiramis*, &c. failing in their attempts upon them. But in this, as well as in many other points, he was egregiously mistaken, as will appear in the sequel of this history (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *sub init. Vid. & Lucian. de Jup. Trag. p.* 697. *Ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par.* 1615.

tius,

tius, the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, the Fathers *Balthasar Tellez*, and *Joan Dos-Santos*, have placed this celebrated princess in *Ethiopia*. We have not room to insert here the arguments offered on both sides in defence of their respective opinions; but shall, however, observe, that the kingdom of *Abassia* seems to answer better the queen of *Sheba*'s country, according to our Saviour's description of it, as being more to the south of, and more remote from, *Judæa*, than *Arabia*. To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that some persons of distinction amongst the *Proper Ethiopians* were of the same religion with the *Jews*, or nearly so, in the apostolical age. For queen *Candace*'s treasurer (W), baptized by *Philip*, went with an offering to *Jerusalem*, to worship GOD there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the Old Testament; which cannot, we apprehend, be said

(W) Father *Calmet* and others suppose this eunuch to have been one of those proselytes which the *Jews* call *a proselyte of the gate*, already by us described. But we must own, that this notion seems to us not a little improbable. For those were only confined to an observance of the seven fundamental laws of natural religion injoined by *Noah* to his posterity immediately after the flood; whereas this man perused, and consequently was not unacquainted with, the writings of the Old Testament peculiar to the natural *Jews*. Farther, that a treasurer or prime minister of the queen of *Ethiopia* should take so long a journey as that from *Meroe* to *Jerusalem*, purely to worship GOD, and offer an oblation to him, there, seems very strange, if he was only such a mungrel-convert as *the proselytes of the gate*. Besides, these generally, if not always, resided in *Judæa*. It is therefore much more probable, that this *Ethiopian* had been educated in a religion not very different from that of the *Jews*; especially as the aforesaid proselytes were, for the most part, people of no manner of note. Nay, as he was a person of such power and authority at the *Ethiopian* court, it can by no means be deemed unlikely, that the established religion of *Meroe* at that time pretty nearly resembled the *Jewish*. This appears to be in some sort confirmed by the prophet *Zephaniah*, who seems evidently to predict the conversion of the eunuch here under consideration, and even to insinuate, that he came to *Jerusalem* with an offering from queen *Candace* herself. For it seems very reasonable to suppose, that she was *the daughter of his dispersed beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, that should bring his offering*; which, if admitted, must be allowed no mean proof of what we would here suggest. But this, as well as every thing dependent upon it, must be left to the determination of our learned and judicious readers (2).

(2) *Act.* c. viii. v. 27, 28. *Zeph.* c. iii. v. 10. *Calmet, Prideaux, alii passim.*

with

with so much propriety of the *Arabians*. This seems to us a sort of proof, that the *Mosaic* law was held to be of divine institution in *Meroe*, and the other parts of *Ethiopia* dependent on it, even before the birth of our Saviour, if not as early as the age of *Solomon*; and consequently adds some weight to the arguments of those writers who have asserted, that the queen of *Sheba* came out of *Ethiopia*. It likewise renders the authority of *Josephus* preferable to that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus*, notwithstanding what M. *Bochart* has advanced. For, if any regard was paid to the law of *Moses* in *Meroe*, before Christianity made its appearance in the world, we cannot account for this better than by allowing, with the *Abassines* and authors above-mentioned, that this peninsula was the queen of *Sheba*'s country. From whence it will appear probable, that her son introduced some knowlege of the public worship of the *Hebrews* there, and consequently that its metropolis was called *Sheba* or *Seba* before *Cambyses*'s reign, as *Josephus* asserts, and not built by that prince, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus* will have it. Be that as it will, this appears to have been a prevailing notion amongst some of the *Jews* and *Greeks* in *Josephus*'s time, and *Herodotus* was then cited to support it, however his text, or that of *Josephus*, may be now corrupted. For the latter historian cannot fairly be supposed so profligate and abandoned a writer as to impose a known falshood and forgery upon the world, notwithstanding *Bochart*'s insinuation. However, it must be owned, that *Strabo* suggests the people of *Meroe* in his time to have adored *Hercules*, *Pan*, and *Isis*, with another foreign god. But *Strabo*'s authority in this point cannot overturn what is insinuated by Scripture; nay, he seems to be a little inconsistent with himself, since in the same breath he assures us, that the *Ethiopians* in general acknowleged an immortal God, whom they considered as the first principle of all things, and a mortal god, who had no name. Such a notion might easily be formed by remote nations, who knew very little of the *Ethiopians*, upon supposition that some of them for a certain period worshiped the true God, and held the memory of *Moses* in the highest veneration. Far more absurd things than these the *Greek* and *Latin* writers related of the *Jews*, with whom they had a more immediate communication. And therefore we ought not to be surprised at their transmitting to us so imperfect an account of the religious tenets of the *Ethiopians*; though it should be acknowleged, that, during a certain interval, they agreed in the main with those of the *Jews*. The author last-cited likewise informs us, that the *Ethiopians* ranked in the number of their deities all their most eminent benefactors, and those who were distinguished by their birth.

The

The Sun, according to him, the people under conſideration in the moſt early times ſo highly adored, that they reputed thoſe to be atheiſts who curſed him at his riſing, as ſome ſuch there were inhabiting the *Torrid Zone*, becauſe he forced them to ſhelter themſelves from his intenſe heat in moiſt and marſhy places. For this reaſon the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave the Sun the name of the *Ethiopian Jupiter*. The *Ethiopians* themſelves called him *Aſſabin* or *Aſſabinus*, as we learn from *Pliny*. They conſecrated likewiſe to him the cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous ſhrub, which grew in their country. The prieſts only were allowed to gather that harveſt, which they always uſhered in with ſacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and ſheep, beginning the work that followed before ſun-riſing, and finiſhing it before his ſetting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a ſpear, which was never uſed but on that occaſion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the ſame place that which fell to the ſun; and forthwith, ſay *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Theophraſtus*, if the diviſion had been performed with equity, the ſun's portion took fire of itſelf, and was conſumed (X). This ceremony ſeems to have been common to the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, and the *Sabæans* ſeated in *Arabia Felix*. *Banier* believes the *Ethiopians* to have had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the *Egyptians*; that they worſhiped the moon under the name of *Iſis*, and univerſal nature under that of *Pan*. We doubt not but this may be true; eſpecially ſince they, in all likelihood, at firſt worſhiped the planets, or ſome of them, in common with the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, and likewiſe paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings, as did thoſe nations together with the *Mauritanians*. Among the princes deified by this laſt people were the famous *Juba* and *Verſotina*, who was probably either one of their queens, or ſome other woman of the firſt diſtinction rendered illuſtrious by her glorious actions. The *Ethiopians* of *Meroe*, according to *Herodotus*, in his time, worſhiped *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, and had an oracle of *Jupiter*. Some *Ethiopian* nations offered ſacrifices to *the Day*, which they eſteemed as a god, according to *Lucian*. An antient tradition prevails amongſt the *Abaſſines*,

(X) For our part we are apt to believe, that the prieſts ſecretly conveyed ſome coals under the heap that was allotted to the ſun, which from thence took fire ſoon after, probably when the prieſts retired. Such pious frauds have been, and ſtill are, uſed in countries whoſe religion utterly diſclaims frauds and impoſtures of any kind whatſoever, in order to ſerve ſuch a turn as theſe prieſts of the Sun had in view: witneſs the liquefaction of the blood of St. *Januarius* at *Naples*, &c.

that the first *Ethiopians* adored a monstrous serpent called in their language *Arwe-midre*; but this savours so much of fable, that our readers will probably think it deserves little regard [t].

Language. In a country of so vast an extent as *Ethiopia*, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to suppose, that no small variety of languages, at least of dialects, must have prevailed. The most antient of these was undoubtedly that called by the learned the *Ethiopic*, into which the Holy Scripture was formerly translated, and in which all the books of the *Abassines*, both sacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly resembles the *Chaldee*; but, according to *Ludolfus*, who spent above sixty years in the study of it, it bears as great an affinity to the *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, and approaches nearer still to the *Arabic*, from which to him it seems immediately to be derived. In short, there is so perfect an agreement betwixt them, that whoever understands the one, may, without any difficulty, if we will believe him, make himself master of the other. Nay, he asserts, that a competent knowlege of the *Hebrew*, or any other of the *Oriental* tongues, will enable a student soon to make a very laudable progress in the *Ethiopic*. As several *Hebrew* (Y) roots, and genuine significations of *Hebrew* words,

[t] Herodot. l. ii. Strab. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Plin. lib. xii. c. 19. Solin. c. 31. Lucian. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par. 1615. Theophrast. de plant. Lactant. l. i. c. 15. Tertullian. apol. c. 24. Minut. Fel. in Octav. Greg. Abass. apud Ludolf. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 2. Banier, l. vi. c. 9. Joseph. Orig. August. Cyprian. Epiphan. Cyrill. Alexandr. Baron. Suarez. Lorin. Pined. apud Ludolf. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 3. Pocock. specim. hist. Arab. p. 59. Joseph. ant. l. ii. c. 5. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 26, & alib. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. par. vi. Golii notæ in Alfraganum, p. 87. Diod. Sic. & Steph. Byzant. apud Bochart. ubi supra. Act. c. viii. v. 27. Georg. Horn. hist. philosoph. l. ii. p. 132. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1655. Alphons. Mend. Balth. Tellez. & Jo. Dos-Sant. apud Le Grand, dissert. vii. Vid. & Ludolf. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 3.

(Y) Of this we shall beg leave here to produce two instances: 1. The *Hebrew* lexicographers derive the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* word *adamah*, *earth*, from אדם *red*, pretending the earth to be of a red colour, from whence it receives that denomination. But *Kimchi* takes no notice of this derivation in his collection of *Hebrew* roots; and how small a part of the earth, in comparison of

words, are ſtill preſerved in the *Ethiopic*, which would be ſought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the eſteem of all who diligently apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures. Beſides, it is impoſſible to come at a thorough knowlege of the *Abaſſine* affairs, this being the language in which all their hiſtories, and other treatiſes, are penned, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The pureſt dialect of this tongue was that uſed in the kingdom of *Tigre*, where *Axuma*, the reſidence of the old *Ethiopian* kings, was ſeated. Here it continued till the failure of the *Zagean* line; after which, a *Sewan* prince aſcending the throne, the *Amharic* dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffuſed itſelf over the whole empire. However, the language ſpoken in *Tigre* at preſent comes the neareſt to the old *Ethiopic*; which ſtill retains its priſtine dignity not only in their books, but alſo in their divine worſhip, as alſo in their kings letters patents, com-

of the whole, is red, no naturaliſt ſtands in need of being informed. This etymon therefore is at beſt *mal-à-propos*. But the *Ethiopic* language ſuggeſts to us a much more proper one, when it propoſes to our view the word *adamah* ſignifying *beautiful*, *elegant*, *pleaſant*, &c. from whence if we deduce the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician adamah*, *earth*, it will not be remote from the κόσμος of the *Greeks*, though that ſeems to have had a more extenſive ſignification. Upon this ſuppoſition, *Adam* derived his name not from a certain fictitious redneſs, but from the beauty and perfection of his nature, being, as it were, the maſterpiece of the creation. And, agreeably hereto, the *Ethiopians* to the word *Adam* always annex the idea of ſomething perfect and beautiful. Nor is it improbable, that the city *Admah* or *Adamah*, before it was deſtroyed with *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, ſeated upon the banks of *Jordan*, compared to *the garden of the* LORD, was ſo denominated from the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation. 2. The word מלאך *malach*, an *angel* or *meſſenger*, is not to be deduced from the *Arabic malaka*, *poſſedit*, *dominatus eſt*, &c. for that is not ſufficiently appoſite, but from the *Ethiopic layka*, *miſit*, *legavit*, &c. Nay, ſometimes the roots of *Arabic* words themſelves are to be ſought for in the *Ethiopic*. So in the *Koran* the apoſtles are called *Hhawwâri*, whoſe origin cannot be diſcovered in the *Arabic* lexicons, ſince it certainly comes from the *Ethiopic Hawyra*, *ivit*, *inceſſit*, &c. than which nothing can be more ſuitable to the office of an apoſtle. Our readers will find this point more fully diſcuſſed by the learned *Ludolfus*, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer them (3).

(3) *J. Ludolf. hiſt. Æthiop. lib.* i. *c.* 15. *& comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 202——208. *Vid. etiam Sim. Ockleii introd. ad ling. Oriental. p.* 159, 160. *Cantabrigiæ*, 1706.

miſſions,

missions, and all other public acts whatsoever. Father *Tellez* informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as kingdoms, or large provinces, in *Abassia*; nay, that there were different dialects in one and the same kingdom. As the language of *Tigre* is at present deeply tinged with the antient *Ethiopic*, so those of most of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the *Amharic*; though they considerably differ one from another. The people of *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder* use a dialect peculiar to themselves. Those of *Hangota*, *Ifata*, *Gojam*, and *Shewa*, one common to them all. The *Gafatas* have many *Amharic* words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be understood by any of the other *Abassines*. In the kingdom of *Dambea* a language is spoken very different from both the *Amharic* and *Ethiopic*. The dialect of *Gonga* agrees with that of *Enarea*, though it does not bear a near resemblance to any of the others in *Ethiopia*. But we shall entertain our readers with a more particular account of all these, as well as those of the *Gallans*, *Agawi*, *Chankalas*, &c. when we come to the modern history of *Abassia* [u].

Letters. As it will be expected, that we should say something of the letters, or (Z) alphabetic characters, of the nation we are now

[u] Mariani Victorii institutiones linguæ Æthiop. Romæ, 1552. Wemmer. institut. grammat. Æthiop. Jo. Potken. psalter. Æthiop. Brian. Walton. in introd. ad lect. linguar. Oriental. Job. Ludolf. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 15. ut & Balthaz. Tellez. apud Ludolf. ibid. Vide etiam Ludolf. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 60. Francofurti ad Mænum, 1691.

(Z) We are informed by *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Ethiopians* had antient hieroglyphic characters as well as the *Egyptians*. Thus amongst them an hawk signified any thing that made a quick dispatch, that bird in swiftness exceeding most others; the crocodile denoted malice; the eye the maintainer of justice, and the guard of the body; the right-hand, open, represented plenty; and the left, closed, a secure possession of property, &c. But whether the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians* first in reality hit upon this way of writing, cannot certainly be known, though *Diodorus* attributes the invention of it to the latter. It is not improbable, that the people of all nations at first recorded their conceptions by tracing out the images of things in a coarse manner, which was gradually improved into hieroglyphics. This in some measure appears from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans*, the antient character of the *Chinese*, and from what we find related of the *Scythians* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Eustathius*, and *Herodotus*.

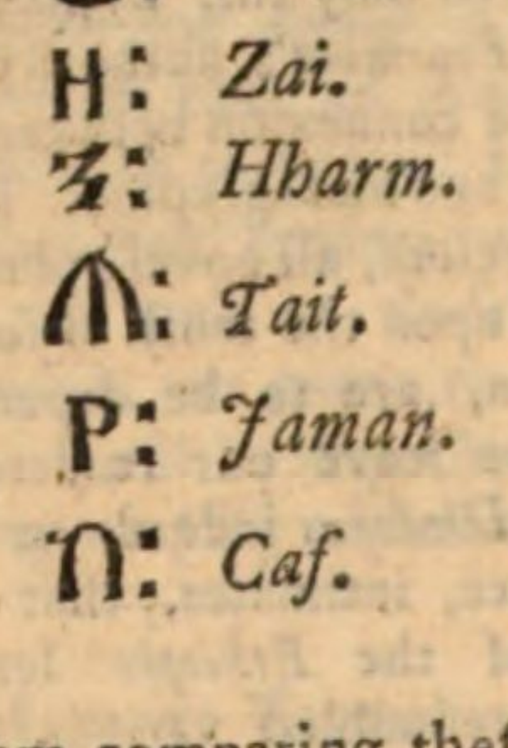
These hieroglyphic characters, according to the same *Diodorus*, were not only understood by the priests, as amongst the *Egyptians*, but likewise by all the people, as well

now upon, which naturally fall under this head, our readers will not be displeased to find here the antient *Ethiopic* alphabet,

well as the alphabet here mentioned. However, it does not appear from that author, as M. *Fourmont* seems to assert, that the *Ethiopic* alphabet was made up of these hieroglyphic characters; nor indeed can this be allowed very probable, the letters of an alphabet being essentially different from *even* the characteristic marks deduced from hieroglyphics. The last represent things, ideas, or even whole conceptions, in the same manner as the antient and modern characters of the *Chinese*, whereas the former are only expressive of sounds. In short, though we should allow it an easy transition from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans* to the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, as well as from the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics to the characteristic marks of the *Chinese*, which *Du Halde* demonstrates to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet we cannot see how the invention of an alphabet must as naturally succeed these marks. There is, it must be owned, a sufficient resemblance between the *American* picture-writing, the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, and the *Chinese* characters; but these all seem intirely foreign to alphabetic letters, and in reality do not bear the least relation to them. As an affinity between all these is the point necessary to be proved, in order to evince a gradual and easy descent from picture-writing to letters, some better argument ought to be offered in support of it, than a supposition extremely precarious, if not plainly false, and which, if true, would be little to the purpose.

Now, that the notion of the *Ethiopic* alphabet's being made up of hieroglyphics, is such a supposition, evidently appears from what we have just hinted, as well as from the antient alphabet of that nation exhibited by *Ludolfus*. And yet the very learned and ingenious Mr. *Warburton* has in fact offered only this hypothesis, on M. *Fourmont*'s authority, to prove the connexion between an alphabet and hieroglyphics. How far, therefore, all novel opinions, founded upon the truth of such a connexion, are to be depended upon, we leave our readers to judge. *Diodorus* indeed, in the same place, intimates, that the forms of the *Ethiopic* letters (τύπους) resembled various animals, parts of human bodies, artificers tools, &c. But that this is not to be understood of alphabetic letters, but hieroglyphics, follows from what he immediately subjoins: "For their *writing* "(ἡ γραμματική) is expressive of "the subject, not by a compo- "sition of syllables, but by the "signification of certain images "delineated, and a metaphorical "application of it impressed on "the memory by exercise. For, "they *write* (γράφουσι) an hawk, "a crocodile, a serpent, a part "of the human eye, an hand, "the face, &c. An hawk sig- "nifies with them dispatch, be- "cause this bird in celerity ex- "ceeds almost all others, &c." Nay, he here expressly asserts, that the *Ethiopic* letters were the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, and consequently allows, that they could not be alphabetic characters. This

bet, as given us by the learned *Job Ludolfus* in his excellent hiſtory of *Ethiopia*.



From comparing theſe letters with the old *Oriental* alphabets taken from antique coins, inſcriptions, *&c.* by *Læſcher*, and conſulting what we have already obſerved in our account of the *Carthaginian*, it may perhaps not ſeem improbable, that ſome of them were derived from the old *Aſſyrian*, *Phœnician*, paſſage, therefore, which ſeems to have miſled M. *Fourmont*, is ſo far from proving the *Ethiopian* alphabet to have conſiſted of hieroglyphic characters, that it ſtrongly intimates the contrary.

Heliodorus ſays, that the *Ethiopians* had two ſorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the *regal* reſembled the *ſacerdotal* characters of the *Egyptians*. *Diogenes Laertius*, from *Thraſyllus*, alſo informs us, that *Democritus* wrote two books, the one of the *ſacred letters* of the *Babylonians*, the other of the *ſacred letters* of the city of *Meroe*. M. *Fourmont* believes, that moſt of the eaſtern nations likewiſe had a ſacerdotal alphabet (4).

(4) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Herodot. l.* iv. *Diog. Laert. in vit. Democrit. ſegm.* xlix. *l.* 9. *Heliodor. Æthiopic. l.* iv. *Clem. Alexandrin. ſtrom. l.* v. *p.* 567. *Euſtath. in Hom. Iliad.* vi. *v.* 168. *Athanaſ. Kirch. China illuſtrata, p.* 227. *& Oedip. Ægypt. theat. hieroglyphic. p.* 12, *& alib. Le Comte, nouv. memoires ſur l'état preſent de la Chine, tom.* i. *p.* 256. *Amſt.* 1698. *Du Halde, tom.* ii. *p.* 227. *M. Fourmont, Reflections crit. ſur les hiſt. des anc. peup. tom.* ii. *p.* 500, 501. *à Paris*, 1735. *Joſ. Acoſt. l.* vi. *c.* 10. *Madr.* 1608. *Purchaſ. pilgr. par.* iii. *p.* 1065, 1066. *Gemell. Carer. del mond. tom.* vi. *c.* 6. *p.* 37. *Warburton's divin. legat. of Moſ. demonſtrat. vol.* ii. *par.* 1. *ſect.* 4.

Samaritan,

Samaritan, *Syriac*, &c. characters. The number of the letters likewise in this alphabet, and the names of several of them, tend to evince the same thing; though *Ludolfus* believes them to have been invented by the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* themselves, and to be much older than even the *Cufic* character of the *Arabs*. It is remarkable, that the *Abassines* have no grammar; and that, when *Gregory* was shewn the use of one, he could not forbear breaking out into a sort of exclamation, crying out, *Thanks to* God! as though some secret of great importance had been discovered to him. We must not forget observing, that the *Ethiopians* both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the custom of the *Orientals*; which looks like an indication, that their alphabet was not intirely of the same extraction with that of the *Arabs*. But for a farther account of the antient *Ethiopic* letters, as well as language, we must beg leave to refer the curious and inquisitive part of our readers to *Ludolfus*'s *Ethiopic* history, commentaries, and grammar, which are generally allowed to be the best pieces of their kind extant [w].

Customs. The *Ethiopians*, as has been already observed, agreed in several points with the *Egyptians*, though they had many customs peculiar to themselves, some of which were very singular and uncommon. As we have not time at present to expatiate upon all such customs to be met with in history, we must content ourselves with touching upon some of the principal of them. 1. The *Egyptian Ichthyophagi* differed from other nations in several particulars. By stopping up the passages of certain caverns on the coast of the *Red-sea* with stones, they inclosed vast numbers of large and small fishes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and served them for food. The women and children employed themselves in throwing on shore those of a lesser size, whilst the men secured the sharks, sea-calves, congers, monstrous lobsters, &c. with which the aforesaid sea abounded, killing them with sharp goats-horns, and rough stones broken off the rocks. These they exposed to the solar rays in stone pots turned towards the south, where the flesh was soon separated from the bones by the intense heat. The latter they applied to the use already mentioned, and boiled up the former with the seeds of *paliurus*. The mass formed by these two ingredients was at first liquid, and of a reddish colour;

[w] Job. Ludolf. hist. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 1. gram. Æthiop. ed. Lond. 1661. & comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 34. 555, 556. 562, & alib. pass. Vide etiam Val. Ern. Loescher. de caus. ling. Hebr. p. 201. 224, & alib. ed. Francof. & Lipsiæ, 1706. & Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 302, & seq.

but, being ſpread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the ſun, it became hard and ſavoury. This they commonly fed upon; but, when any inundations happened, that they could not, for ſeveral days together, approach the ſhore, they were conſtrained to eat ſhell-fiſh, ſome of which were ſo large, that they weighed four minas. If theſe at any time failed, they found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to the bones, though deſtined for another uſe, which preſerved them till the ſea ſent them their uſual ſupplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in ſuch immoderate quantities, that they were ſcarce able to breathe. They ſeemed not to utter any articulate ſouuds, and conſequently to be void of a language. Some of them, according to *Agatharchides*, never drank at all, living only upon raw fiſh. Theſe, continues the ſame author, might have been deemed perfect ſtoics, as being never ruffled or diſcompoſed by the violence of any prevailing paſſion. However barbarous their neighbours might take them to be, they had the art of teaching the *phocæ* or ſea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to aſſiſt them in catching other fiſh. Several clans of them lived in ſuch caves as we have deſcribed in the former ſection; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a cheſtnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a ſort of canopy. This, together with the pleaſant breezes coming from off the ſea, ſheltered them from the ſcorching rays of the ſun. Laſtly, others fixed their habitations in certain inacceſſible hollows ſurrounded with high precipices and the ſea. The *Ichthyophagi* for the moſt part enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of health; but few of them attained to old age, as above obſerved. They carried their dead to the ſea-ſhore, where they lay expoſed till the return of the tide, which carried them off; ſo that, as they fed upon fiſh in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded thoſe animals a repaſt. 2. The *Chelonophagi* above-mentioned did not only uſe the fleſh of tortoiſes for food, but likewiſe covered their huts or cottages with the ſhells of thoſe animals. As both in ſize and figure theſe ſhells reſembled a ſmall fiſhing-veſſel, the *Chelonophagi* alſo uſed them as boats on ſome occaſions. They had a particular manner of ſurpriſing this fiſh, which we find deſcribed from *Agatharchides* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 3. Another *Ethiopic* canton lived upon fiſh of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the ſhore by chance. When they were preſſed by famine, they devoured the bones of thoſe creatures, whoſe fleſh at other times ſuſtained them. 4. The *Ethiopian Rhizophagi*, after they had waſhed the roots of the canes growing in marſhy ground, bruiſed them, and, preparing them by the heat of

the

the ſun, fared deliciouſly upon them. This canton was greatly infeſted with lions, which came out of the deſerts in vaſt numbers, and would have depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous ſize annually expelled them from thence. At the ſame time the *Rhizophagi*, in order to avoid theſe gnats, retired towards the moraſſes, which greatly contributed to their preſervation. The *Hylophagi* were people of ſuch ſurpriſing activity, that they ſkipped from one tree to another like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young ſhoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarreled about their reſpective habitations. On theſe occaſions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the *Libyans*, which ſometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of *Ethiopians*, watching an opportunity, killed leopards, buffaloes, *&c.* after they had drunk ſo copiouſly, that they were ready to burſt, with clubs burnt at one end, ſtones, darts, *&c.* in the manner deſcribed by *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus Siculus*. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not ſuffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another *Ethiopic* nation had two very particular ways of taking elephants, hinted at by us above, for a full deſcription of which our readers muſt have recourſe to the authors laſt-mentioned. 8. The *Struthophagi* had ſeveral arts and devices to take oſtriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itſelf againſt them with ſtones, which it threw out of its feet, in this reſpect reſembling a ſling, with great violence. The *Struthophagi* of the ſkins of theſe oſtriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The *Acridophagi* had a deep valley in their country, of many furlongs extent, which they took care to fill with wood, and other combuſtible materials; and, when the ſouth wind drove vaſt numbers of locuſts thither, ſet them on fire, the ſmoke ſuffocating all thoſe animals. Such infinite numbers of locuſts were deſtroyed on theſe occaſions, that the ground for ſome leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people under confideration ſeaſoned with ſalt, produced moſt copiouſly in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholſome food; for the *Acridophagi* (Z) did not exceed the age of forty years, and at laſt died

(Z) *Plutarch* mentions a tribe of *Ethiopians* that were very ſhort-lived, the oldeſt among them ſcarce ever exceeding the age of thirty years. Theſe were probably the *Acridophagi* of *Agatharchides Cnidius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny* (5).

(5) *Plut. de placit. philoſophor.*

in a miſerable manner. They were devoured by winged inſects of different ſpecies, of a ſtrange and ugly form, expiring for the moſt part in exquiſite torture. Poſſibly the air itſelf, as well as the locuſts, might have greatly contributed to ſo uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The *Cynamolgi*, ſeated in the ſouthern parts of *Ethiopia*, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt (A) *Indian* oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongſt them. 11. The nations placed ſtill more to the ſouth, according to *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus*, lived the life of ſavages, if not that of the worſt of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the *Cafres* were not unknown to the antients, and conſequently that they had ſeen more of the ſouthern parts of *Africa* than the moderns imagine. 12. The above-mentioned authors inform us, that the greateſt part of the *Troglodytes* (B) in their manner of life nearly reſembled the *Libyan Nomades*, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of theſe were under one ſupreme head. This confirms what we have elſewhere obſerved of the form of government antiently prevailing in *Numidia* and *Mauritania*. 13. The *Troglodytes*, during the time of the *Eteſian* winds, drank a liquor compoſed of blood and milk boiled up together. In the ſummer months they lived about the moraſſes with their flocks, where they frequently fought for convenient paſtures. The old and infirm cattle always ſupplied them with food, for which reaſon they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving thoſe denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than a few beaſts ſkins, with which they covered only their loins. 14. They held all their old women in the higheſt veneration, inſomuch that, in their moſt bloody conteſts, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themſelves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged

(A) The antients ſometimes included the weſtern and *Proper Ethiopia*, as well as *Arabia*, under the name of *India*.

(B) We are informed by *Strabo*, that all the different ſpecies of cattle theſe *Ethiopians* took with them from place to place were extremely ſmall. Their dogs were likewiſe very little, but vaſtly fierce. Some of theſe *Ethiopians*, or at leaſt the neighbouring cantons, lived chiefly upon barley and millet; which ſerved them both for meat and drink. They alſo uſed butter and fat inſtead of oil. Their kings had divine honours paid them, and never appeared in public; in order the more greatly to attract the veneration of their ſubjects (6).

(6) *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 565. *ed.* 1587.

about

about till they expired; and, if upon an admonition from a friend they refuſed to do this, they might be ſtrangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to deſire life when a perſon was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one amongſt them was ſeized with an incurable diſtemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpatch him. Their dead they carried to the top of ſome hill, where they firſt covered them with ſtones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So void were they of a ſenſe of compaſſion, that the ceremony of burying the deceaſed in this manner was one of their moſt celebrated diverſions. 15. The *Ethiopians* made uſe of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and ſeveral other weapons (C), in their wars, which they managed with great ſtrength and dexterity. 16. Circumciſion (D) was a rite obſerved

(C) The *Megabari*, a canton, as ſhould ſeem, of the *Troglodytes*, fought with clubs, and carried before them round ſhields made of raw ox-hides. Many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (7).

(D) We have obſerved in a former note, that *Herodotus* is not intirely conſiſtent with himſelf in what he ſays of circumciſion, as a rite practiſed in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; which muſt undoubtedly not a little contribute towards invalidating his authority in this particular. But, waving this conſideration, when he aſſerts circumciſion to have prevailed ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning*, amongſt the *Egyptians*, *Colchi*, and *Ethiopians*, he cannot be ſuppoſed to mean, that they received it from their firſt anceſtor. For in ſuch a caſe it muſt have paſſed from him to the *Philiſtines*, who were likewiſe his deſcendents; which all, who pay the leaſt regard to Scripture, will allow to be falſe. That expreſſion, therefore, muſt either import indefinitely, that it had been obſerved in *Egypt* from time immemorial, or from ſome period near the beginning of the great *Egyptian* empire formed by *Ammenemes* and *Seſac*. This happened about the reign of *Solomon*, one of the greateſt and moſt powerful princes of his age, and in alliance with *Egypt*, between five and ſix hundred years before *Herodotus* wrote his hiſtory. And here in fact ſeveral learned men have placed the introduction of this inſtitution into *Egypt*. As for *Herodotus*, he was frequently impoſed upon moſt egregiouſly by the *Egyptians*, eſpecially in points relating either to the antiquity of their monarchy, or thoſe cuſtoms they had in common with other nations. Their exceſſive vanity would not permit them to ſpeak the truth, when they imagined it would reflect the leaſt honour or glory upon any of the neighbouring ſtates. For which reaſon, as well as others that might be offered, and particularly be-

(7) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 776.

ſerved amongſt them, as well as the *Egyptians*, from very early antiquity, though which of theſe nations firſt received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The *Ethiopian* ſoldiers tied their arrows round their (E) heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads, temples, *&c.* and the other projected out like ſo many rays, which formed a kind of crown. Theſe arrows were extremely ſhort, pointed with ſharp ſtones inſtead of iron, and dipped in the *virus* of dragons, or ſome other lethiferous poiſon, inſomuch that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they ſhot theſe arrows were four cubits long, and required ſo much ſtrength to manage them, that no nation could make uſe of them but the *Ethiopians*. According to ſeveral authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or ſhowers of theſe arrows. Many tribes of the people now under conſideration, particularly the *Blemmyes*, had wonderful ſkill in uſing the weapons here mentioned, taking aim ſo well, and hitting the mark ſo exactly, that ſome of the antients imagined every individual of them to have had four eyes. The *Ethiopians* retreated fighting in the ſame manner as the *Parthians*, diſcharging vollies of arrows with ſuch dexterity and addreſs whilſt they were retiring full-ſpeed, that they terribly galled the enemy. It appears from *Scylax*, *Horace*, and *Ælian*, that the *Mauritanians* and *Blacks*, or weſtern *Ethiopians*, were likewiſe very expert archers, and ſhot poiſoned arrows; and the ſame thing has been obſerved of their poſterity by the epitomizer of *Edriſi*, or, as he is more uſually called, the *Nubian* geographer. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immenſe ſize, which may be deemed a farther proof of their vaſt bodily ſtrength. 19. The *Macrobian* or long-lived *Ethiopians* fed for the moſt part upon roaſted fleſh, drank milk,

cauſe it ſeems to us diametrically oppoſite to Scripture, we cannot pay any regard to the ſentiment of thoſe authors, who either deduce circumciſion originally out of *Egypt*, or make the *Hebrews* to have borrowed it of the *Egyptians* (8).

(E) Before they took any arrows from their heads, in order to begin a general action, they had a particular kind of dance, as we learn from *Lucian*. But how ſuch a cuſtom came firſt to be introduced among them, or what they intended by it, has not been intimated by any antient author (9).

(8) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 36, 37, *&* 104. *Gen. c.* x. *v.* 13, 14. 2 *Sam. c.* i. *v.* 20, *& alib. Vid. etiam Agatharchid. Cnid. in excerptis Photii, p.* 1358. *Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l.* i. *p.* 354. *c.* 15. *edit. Potter. Cotelerii not. in Barnab. epiſt. c.* 9. *& Suid. in voc.* ψῶλος. (9) *Lucian. de ſaltat. p.* 505. *ed. Lutet. Par,* 1615.

and

and frequently attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years. It is said, that this longevity was principally owing to a rich and fragrant fountain, rendering their bodies smooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfuming them with the odour of violets, wherein they frequently bathed themselves. 20. These *Ethiopians* looked upon brass as the most valuable of metals, and had gold in such little esteem, that they fettered their prisoners with golden chains. 21. Some *Ethiopic* cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and swore by their manes, as has been before related of the *Nasamones*; and others threw them into the river, looking upon this as the best sort of burial that could possibly be allotted them. 22. Some of the *Ethiopians* had no regular meals, or stated times of eating, but always refreshed themselves when hunger and thirst prompted them thereto. 23. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* lived upon human flesh, as we learn from *Philostratus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*. This seems fully to evince, that the *Cafres*, and consequently the territories they inhabited, were known to the antients, though we scarce find any thing in the old geographers concerning them [x].

Arts, &c.

As the *Ethiopians* agreed with the *Egyptians* in most of their laws, their splendid funerals, the (H) deification of their princes,

[x] Diod. Sic. l. iii. Herodot. lib. ii. lib. iii. lib. vii. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. c. 12—31. apud Phot. p. 1343—1360. Strab. l. xvii. & alib. Xenoph. Ἀνάβασ. l. iii. Heliodor. Æthiopic. l. ix. & alib. Vet. auct. apud Suid. Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Philostrat. l. vi. c. 12. & apud Phot. p. 1015. Plin. l. vi. c. 29, 30. Solin. c. 30. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. c. 9. Marcian. Heracleot. p. 42. Cyril. in Esai. l. ii. Claudian. l. i. & alib. Vid. & Lib. Hebr. Baal Aruc. Theophrast. hist. plant. l. ix. c. 15, & alib. Homer. Iliad. x. v. 93. Scylax Caryand. p. 12. Ælian. de animal. l. vi. & l. xiv. c. 5. Hor. l. i. od. 22. Ætius in tetrab. iv. serm. 1. c. 34. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 1. Joan. Tzetz. c. i. l. 8. 1220. Joan. geometr. hym. ii. See also the Universal history, vol. xviii. in the histories of *Numidia* and *Mauritania*.

(H) *Diodorus* relates, that the *Egyptians* learned the custom of deifying their kings from the *Ethiopians*. Nay, according to him, the *Egyptians* derived statuary, and even their letters themselves, from the same source. This author also observes, that the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* priests, as well as kings, wore caps wreathed round with serpents called asps; by which was intimated, that

princes, the ſeveral colleges of prieſts, circumciſion, and in fine moſt of their ſacred and civil inſtitutions, it is highly probable, that the ſame arts, ſciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed amongſt both nations. Nay, this ſeems to be expreſly aſſerted by *Diodorus Siculus*, when he informs us, that not only the ſame kind of ſtatues, but likewiſe the ſame hieroglyphic figures and characters, were uſed in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; ſince it is generally allowed, that thoſe were the repoſitories of the *Egyptian* wiſdom and literature. It muſt be owned, that an ingenious modern writer roundly affirms, that no nation beſides the *Egyptians* continued to write with marks after the invention of letters; all others immediately dropping their hieroglyphics on the diſcovery of that more commodious method, becauſe the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics *only* contained any wiſdom or learning. But theſe ſeem to be aſſertions not only arbitrary and precarious, but plainly falſe, as appearing both incapable of proof, and diametrically oppoſite to what *Diodorus Siculus* has advanced from the beſt authors who had written before his time of the nation we are now upon. Nay, that they had perſons amongſt them eminent for their wiſdom, may be inferred from a writer cited by *Photius*; and that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in moſt points of importance, ſeems to have been the general ſentiment of the *Romans* as well as the *Greeks*, as is implied by *Feſtus*, when he calls them *Ægyptini*. *Homer* alſo celebrates both their wiſdom and religion, when he makes *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, to attend their entertainments. That they even were inſtructed in ſeveral branches of literature by *Moſes* himſelf, *who was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians*, may be collected from *Artapanus* in *Euſebius*, *Joſephus*, and others. But, waving all other proofs and authorities that might be offered in favour of the point here inſiſted upon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that a nation ſo near *Egypt*, the centre of learning and politeneſs in very early ages, with which the *Ethiopians* always kept open a communication, could not avoid arriving at a very laudable degree of (I) knowlege

that every perſon guilty of treaſon would as certainly ſuffer death, as if he had been bit by that poiſonous animal (1).

(I) *Lucian* makes the *Ethiopians* to have excelled all other nations in wiſdom and literature. According to him, they invented aſtronomy and aſtrology, and communicated thoſe ſciences, as well as many other branches of learning, to the *Egyptians*. As their country was very fit for making celeſtial obſervations, ſuch

(1) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *ſub init.*

a no-

knowlege both in the liberal arts and ſciences, and thoſe termed mechanical [y].

THE *Ethiopians* were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewiſe ſurpaſſed moſt other nations in beauty, and largeneſs of ſize, to which a proportionable degree of ſtrength was generally annexed. For which reaſon *Herodotus* intimates, that the *Macrobii* conferred the royal dignity upon the moſt beautiful, large, and ſtrong perſon they could find amongſt them. Both they and the *Arabians* had an invincible averſion to mice, as we learn from *Plutarch*. If the modern *Abaſſines* reſemble their anceſtors, they were well-ſhaped, of a generous diſpoſition, and exceeding quick parts. Upon the ſame ſuppoſition, ſome of them muſt have been free, chearful, humane, forgivers of injuries, and great lovers of (K) juſtice. According to various authors, the proper antient *Ethiopians* were, for the moſt part, perfectly black, as we find their poſterity at this day, though ſome particular cantons were white, called by *Pliny*, *white Ethiopians*. It is probable they were pleaſed with their natural colour, and preferred it to thoſe of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the preſent *Abaſſines* are terrified at the ſight of an *European*, as much as ours are at that

Character of the Ethiopians.

[y] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. WARBURTON'S divin. legat. of Moſ. demonſtrat. vol. ii. par. 1. p. 157. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 104. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. PHILOSTRATUS TYRIUS de vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. viii. cod. 44. apud Phot. p. 30. FEST. in voc. Ægyptin. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. ARTAPAN. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. lib. ix. c. 4. Act. c. vii. v. 22. Vide etiam HOMER. Iliad. A'. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in ſtrom. alioſque auctor. paſſ.

a notion ſeems not intirely groundleſs; though ſcarce any particulars of their knowlege have reached us (2).

(K) *Pauſanias*, when he diſtinguiſhes the *Proper Ethiopians* from thoſe bordering upon the *Mauri* and *Naſamones*, remarks, that the people of *Meroe*, as well as the other neighbouring *Ethiopians*, were eminent for their love of juſtice. This obſervation was probably truer than what he ſubjoins to it, to wit, that the *Ethiopians* had no other river but the *Nile*; though, as all their other rivers join the *Nile*, this is no unpardonable miſtake. However, the accounts he had received of the country inhabited by that people were not over-accurate; as we may collect from his confounding the *Ethiopian* ox or bull with the rhinoceros, and other inſtances that might be produced (3).

(2) *Lucian. de aſtrolog. p.* 539, 540. & *in fugitiv. p.* 1011. (3) *Pauſan. in Bœotic. & in Attic. p.* 62, 63.

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of a *Negro*; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions of, or bordering upon, that colour. Others relate, that in ſome provinces of *Abaſſia* the people are of an olive-colour; that in general they are born white, with a ſpot upon their navel, which in a ſhort time after their birth ſpreads over their whole body; and that, being tranſported into *Europe*, they become white at the ſecond or third generation. *Gregory* the *Abaſſine* informed *Ludolfus*, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddiſh hue, but in a ſhort time turned black. Their women are ſtrong and luſty, and bring forth with little pain, as uſually happens in the warmer climates. When they are in labour, they kneel down upon their knees, as the *Hebrew* women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife. Many, if not all, of theſe particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the antient *Ethiopians*, who, from what is obſervable in their poſterity, ſeem to have been likewiſe very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greateſt fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Laſtly, from *Herodotus* compared with the relations of ſome modern authors, it is not unlikely, that they died purely of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the ſword, or were devoured by wild beaſts, as *Salluſt* has obſerved of the antient *Africans*[z].

CHAP. XX.

The History of the Ethiopians, *to the Uſurpation of the* Zagæan *Family, which commenced about the Year of Chriſt* 960.

Where the firſt kingdom of Cuſh *was ſituated, uncertain.*

WE have already obſerved, that not only the vaſt tract ſtretching from the ſouthern limits of *Egypt* to *Libya Incognita*, and the peninſula of *Arabia*, as well as a particular part of that peninſula contiguous to *Egypt*, but likewiſe *Suſiana*, called by the *Orientals Khuzeſtân*, and the country watered by the *Araxes*, the ſeat of the antient *Scythians*, ſometimes went under the denomination of *Cuſh* amongſt the *Aſiatic* nations. Where *Cuſh* himſelf ſettled immediately after the diſperſion, authors are far from being agreed; ſome placing him in *Suſiana* or *Khuzeſtân*, others in *Arabia Felix*, and others in that diſtrict near the confines of *Egypt*, called in Scripture *the land of* Midian *or* Madian. Poſſibly ſome of

[z] Excerpt. e vit. Pythag. apud Phot. p. 1319. Herodot. l. iii. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Plut. de invid. & od. P. Balthazar Tellezius, & Greg. Abass. apud Job. Ludolf. in hiſt. Æthiop. l. iii. c 14. ut & ipſe Ludolf. ibid. Is. Vossius de orig. Nil. &c. Mel. & Solin. apud Ludolf. ubi ſup. P. Augustin. Calmet. dict. bibl. in voc. *Æthiopia*, &c. Sallust. in Jugurth.

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his descendents might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned. But it is probable, that many of them advanced towards *Arabia* and *Egypt*, since the posterity of *Elam* the son of *Shem* repleniſhed, in all likelihood, several of the provinces of *Persia*, and particularly *Elymais*, or *Elam*, contiguous to *Susiana* or *Khuzestân*. Be that as it will, it is certain, the land of *Midian* went by the name of *Cush* before the age of *Moses*, when, it is natural to suppose, the country washed by the *Araxes* was but thinly peopled, and even scarce known. That many of the children of *Cush* should have migrated into *Arabia*, and especially that part of *Yaman* bordering upon the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, has a great appearance of truth; since such a situation seems to be commodious for throwing large numbers of *Cushites* into the *Proper Ethiopia*, as well as the inland parts of *Africa*. To support farther the conjecture offered to the consideration of our readers here, it may be observed from various authors, that a good part of the upper *Egypt* was possessed by the *Cushites* in the earlier ages; and that the city of *Cos*, *Kûs*, or *Kûsh*, situated upon the *Nile* in that country, took its name from *Cush* the father of the *Ethiopians*. The *Arabs* call *Ethiopia* not only *Habash*, from *Habash* the supposed son of *Cush*, but likewise *Cush* or *Couscb*, in like manner as the *Hebrews*. The first kings of this country we have no account of, that deserves the least regard. It is probable, that several princes reigned here at the same time, before any of the great empires were formed, as in *Egypt*. Some of the modern *Abassines* pretend, that one *Arwe* was the first king of *Ethiopia*; but they relate nothing memorable of him. This prince was assassinated by one *Angab*, who afterwards ascended the throne, and was succeeded by *Sanabut*, *Gedur*, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous history of *Tzagaxus*, and what we find on this head in *Jerom Vecchietti*, not the least degree of credit is due to them. The present king of *Ethiopia*, or emperor of *Abassia*, is stiled by his subjects *Negus*, i. e. *king*; but, as the governors of provinces are sometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *Negusa Nagast Zaitiopia*, i. e. *king of the kings of* Ethiopia [a].

[a] Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 366, & seq. Dan. c. viii. v. 2. Prol. Asiæ tab. 5. Bochart. Phal. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 25. Joseph. antiquit. l. xii. c. 13. Hyde de relig. vet. Persar. p. 80, &c. Num. c. xii. v. 1. Calmet, in art. *Cush* & *Æthiopia*. D'Herbel. biblioth. Oriental. in voc. *Habas*. Abulfed. Yacut. aliique apud Golium, in not. ad Alfragan. p. 101. Newton's chronol. p. 201, & alib. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 274, 409, &c. Vid. catal. in hist. fab. Tzagaxi, Hieron. Vecchietti, c. 39. & Job. Ludolf. hist. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 1, 2, &c.

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Moſes *conquers* Ethiopia.

It may be inferred from ſome authors, that the *Ethiopians* poſſeſſed *Thebais* before *Moſes*'s time, and conſequently that they were a powerful nation from the remoteſt antiquity. According to theſe authors, they made an irruption into the *Lower Egypt* whilſt *Moſes* was there, and penetrated as far as *Memphis*. Having defeated the *Egyptians* in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate deſtruction. Whereupon the *Egyptian* gods, being conſulted, ordered their votaries to put an *Hebrew* at the head of their forces, and then march againſt the enemy. The king, in purſuance of this order, prevailed upon *Moſes* to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. *Moſes*, being veſted with an unlimited power to act as he ſhould think proper for the good of his maſter's ſervice, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the *Nile*, in conformity to their expectations, but to puſh thro' ſome mediterranean provinces, greatly infeſted with ſerpents of an enormous ſize, towards *Meroe*, the capital of *Ethiopia*, he was obliged to have recourſe to the following ſtratagem, to ſave his men: He filled many cheſts or panniers, made of the *Egyptian* plant *papyrus*, with vaſt numbers of the *ibis*, an *Egyptian* bird, that had a natural antipathy to ſerpents of all kinds, and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with thoſe animals, he let out his birds, which deſtroyed all of them they met with, and opened a paſſage for the *Egyptian* forces. *Moſes*, therefore, without any difficulty, ſurpriſed the *Ethiopians*, gave them a total defeat, and at laſt ſhut them up in *Meroe*. But this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the *Nile*, the *Aſtapus*, and the *Aſtaboras*, which ſo ſurrounded it, that it was almoſt impoſſible for an army to approach it. However, *Moſes*'s good fortune interpoſing, he found means to make himſelf maſter of it. The king of *Ethiopia*'s daughter, obſerving from the walls *Moſes*'s bravery in repulſing ſeveral ſallies of the beſieged, and being charmed with his ſucceſs, fell deſperately in love with him, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends ſhe could confide in, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided he would ſwear to marry her. This overture, continue the ſame authors, *Moſes* complied with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married her. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and ſeverity, firſt plundering them, and then putting moſt of them to the ſword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, raſed or diſmantled all the places of ſtrength, and conſequently rendered the *Ethiopians* for a long time incapable of making head againſt

againſt the *Egyptians*, he returned home with great glory. *Cedrenus* intimates, that this war laſted ten years [b].

THE *Abaſſines* are firmly perſuaded, that the celebrated queen (A) of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, reigned over the *Proper Ethiopia*. They have an hiſtory of her written at large, but interſperſed with various fables. The ſubſtance of it is as follows: *Makeda* (for, according to them that was her name), receiving an account, from *Tamerin* an *Ethiopian* merchant, of the ſurpriſing power and wiſdom of *Solomon*, took a journey to *Jeruſalem* to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of moſt magnificent preſents. After ſhe had been inſtructed at *Jeruſalem* in the worſhip of the true GOD, ſhe returned home, and within the ſpace of a year brought forth a ſon begotten by *Solomon*, who named him *David*; but he was called by his mother and her ſubjects *Menelech*, or *Menilehech*, that is, *another ſelf*. He received his education at *Solomon*'s court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and *Iſraelites* of diſtinction, and particularly *Azariah* the ſon of *Zadoc* the high-prieſt. By the aſſiſtance of theſe *Hebrew* attendants he eſtabliſhed the religion profeſſed by his father, in *Ethiopia*, where it continued till that kingdom embraced Chriſtianity. The *Arabs* and *Abaſſines* have given the princeſs above-mentioned ſeveral names, as *Makeda*, *Belkis*, *Balkis*, or *Bulkis*, *Negheſta Azeb*, i. e. *queen of the ſouth*, as we find her ſtiled by our Saviour, and the *Ethiopic* verſion, *&c.* The *Abaſſines* pretend, that their kings are deſcended in a right line from *Menelech*; and even moſt of the noble families in *Abaſſia* at this day trace their reſpective pedigrees up to *Solomon* [c].

The Abaſſines *believe their kings to be deſcended from* Solomon *and the queen of* Sheba.

THAT this tradition is clogged with ſome abſurdities, will appear to any one who conſiders it with the leaſt attention,

This tradition

[b] EUPOLEM. & ARTAPAN. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. ix c. 4. JOSEPH. antiquitat. l. ii. c. 10. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſt. compend. p. 48. ed. Pariſ. 1647. [c] LUDOLF. ubi ſup. c. 3. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. p. 6. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 296. D'HERBELOT. bibl. Oriental. ſub voc. *Balkis*. LE GRAND, diſſert. vii. Matt. c. xii. ver. 42.

(A) *Joſephus* ſays, that the queen of *Sheba* governed *Egypt* as well as *Ethiopia*; but as this notion runs counter to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and profane antiquity, we ſhall not ſcruple to reject it (4).

(4) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 6.

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clogged with some absurdities, tho' not to be deem'd intirely false.

though at the same time it must be allowed, as hinted above, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. *Ethiopia* is more to the south of *Judæa* than the territory or kingdom of *Saba* in *Arabia Felix*, and consequently seems to bid fairer than that country for the dominions of that princess whom our Saviour calls *the queen of the south*. *Ethiopia* is stiled the remotest part of the habitable world by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has said of the queen of *Sheba*, to wit, that *she came from the uttermost parts of the earth*, than *Arabia*. Nor can it be deemed a sufficient reply to this argument, that *Arabia Felix* was the uttermost part of the earth in respect of *Judæa*, since it was bounded by the *Red Sea*. For that not only *Egypt*, but even *Ethiopia*, regions beyond that sea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the *Jews*, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indisputably clear. Lastly, from what has been suggested above, it appears no improbable conjecture, that *Judaism* was not only known in a part at least of *Ethiopia*, but likewise nearly related to the established religion there, at the beginning of the apostolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be understood as pretending to determine the residence of *the queen of the south*; especially since so much may be said for *Arabia*, as well as the country we are now upon. After all, these two opinions, so contrary in appearance, may be made consistent without great difficulty; since it is agreed, that *Arabia* and *Ethiopia* have antiently born the same name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* had the same origin, and very considerable numbers of the *Abaseni* transplanted themselves from *Arabia Felix* into *Ethiopia*, as already observed; which seems sufficient to make appear the intercourse that formerly subsisted between the *Cushites* or *Ethiopians* of *Asia* and *Africa* [d].

Ethiopia *reduced by* Sesac.

But whether our readers will think proper to fix the queen of *Sheba* in *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, whether they will admit or reject the history of that princess, and her son, given us by the *Abassines*, it seems clear from Scripture, that the *Ethiopians* were subject to *Sesac*, either in *Solomon*'s time, or soon after his death. For, that the *Cushites* mentioned in the passage here referred to, were the proper *Ethiopians*, appears from their being joined with the *Lubim* or *Libyans*, who like-

[d] Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Strab. l. xvii. p. 564. ed. 1587. Matt. c. xii. v. 42. Cosmas Ægyptius, in Christian. opin. de mund. l. ii. p. 138, 139. Euseb. comment. in Esai. c. xliii. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 275, & seq. Le Grand, & Ludolf. ubi sup.

wise

wiſe ſerved in the army of that prince. This, it muſt be owned, is a ſtrong proof, that *Seſoſtris* and *Seſac* were the ſame perſon, in conformity to what *Joſephus* aſſerts, ſince we read not in Scripture of any *Egyptian* but *Seſac* that was maſter of *Ethiopia*; and ſince *Herodotus* poſitively aſſerts, that *Seſoſtris* alone, of all the *Egyptian* monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country. But further, as the Scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of *Egypt* before *Seſac*, it is in the higheſt degree probable, that he was the firſt who extended his conqueſts in ſo wonderful a manner as we find the antients have related of *Seſoſtris*. For, had ſuch great atchievements been performed ſooner, the ſacred hiſtory would undoubtedly have given us ſome hint of them, eſpecially as the *Hebrews* had ſuch an intercourſe with the *Egyptians* almoſt from the remoteſt antiquity. The ſilence, therefore, of Scripture, in this particular, is an argument of no ſmall force in favour of what *Joſephus* has advanced concerning the identity of *Seſoſtris* and *Seſac*. Nay, we will venture to affirm, that it tends ſtrongly to evince the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammon* and *Seſac*, to have been the firſt great empire that ever was formed. For the high, and even incredible, antiquity of the *Aſſyrian* empire depends ſolely upon the authority of *Cteſias*, not the leaſt hint, in ſupport of ſuch antiquity, being viſible in Scripture; on the contrary, it plainly appearing from thence, that it was founded by *Pul*, about two hundred years after the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Seſac*. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the ineffectual labours of ſo many learned men to vindicate the notorious falſhoods of *Cteſias*, or, which is the ſame thing, of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors, who have extracted thoſe falſhoods from him, no one, who has the leaſt regard for Scripture, can poſſibly imagine any *Egyptian* monarch of great note to have flouriſhed before *Seſac*, or *Aſſyrian* before *Pul*. This notion has been ſet in the ſtrongeſt light by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, but oppoſed by many ingenious and learned men. However, as theſe learned men ſeem not to have duly attended to what Sir *Iſaac* has advanced, and as it has been that illuſtrious author's misfortune to have his works at firſt miſunderſtood, though they have afterwards ſhone out with a double luſtre, we ſhall beg leave to make a general remark upon the moſt conſiderable writers, who have endeavoured to overthrow his ſyſtem of chronology, which to us ſeems nearer the truth than any other. We do not pretend to adopt every particular ſentiment advanced in this noble piece, and therefore ſhall not offer an anſwer to all the objections urged againſt it. Nor, indeed, were we ſo diſpoſed, would the nature of the work

we are at present engaged in render such an answer practicable [c].

Sir Isaac Newton *misrepresented.*

Sir *Isaac* allows, that before the time of *Ammon* or *Ammenemes*, the father of *Sesac*, there were several kings in *Egypt*, and even adopts what *Manetho* has written of the kings of the *Lower Egypt*; only he contends, that the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt* were not united under one prince before the reign of *Ammon*. And how does this contradict Scripture, which takes notice only of the kings of *Misraim*, or that part of the *Lower Egypt* bordering upon *Arabia* and *Palæstine*? Nay, does he not suppose the truth of the most early Scripture-accounts of *Egypt*, by referring to the book of *Genesis* on several occasions, by deducing from thence several facts corroboratory of his system? Does he not intimate, that the lower part of *Egypt* was governed by a series of kings from the remotest antiquity, even from the first invention of corn there, to *Joshua*'s invasion of *Canaan*; that the people of this country worshiped the prince at the head of this series, who taught them to make bread, after his death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction? And can any thing better tally with Scripture, or rather be more firmly founded upon it, as well as consonant to all profane antiquity, than such an observation? Nay, does he not offer it as his opinion, that this prince reigned in the *Lower Egypt* as early as the first plantation of it, and therefore might, for aught that appears to the contrary from him, or rather, as he strongly insinuates, be *Misraim*? To what purpose then have we been troubled with so much empty jangling and outcries against him, as though he had attacked the authority of Scripture, by denying the being of that antient kingdom in the *Lower Egypt* so frequently mentioned by the sacred historian? In short, most of those persons, who have so grosly misrepresented Sir *Isaac* in this particular, have been either professed infidels, or such as secretly favoured infidelity; or, lastly, such as have implicitly swallowed the absurdities of *Ctesias*. But from these our great author is neither to expect candour nor impartiality. He has so effectually overthrown that romantic antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, which the *Egyptian* priests endeavoured to palm upon the world, and which so long has been one of the last resources of infidelity, that all our modern deists, as well as their secret abettors, must of course declare against him: and those persons, who are so hardy as to attempt in earnest the reconcilia-

[c] 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Plin. Joseph. Dionys. Perieg. Strab. Apollon. Rhod. Pausan. Lucan. aliique scriptor. quamplurim. apud Newton. in chronol. pass. 2 Kin. c. xv. ver. 19. 1 Chron. c. v. ver. 26.

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tion of *Cteſias* with Scripture, are, in our opinion, not only *capable* of oppoſing what Sir *Iſaac* has offered in defence of his ſyſtem, but all the mathematical demonſtration that ever appeared in the world [t].

Some of the principal objections againſt him conſidered.

BUT it is ſaid, that Sir *Iſaac* makes *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac* to have introduced inſtruments of war, the exact diſtribution of property, *&c.* amongſt the *Egyptians*; which is not only contrary to Scripture, but likewiſe to what we have juſt advanced. And was there then no other country called *Egypt* but the land of *Miſraim* mentioned by *Moſes* in the firſt book of the pentateuch, or rather did that kingdom include all the tract the *Greeks* called *Egypt?* No, this cannot be maintained; ſince that country is known not to have contained all the *Lower Egypt*, much leſs the *Lower* and *Upper Egypt* united; and it may be as well known, by peruſing Sir *Iſaac* with proper attention, that both theſe united were the *Egypt* governed by *Seſac*. That prince, therefore, might have introduced the things enumerated by our great chronologer (for ſo we ſhall not ſcruple to call him, notwithſtanding the cavils of his adverſaries) into ſome parts of the *Upper Egypt*, or ſeveral ſavage diſtricts not far from the weſtern coaſt of the *Red Sea*, and civilized the inhabitants, though a kingdom had ſubſiſted in the *Lower Egypt*, whoſe members had been tolerably poliſhed before the reign of *Seſac*, from the age of *Miſraim*. Theſe points are by no means incompatible, and therefore nothing to the prejudice of Sir *Iſaac*'s ſyſtem of chronology can be inferred from the ſuppoſed diſagreement of them. On the contrary, as the *Troglodytes*, appertaining partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Ethiopia*, remained in a ſtate of barbarity many ages after *Seſac*, it is no ſuch improbable notion, that before his time ſeveral other tribes inhabiting the *Upper Egypt* might be as rude and barbarous as ſome of the antients have repreſented them. But it is farther urged, that Sir *Iſaac* makes *Ammon* and *Seſac* to have been the great gods of the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, known amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the names *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Dionyſus*, *Bacchus*, &c. which runs counter to the whole ſtream of antiquity, and withal contradicts Scripture. For, according to the objectors, *Apis*, *Serapis*, i. e. *Jupiter*, was worſhiped by the *Egyptians* before the Exodus of the *Iſraelites*, the golden calf being ſet up by that nation in the wilderneſs in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. Now, that the firſt king of that very antient monarchy in the *Lower Egypt*, ſo frequently mentioned by *Moſes*, was worſhiped in the ox or calf, for the reaſon above aſſigned,

[t] NEWT. of the empire of *Egypt*, and chronol. of the *Greeks*, paſſ.

is expreſly aſſerted by Sir *Iſaac*. We may, therefore, moſt rationally account for the *Iſraelites* paying divine honours to the golden calf from him, without having recourſe to the worſhip of *Apis*. For as this worſhip, in ſeveral particulars, might reſemble a much more antient worſhip pointing at the firſt king of the land of *Miſraim*, it does not from thence follow, that this prince was the *Egyptian Apis*. One ſtrong preſumption, that they were really different, is, that *Mnevis* ſeems more properly to repreſent the founder of the kingdom of *Miſraim* than *Apis*. For *Mnevis* (B) was kept at *Heliopolis*, and conſequently held in the higheſt veneration there, whereas *Apis* reſided at *Memphis*. Now *Heliopolis* was much more antient than *Memphis*, being the city *On*, whoſe prieſt's daughter *Joſeph* married, as appears clearly from the Septuagint. It was likewiſe nearer the confines of *Palæſtine* and *Arabia* than *Memphis*; nay, it ſeems to have been in the very land of *Goſhen* or *Geſen*, where the *Iſraelites* dwelt immediately before the Exodus. On which accounts *Mnevis* muſt be deemed the moſt proper repreſentative of *Miſraim*, and the moſt likely to correſpond with the golden calf adored by the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs. Which ſingle obſervation, excluſive of many others that might be offered, ought to be deemed a full refutation of the point ſo confidently advanced in this objection. Again, we are told, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* invalidates the authority of Scripture, when he intimates alphabetic letters not to have been received in *Egypt* before

(B) That *Mnevis* and *Apis* were different deities, or rather repreſentatives of different deities, appears from hence, that the *Egyptians* held the latter in much higher veneration than the former. The worſhip of *Apis* ſeems to have been not only univerſal in *Egypt*, but likewiſe common to moſt of the nations of *Arabia*, *India*, and *Ethiopia*; whereas the chief divine honours paid *Mnevis* did not extend much farther than the diſtrict of *Heliopolis*, if they were not abſolutely confined to that place. Now this is eaſy to be conceived, nay, perfectly rational, upon Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s principles. For he ſuppoſes, that *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac* was the firſt prince in poſſeſſion both of the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, &c. and that he civilized ſeveral nations; whereas he believes the antient kingdom of *Miſraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt* to have been of no larger an extent than we have already hinted. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſeems plainly to give *Mnevis* the preference to *Apis* in point of antiquity; and the notion he appears to eſpouſe will be rendered probable, not only by what we here advance, but likewiſe by a careful and diligent compariſon of the authors here referred to with one another (2).

(2) *Herodot. l.* iii. *Strab. l.* xvii. *Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 46. *Ælian. hiſt. animal. l.* xi. *c.* 9. *Univ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 472.

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the time of *Ammon* the father of *Seſac*, that is, in ſome part of *David*'s reign. But how does this appear? Does the Scripture ſay any thing of the alphabetic characters of *Egypt* before that period, either directly or by implication? And if not, how can ſuch a notion in any manner affect Scripture? We cannot, therefore, but own ourſelves greatly ſurpriſed at the conduct of a very learned and ingenious author, who charges this opinion with being contrary to Scripture, and, in ſupport of that charge, quotes the following paſſage—"As "to the preciſe time of the invention of *Egyptian* letters, "IT CAN NEVER BE SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT."—— "However, that letters (in *Egypt*) were very early, we "have *clearly* ſhewn above, as well from other circumſtances "as from this, that the invention of them was given to their "gods." Now it is remarkable, that theſe circumſtances no-where appear; and that the other paſſage referred to, in order to ſupport what is here advanced, only takes notice of *writing*, which, it is well known, in the earlieſt times, conſiſted of hieroglyphic characters. As for the origin of arts and ſciences in the land of *Miſraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt*, all that we can ſay of it is, that it preceded the age of *Moſes*, who, as St. *Stephen* himſelf, under the actual influence of the Holy Ghoſt, informs us, was learned in all the wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. But what a progreſs literature had then made there, we cannot pretend to ſay. It is not improbable, that the art of onirocritic, or interpretation of dreams, aſtrology, including ſo much of the ſimple elements of aſtronomy as contained the knowlege of the true ſyſtem of the world, ſome maxims of civil policy, with certain theological notions, made up the greateſt part of it. But we cannot collect from hence, that they knew even ſo much of the principles of aſtronomy and geometry, as to underſtand the art of navigation, before the time Sir *Iſaac* mentions; nor that any of the arts or ſciences, which he intimates began to flouriſh amongſt the *Egyptians* about the reigns of *Ammon* and *Seſac*, were cultivated there to any great purpoſe before that period. But admitting, that the *Egyptians* of the land of *Miſraim*, before the reigns of the princes above-mentioned, were as learned and polite as Sir *Iſaac*'s adverſaries would inſinuate, which is yet utterly improbable, it will not follow, that the *Upper Egypt*, *Libya*, &c. had then any great pretenſions to learning and politeneſs. And therefore every thing advanced upon that ſuppoſition, which is almoſt the ſum of what has been offered againſt Sir *Iſaac*'s ſyſtem of chronology in this point, deſerves not the leaſt attention. In fine, moſt of thoſe gentlemen, who have oppoſed this excellent piece, ſeem to have confounded the

kingdom of *Misraim* with that *Egyptian* empire which arrived at its last perfection in the days of *Sesac*, if not with *Libya*, *Troglodytica*, and other barbarous countries over-run and civilized by that prince. And not only so, but they have considered some of his notions as detached from others, with which, in reality, they have a close connexion; have attacked several points without informing their readers what he has urged in defence of them; have attempted an answer to some of his weaker arguments without touching upon those of greater strength; lastly, have never taken a full survey of the system, but only fallen upon some of those parts they thought the most liable to exception, and, from a supposed refutation of them, collected the falsity of the whole. However, it is not our business here to enter into a nice discussion of all the particulars relating to this controversy, nor to examine every cavil leveled at a work, the main part of which, we believe, will, sooner or later, meet with a general good reception from the learned world. For, with regard to some particular sentiments in it, learned men will always think differently of them, as has been the fate of several parts of the most excellent productions in all ages. As such a digression merited a place in some part of this work, and comes in natually enough here, we hope it will be pardoned, if not favourably received, by our readers. — But to return to our history[f]:

History of Ethiopia, *to the second expulsion of the shepherds.*

We have already observed, that *Sesac* subdued and reigned over *Ethiopia*. After his death a civil war seems to have broken out in *Egypt*, which Sir *Isaac Newton* believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopians*. But about ten years afterwards, continues the same illustrious author, the *Ethiopians* drowned *Sesac*'s successor in the *Nile*, and seized upon *Egypt*. With that kingdom, *Libya* also fell into their hands, which will enable us to account for the numerous host with which *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced against *Asa* king of *Judah*. However, *Asa* overthrew that army, consisting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and dispersed it in such a manner, that *Zerah* could never afterwards rally his scattered forces. Upon which, the people of the *Lower Egypt* revolted from the *Ethiopians*, and, being sustained by a body of two hundred thousand *Jewish* or *Canaanitish* auxiliaries, forced *Memnon* or *Amenophis*, king of that nation, to retire to *Memphis*. It is probable, that the *Egyptians*, under the conduct of their chief

[f] Idem ibid. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. Herodot. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. Plut. de Isid. & Osirid. Ælian. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. Warburton's divine legat. of Mos. demonstr. vol. ii. par. i. p. 275, 138, 124, 60.

priest

prieſt *Uſorthon*, *Oſorchon*, *Oſarchor*, or *Oſarſiphus*, followed their blow; ſince, after *Memnon* had turned the courſe of the (C) *Nile*, built a bridge over that river, and fortified the paſs there, he retreated with great precipitation into *Ethiopia*. However, about thirteen years after this diſgrace, he, and his young ſon *Rameſſes*, returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the above-mentioned *Jews* or *Phœnicians* out of the *Lower Egypt*; which action the *Egyptian* writers called the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds, as we learn from the aforeſaid illuſtrious author, in conjunction with *Manetho* g.

A deluge in Ethiopia.

We are told by *Cedrenus*, a writer of good authority, that, about fifty years after *Cecrops*, the firſt king of *Athens*, began to reign, there happened a deluge in *Ethiopia*; but what damage the inhabitants of that country ſuſtained on this occaſion, he informs us not. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were ſufficiently felt, ſince otherwiſe it would not have merited the notice of any hiſtorian. As *Cedrenus* follows the technical chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not diſpoſed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot take upon us ſo much as to conjecture h.

Continued to the time of Sabacon.

From ſeveral hiſtorical facts, Sir *Iſaac* renders it extremely probable, that *Menes*, *Memnon*, and *Amenophis*, were the ſame perſon; that the *Ethiopian* prince, who went by theſe names, was the ſon of *Zerah*; and that he died in a very advanced age (D), about ninety years after the death of *Solomon*.

g Newt. ubi ſup. 2 Chron. c. xiv. ver. 8—15. Maneth. apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. Diod. Sic. l. i. Herodot. l. ii. & Æschyl. apud Newt. in chronol. p. 238.
h Georg. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 83. Pariſ. 1647.

(C) This famous river, we ſuppoſe, by way of eminence, was called the *Nile*, i. e. *the river*, *the torrent*, &c. for that the word נחל *Naal* or *Niil* imports. Amongſt the *Orientals* the vowels were nearly related to one another, and conſequently a permutation of them frequent; and that the letter ו, in ſome words, had not formerly ſo much as the force even of a note of aſpiration, is evinced by *Bochart*. Νειλος and *Nilus*, therefore, are only נחל with a *Greek* and *Latin* termination (3).

(D) That this prince attained to an extreme old age is intimated by *Philoſtratus*, when he affirms *Memnon* to have reigned five ages or generations in *Ethiopia*. He alſo gives us to underſtand, that the *Ethiopians*, ſome of them he means, were longer-lived than

(3) *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p.* 1104. *Bochart. Phal. l. i. c.* 1.

lomon. According to the ſame incomparable writer, the city of *Memphis*, called in Scripture *Moph* and *Noph*, as likewiſe *Menoph* or *Menuf* by the *Arabian* hiſtorians, derived its name from that of this prince, who either built it, or firſt fortified it, to prevent *Oſarſiphus* from entering *Ethiopia*. The *Argonautic* expedition happened in the reign of *Amenophis*, according to the principles of the ſyſtem we have at preſent in view. Some *Greek* authors relate, that he aſſiſted king *Priamus* with a body of *Ethiopian* troops. After his deceaſe, his ſon *Rameſſes* aſcended the throne of *Ethiopia*, who built the northern portico of the temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*. *Mœris*, his ſucceſſor, adorned *Memphis*, and fixed his reſidence there, near two generations after the *Trojan* war, upon the ſame principles. *Cheops*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*, were the three next kings, the laſt of which was ſucceeded by his ſiſter *Nitocris*. Then came *Aſychis*, in whoſe reign both *Aſſyria* and *Ethiopia* revolted from *Egypt*; which thereupon was again divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms. *Gnephactus* governed one of theſe, and reſided at *Memphis*; but his ſon *Bocchoris* was ſlain by *So* or *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian*, who made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*. As all the principal atchievements of theſe monarchs, tranſmitted down to us by ſacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the hiſtory of *Egypt*, we have almoſt intirely paſſed them over here. However, we muſt not omit informing our readers, that, in the 22d year of *Bocchoris*'s reign, *Africanus* has fixed the commencement of the æra of *Nabonaſſar* [i].

To the death of Sethon.

SABACON, or *So*, as he is called in Scripture, ſoon after the reduction of *Egypt*, entered into an alliance with *Hoſhea* king of *Iſrael*, which induced that prince to attempt ſhaking off the yoke of the *Aſſyrians*; but his efforts proving unſucceſsful, a period was put to the kingdom of *Iſrael* by *Shalmaneſer*, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of *Nabonaſſar*. According to *Herodotus*, *Sabacon*, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquiſhed *Egypt*, and retired into *Ethiopia*.

[i] NEWT. ubi ſup. p. 235——247. HERODOT. l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. HELLAN. apud Athen. deipnoſ. l. xv. AFRICAN. apud Syncel. p. 74. EUSEB. in chron. 2 Kin. c. xvii. ver. 4. ISAI. c. xix. ver. 13. Hos. c. ix. ver. 6. Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 73, &c.

any other nation; which ſeems to agree with *Herodotus*. But when he relates, that the proper *Ethiopians* were originally of *India*, and expelled that country for an aſſaſſination of one king *Ganges*, he deſerves not the leaſt credit (4).

(4) *Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l.* iii. *ſub init. Megaſthenes apud Strabon. & Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 17.

But,

But, according to *Africanus*, he reigned only eight years in *Egypt*, and died in the ninth year of *Hezekiah*, or twenty-ninth of *Nabonassar*. The former author likewise informs us, that *Sethon*, whom some take to be the *Sevechus* of *Manetho*, his successor, advanced to *Pelusium*, with a powerful army, against *Sennacherib* king of *Assyria*, whom he was enabled to defeat by a vast number of mice, which devoured the shield-straps and bow-strings of the *Assyrians*; and that, to perpetuate the memory of so surprising an event, the statue of *Sethon*, which he saw, had a mouse in its hand. As a mouse was the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* symbol of destruction, this seems to intimate, that he overthrew the *Assyrians* with a great destruction. Sir *Isaac Newton* therefore believes, that *Sethon*, in conjunction with *Tirhakah*, either king of the *Arabian Cushites*, or a relation of *Sethon*, and his viceroy in the *Proper Ethiopia*, surprised and defeated *Sennacherib* betwixt *Libnah* and *Pelusium*, making as great a slaughter amongst his troops, as if their bow-strings had been eaten by mice. This may be rendered consistent enough with the Scripture-account of the blow received by *Sennacherib*, as we have elsewhere observed. The *Egyptian* priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations, or eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monarchy and priesthood, to the time when *Sethon* ascended the throne of *Egypt*. The priests, during that period, as they pretended, had succeeded one another, without interruption, under the name of *Piromis*, an *Egyptian* word, signifying a *good* and *virtuous man*. *Herodotus* intimates, that *Sennacherib* was king of *Arabia*, as well as *Assyria*; which, if admitted, will prove, that *Tirhakah* presided over the *Proper Ethiopia*, and not *Arabia*, as some learned men have supposed. If this be allowed, it will strengthen, in some sort, the conjecture we have already proposed to the consideration of the learned, to wit, that *Tirhakah* was no other than *Sabacon*, who had before confined himself to *Ethiopia*, and left the *Egyptian* crown to *Sethon*. However, as this notion must be owned to be clogged with some difficulties, and even absurd, upon the principles of those, who make *Tirhakah* successor to *Sethon*, we shall leave our readers to believe as much or as little of it as they please [k].

FROM this time, to the seventy-eighth year of *Nabonassar*, we hear little of the kingdom of *Ethiopia*, which was then sub- *And from thence to the reign of* Xerxes.

[k] 2 Kin. c. xviii. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. PLUT. AFRICAN. SYNCEL. ubi sup. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. x. c. 1. 2 Chron. c. xxxii. Isai. c. xxxvi. 2 Kin. c. xix. Isai. c. xxxvii. NEWT. chronol. p. 254, 255. Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 73, &c. vol. iv. p. 321, (R), 322, 323.

jugated

jugated by *Esar-haddon* king of *Assyria*. Many enormous cruelties he committed both there and in *Egypt*, as had been predicted by the prophet *Isaiah*; and governed both these countries three years, that is, till the time of his death, which happened in the year of *Nabonassar* 81. But then the *Ethiopians*, revolting from the *Assyrians*, asserted their independency, which they maintained, tho' a monarchy distinct from *Egypt*, till the days of *Cyrus*, who, from *Xenophon*, seems to have been master of *Ethiopia*, or at least a considerable part of it. However, soon after the decease of that prince, they withdrew themselves from their subjection to the *Persians*, since we find his son *Cambyses* engaged in a fruitless expedition against them. *Herodotus* says, that, before he undertook this expedition, he sent an embassy made up of the *Ichthyophagi*, as understanding the language of that nation, to the king of the *Macrobii*, or long-lived *Ethiopians*. The true end of this embassy was not so much to cultivate a good understanding with that prince, as to learn the strength and condition of his kingdom: though, in order to conceal his design, he sent him a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaster box of rich ointment, a vessel of palm-wine, and other magnificent presents. But the *Ethiopian* was too acute not to penetrate the *Persian* monarch's views on this occasion, and therefore frankly told the *Ichthyophagi*, that he was no stranger to their errand; and that, if *Cambyses* entertained any sentiments of equity, he would never desire another prince's territories, nor to reduce to a state of servitude a people, who had never injured him. "However, added he, give him this bow from "me, and tell him, that he may think of invading the coun-"try of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*, when his subjects can "thus easily draw it; and that, in the mean time, he ought "to thank the gods, that they never inspired the *Ethiopians* "with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits "of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the embassadors: after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, What it was, and how made? And, being satisfied in both these particulars, he could not forbear observing, "That the robe was a proper emblem "and representation of the deceitful prince who wore it." All the other presents likewise, except the wine, he despised, preferring the iron chains of the *Ethiopians*, which, he said, were far stronger, to the golden bracelets, *&c.* of the *Persians*. However, he owned, that the wine excelled any liquor produced in *Ethiopia*, and intimated, that the *Persians*, short-lived as they were, owed most of their days to so noble a cordial. When he heard, that a good part of their food was bread, he said, He was not at all surprised, that a people,

who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*. As for what *Herodotus* relates of the table of the ſun in this country, it ſavours ſo much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of it. *Cambyſes*, being extremely incenſed at the anſwer brought by the *Ichthyophagi* from the *Ethiopian*, in a mad irrational humour, immediately began his march towards his frontiers, tho' he wanted all manner of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. This at laſt introduced ſuch a famine amongſt them, that the ſoldiers were obliged to eat one another; ſo that, not being able to traverſe the vaſt ſandy deſerts of *Ethiopia*, he found himſelf conſtrained to return, firſt to *Thebes*, and afterwards to *Memphis*, with the loſs of a great part of his army. But, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable he would have met there with a warm reception, ſince, by the acceſſion of a large body of *Egyptians* in the reign of *Pſammitichus*, the *Ethiopians* muſt have been very formidable. For we learn from *Herodotus*, that two hundred and forty thouſand *Egyptians*, poſted in different places by that prince, to guard the (E) frontiers on the ſides of *Arabia*, *Aſſyria*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*, having not been relieved within the ſpace of three years, deſerted to the king of *Ethiopia*, who placed them in a country diſaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take poſſeſſion of their lands. He alſo informs us, that, in the *Egyptian* language, they were called *Aſmak*, i. e. *thoſe who ſtand on the left-hand of the king*; as likewiſe, that they civi-

(E) *Herodotus*, in the paſſage here referred to, makes *Elephantis*, or *Elephantine*, and *Daphnæ Peluſiæ*, oppoſite boundaries, or frontiers, of *Egypt*; and places both of them on the borders of *Ethiopia*. This ſeems to point out the true tranſlation of a text in *Ezekiel*, rendered in our verſion—*I will make the land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from the tower of* Syene, *even unto the border of* Ethiopia;—— which ought to be tranſlated, either as we have formerly done it, or in the following terms: *I will make the land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from* Migdol *to* Syene, *even to the border of* Ethiopia. For if we ſuppoſe *Migdol* and *Syene*, or, as *Herodotus* aſſerts, *Elephantine* and *Daphnæ Peluſiæ*, to be oppoſite frontiers of *Egypt*, and both on the confines of *Ethiopia*, then we may look upon the words *from* Migdol *to* Syene as a parentheſis, and equivalent to the following words, *to the border of* Ethiopia. Such a tranſlation will render the paſſage exceeding obvious and clear, and is ſupported by a vaſt number of ſuch parentheſes to be met with in the Old Teſtament (5).

(5) *Ezek.* c. xxix. *ver.* 10. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* xviii. *p.* 255, 256, (C).

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lized the *Ethiopians*. But the laſt article we can ſcarce give any credit to, ſince, from this very hiſtorian himſelf, and *Africanus*, it appears, that the *Ethiopians* were maſters of *Egypt* at leaſt eighty years before the time of *Pſammitichus*; and therefore might have learnt every thing the *Egyptians* could teach them before, if they were not, from the earlieſt ages, in all particulars as wiſe as that people. Sir *Iſaac Newton* inſinuates, that *Cambyſes* conquered *Ethiopia*, as well as *Egypt*, about the year of *Nabonaſſar* 223. or 224. But this, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from *Herodotus*, nor any other good author. Poſſibly *Ethiopia*, like *Egypt*, might have had ſeveral collateral princes, whom the antients, through miſtake, placed in continual ſucceſſion; which could not but occaſion many blunders and errors in the hiſtory of that kingdom. However, *Herodotus* aſſerts, that *Cambyſes* reduced ſome of the provinces of *Ethiopia* contiguous to *Egypt* in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned; and that they, together with the *Troglodytes*, ſent an annual preſent to the *Perſian* monarch, conſiſting of two chœnixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largeſt ſize, even to his time. But though the *Perſians* ſubdued not only theſe provinces, but likewiſe that part of *Libya* bordering upon the weſtern confines of *Egypt*, and carried their arms as far as the city of *Cyrene*; yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vaſt tract, comprehending the kingdoms of *Sennar*, *Abaſſia*, and other countries, anſwering to the *Proper Ethiopia* of the antients, we cannot help thinking at leaſt very improbable [k].

Xerxes *has a body* AMONGST the various nations that compoſed the numerous army, with which (F) *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, *Herodotus* ranks

[k] ISAI. c. xix. ver. 23. c. xx. ver. 4, 5. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 77. HEROD. & AFRICAN. ubi ſup. XENOPH. in Cyropæd. HERODOT. l. iii. NEWT. chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.

(F) *Herodotus* informs us, that *Xerxes* had not only eaſtern and weſtern, or *Aſiatic* and *African*, *Ethiopians* in his army, but likewiſe *Libyans*. The eaſtern or *Aſiatic Ethiopians*, he tells us, anointed one part of their bodies with a ſpecies of *gypſum* or plaſter, and another with *minium* or red-lead, immediately before they came to a general action. The *Libyans*, from his account of them, ſeem to have been negroes, who by *Diodorus Siculus* are called *Ethiopians*. That author gives us the following deſcription of them: "They are, ſays he, flat-"faced, exceeding fierce and "cruel, in their manners re-"ſembling beaſts, extremely "wicked,

ranks the *Ethiopians*. He mentions on this occaſion two ſorts of that people; the eaſtern, who had their abode in *Aſia*, and were looked upon as *Indians*, from whom they differed only in their hair and language, and the weſtern or *African Ethiopians*. The former carried the ſame arms as the *Indians*, wore for helmets the ſkins of horſes heads, the ears and manes whereof ſerved them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the ſkins of cranes for ſhields, and had long hair. The *Africans* were armed with darts lighted at one end, co-

of eaſtern and weſtern Ethiopians, Libyans, *&c. in his army.*

" wicked, and have frizzled hair. " Their bodies are naſty and " loathſome, their voice ſhrill, " and their diſpoſition ſuch as " renders them incapable of " being civilized. Some of them " carry ſhields made of the raw " hide of an ox, and ſhort lances, " in their wars; others uſe darts " forked at the ends, together " with bows four cubits long, " out of which they diſcharge " their arrows by the help of " their feet. When their ſhafts " are ſpent, they fall on with " clubs. Their women likewiſe, " till they arrive at a certain " age, take on in the ſervice; " and many of them hang a " braſs ring at their lips. Some " go always naked, ſheltering " themſelves from the ſcorching " rays of the ſun with whatever " falls in their way. Several " cover their *pudenda* with ſheep-" tails; and others apply beaſts " ſkins to that uſe. Laſtly, it " is not uncommon amongſt this " people to wear a garment about " their loins made of human " hair, the ſheep in this country " carrying no fleeces at all. They " feed, for the moſt part, upon " the tender ſhoots of trees, the " roots of canes, the *lotus* and " *ſeſamus*, together with another " ſpecies of fruit produced in " marſhy places. Many alſo live " upon fowl, which, being ex-" cellent archers, they kill in " vaſt numbers; but moſt of " them uſe fleſh, milk, and " cheeſe, for their ſuſtenance."

As *Diodorus* intimates many of theſe to have been ſeated in the heart of *Africa*, as well as on both ſides the *Nile*, and expreſly calls them *Blacks*, we doubt not but he had the negroes here in view, as well as ſome of the *Proper Ethiopians*. Nay, as he ſeems to join together *the heart of* Africa, *and both ſides of the* Nile, and the deſcription he gives of the *Blacks* on both ſides the *Nile* agrees, in moſt particulars, with the preſent *Blacks*, poſſibly ſeveral of our readers may be induced to infer from hence, that, in the age of *Diodorus*, the *Niger* and the *Nile* were believed to have been branches of the ſame river. Be that as it will, the paſſage here referred to by no means diſcountenances ſuch a notion; which adds ſome weight to what has been already advanced in the hiſtory of the *Melanogætuli* and *Nigritæ*, as our readers will find, by conſulting it (6).

(6) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 69, 70, 71. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *ſub init. Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* xviii. *p.* 227.

vered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was *Masanges*, the son of *Asrizus*, a person doubtless of great distinction amongst them. Nothing remarkable of the nation we are now upon occurs from this period to the dissolution of the *Persian* empire. However, it is probable, that matters, with respect to them, all along remained in the same situation; that is to say, the *Ethiopian* provinces contiguous to *Egypt* were subject to the *Persians*, and the others in a state of independency, either so little known, or made so inconsiderable a figure, as not to deserve the attention of any celebrated historian [1].

Ptolemy Euergetes *penetrates into* Ethiopia.

It does not appear, that *Alexander the Great* ever undertook an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, though, when he consulted the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, one of the first inquiries he made was after the sources of the *Nile*. Encamping afterwards at the head of the river *Indus*, he imagined it to be that of the *Nile*, and was overjoyed at his success. But *Ptolemy Euergetes*, one of his successors in *Egypt*, having a passionate desire, in common with some of the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the *Nile*, with this view carried his arms into *Ethiopia*. The particulars of this enterprize we find no-where related in history, though that he penetrated to the farthest parts of this region, and subdued most, if not all, the powerful nations seated in it, appears from an inscription (G) preserved to us by

[1] Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 77.

(G) *Elesbaan*, king of the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians*, ordered *Asbas*, governor of *Adule*, to send him a copy of this inscription. This happened about the beginning of *Justin*'s reign, just before *Elesbaan* undertook the expedition against the *Homerites*, which will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. *Asbas* employed *Cosmas*, and one *Menas*, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at *Raithus*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Rhaptus*, possibly the *Rauso* of *Cosmas*, to take him an exact copy of it; and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has given us: "At the entrance, "says he, into the western part "of the city, facing the road "to *Axuma*, stood a chair of "white marble, consisting of a "square base, a small thin co-"lumn at each angle of this "base, with a larger wreathed "one in the middle, a seat or "throne upon these, a back, and "two sides. Behind this chair "there was a large stone three "cubits high, which had suffered "considerable injury from time." This stone, and the chair, contained a *Greek* inscription, part of which was to the following effect. "*Ptolemy Euergetes* penetrated "to the farthest parts of *Ethio-*

"*pia.*

by *Coſmas Ægyptius* (H), or, as ſome call him, *Coſmas Indicopleuſtes*, which he copied upon the ſpot in the time of the emperor

" *pia*. He ſubdued *Gaza*, *Aga-*
" *me*, *Sigue*, *Ava*, *Tiamo* or *Tzi-*
" *amo*, *Gambela*, *Zingabene*, *An-*
" *gabe*, *Tiama*, *Athagaos*, *Calaa*,
" *Semene*, *Laſine*, *Zaa*, *Gabala*,
" *Atalmo*, *Bega*, the *Tangaitæ*,
" *Anine*, *Metine*, *Seſea*, *Rauſo*,
" *Solate*, the territory of *Rauſo*,
" and ſeveral other kingdoms.
" Amongſt the nations he re-
" duced were ſome inhabiting
" mountains always covered with
" a deep ſnow ; and others ſeated
" upon ridges of hills, from
" whence iſſued boiling ſtreams,
" and craggy precipices, who all
" therefore ſeemed inacceſſible.
" Having finally, after all theſe
" conqueſts, aſſembled his whole
" army at *Adule*, and ſacrificed
" to *Mars*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter*,
" for his great ſucceſs, he dedi-
" cated this chair or throne to
" *Mars*." *Gaza* here ſeems to correſpond with *Gheeza*, a name of the kingdom of *Abaſſia*, in uſe amongſt the natives at this day. *Agame* and *Ava* ſeem to be the ſame with *Agamia* and *Afa*, two prefectures of the preſent kingdom of *Tigre*. *Tiamo*, or *Tzamo*, and *Tiama*, anſwer to *Tzama* in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and *Tzama* in that of *Bagemeder*. *Athagaos* muſt agree with one of the two regions called *Agao*; and *Semene* is undoubtedly the country now denominated *Samen* or *Semen*. This affinity of antient and modern local proper names, to omit other proofs that might be offered, is no contemptible argument in favour of the authority of *Coſmas Indicopleuſtes*. For a full account of every thing relating to this inſcription, publiſhed firſt by *Leo Allatius*, and afterwards by *Berkelius*, *Spon*, and *Montfaucon*, we muſt refer our readers to the learned Dr. *Chiſhul* (7).

(H) *Coſmas* informs us, that from *Alexandria* to the *Cataracts* were thirty ſtations ; from the *Cataracts* to *Axuma* thirty more ; and from thence to the fartheſt part of *Ethiopia* producing frankincenſe, and contiguous to the ocean, called *Barbaria*, fifty ſtations. Near *Barbaria* lay the country known by the name of *Saſus*, according to the ſame author, which was likewiſe reputed one of the remoteſt regions in *Ethiopia*.

The *Barbarians*, ſays *Coſmas*, imported various ſorts of ſauces, frankincenſe, caſſia, and other commodities, the produce of their territory, into the country of the *Homerites*, ſeparated from them by the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*. They ſupplied likewiſe the *Perſians* and *Indians* with the ſame commodities. The ſea beyond *Barbaria* our author calls the *Zingian* ocean, and intimates, that *Saſus* abounded with gold-mines. Every other year the king of *Axuma* ſent ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to *Agau*, to traffick with the natives for gold ; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended

(7) *Coſm. Egypt. in topograph. Chriſtian. A. D.* 545. *ſcript. p.* 140, 141, 142, 143. *Pariſ.* 1706. *Chiſh. antiquitat. Aſiat. p.* 73——88. *Lond.* 1728. *Vide & Ludolf. PP. Tell. Mend. Pays, &c. paſſ.*

them.

emperor *Juſtin* I. It is probable, however, that he abandoned theſe conqueſts, ſince henceforth we find nothing of moment concerning any branch of the *Proper Ethiopians* in the writings of the antients, till the days of *Auguſtus* [m].

Petronius *forces*

ABOUT the year of *Rome* 725. when *Ælius Gallus* had drawn moſt of the *Roman* forces out of *Egypt*, in order to

[m] DIOD. SIC. ARRIAN. QUINT. CURT. aliiq; de reb. geſt. Alexand. COSM. ÆGYPT. topograph. Chriſtian. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. JOB. LUDOLF. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. LE GRAND, diſſert. iii.

them. They brought with them cattle, ſalt, and iron, to barter for the gold. Upon their arrival there, they fixed themſelves on a certain ſpot of ground, killed and cut in pieces ſeveral oxen, which they expoſed, together with the ſalt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of theſe then approaching with ſmall ingots of gold, which they called *Tancharas*, laid down one or more of them, as they pleaſed, upon the piece of the ox, ſalt, or iron, they had a mind to purchaſe, and then retired to a place at ſome diſtance. The proprietor, ſeeing this, took the gold, if he thought it ſufficient, and went away; and the perſon who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the *Axumite* or *Ethiopian*, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other obſerving, either made an addition to what he had before depoſited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found neceſſary, as being ſtrangers to each others language; and it was generally finiſhed in five days. This journey the *Axumites* commonly performed in ſix months time, and were longer in going than returning, by reaſon of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, ſince ſeveral gangs of robbers ſometimes attacked them upon the road, eſpecially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the *Nile* were in this diſtrict, and as the rivers they found themſelves obliged to paſs were greatly ſwelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that ſeaſon could intercept them. By the violence of thoſe rains, continuing three months, many ſmall torrents became rivers, that emptied themſelves into the *Nile*. This method of trading is ſtill uſed in various parts of *Africa*, as appears from ſeveral modern relations, which it is needleſs here to produce. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the diſtrict of *Agau*, mentioned by *Coſmas*, is undoubtedly the country of the *Agaus* taken notice of by Father *Pays*, the name of both theſe provinces being the ſame, and the ſource of the *Nile* being placed in both of them by theſe authors (8).

(8) *Coſm. Ægypt. ubi ſup. p.* 138, 139, 140. *P. Pays apud Le Grand, diſſert.* iii.

invade

invade *Arabia*, *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia*, or rather of the kingdom of *Meroe*, made an irruption into the province of *Thebais* with a numerous army. According to *Dio*, *Candace* herſelf headed her troops in this expedition; which ſeems to be confirmed by *Strabo*. At firſt ſhe met with great ſucceſs, ravaged all the country as ſhe advanced, took *Syene*, *Elephantine*, and *Philæ*, the *Egyptian* frontiers on the ſide of *Ethiopia*, without oppoſition, and made three *Roman* cohorts, gariſoned therein, priſoners of war. But, receiving intelligence, that *Petronius*, the governor of *Egypt*, was in full march to attack her, ſhe retired into her own dominions. The *Roman* general purſued the *Ethiopians* as far as *Pſelcha*, from whence he ſent a deputation to the queen, to know the reaſon of the late hoſtilities, and to demand all the priſoners, as well as a reſtitution of all the effects, particularly the ſtatues of *Auguſtus*, carried off from the cities above-mentioned. But *Candace* not ſending a ſatisfactory anſwer, and ſeeking only to gain time, *Petronius* immediately attacked the *Ethiopian* army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, tho' his ſcarce amounted to ten thouſand, in the neighbourhood of *Pſelcha*. As the *Ethiopians* were, for the moſt part, only armed with poles, hatchets, *&c.* and intirely undiſciplined, he gained an eaſy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others diſperſed in the adjacent deſerts, and others ſwam to a neighbouring iſland of the *Nile*, few crocodiles infeſting that part of the river, by reaſon of the rapidity of the torrent. Soon after this victory, *Pſelcha* ſurrendered to him; and one of his detachments brought off the corps, that had eſcaped to the aforeſaid iſland, in which were ſeveral of queen *Candace*'s general officers. At *Pſelcha* he reviewed his forces, and, finding them in good condition, advanced to *Premnis*, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, which he made himſelf maſter of. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the *Roman* general marched to *Napata*, where *Candace* held her reſidence, which he took and deſtroyed. Her ſon, however, found means to make his eſcape. The queen herſelf had retired to one of her caſtles at ſome diſtance from *Napata*, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herſelf not in a condition to make head againſt the *Romans*, ſhe thought proper to propoſe terms for an accommodation. But *Petronius*, by reaſon of the exceſſive heats, and a want of proviſions, ſoon finding himſelf obliged to return to *Alexandria*, the conferences were broken off. After the departure of *Petronius*, *Candace* beſieged *Premnis*, where the *Romans* had left a gariſon of four hundred men; but, being ſoon forced to raiſe the ſiege, ſhe diſpatched embaſſadors a ſecond time to treat of a peace with the *Roman* general, who ſent them with an eſcort to *Auguſtus*.

queen Candace to ſue for peace, which is granted her by Auguſtus.

That prince, whom they found at *Samos*, gave them a moſt gracious reception, and granted their miſtreſs a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condeſcenſion may be attributed to the rich preſents thoſe miniſters carried with them. *Pliny* intimates, that the kingdom of *Meroe* had been governed by queens for ſeveral preceding generations, who all went under the name of *Candace* [n].

History of Ethiopia continued to the aſcenſion of our bleſſed Saviour.

THOUGH *Auguſtus* reſtored all the towns taken by *Petronius*, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from *Candace*, yet the *Romans* now looked upon themſelves as maſters of *Ethiopia*. They complimented *Auguſtus* on the great glory he had acquired, in ſubduing a country unknown even to his great predeceſſor, which finiſhed the reduction of *Africa*. Hence we find, on the reverſe of one of that prince's medals ſtruck about this time, three globes, denoting undoubtedly the complete conqueſt of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, the three large continents or parts of the antient world. However, this ought to be conſidered as nothing more than an inſtance of the *Roman* vanity, ſince not only the *Ethiopians*, but ſeveral other nations, had hitherto preſerved their liberties. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of *Meroe*, which ſeems to have been the *Ethiopia* known to the *Romans*, happened either during the remainder of *Auguſtus*'s reign, or that of his ſucceſſor *Tiberius*, queens ſtill continuing to govern there, as we learn from Scripture. But that the Chriſtian religion was introduced into *Meroe* about the nineteenth or twentieth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, has been believed by ſome writers of good authority. Theſe writers make the eunuch baptized by *Philip* the deacon to have converted his royal miſtreſs, after his return home, to the Chriſtian faith. St. *Luke* calls that princeſs *Candace*; from whence ſome have inferred, that ſhe was the ſame queen of *Ethiopia* mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*. But as the interval betwixt the invaſion of *Ethiopia* by *Petronius*, and the converſion of the aforeſaid eunuch, was a term much longer than kings uſually reign, and as the former author remarks *Candace* to have been an appellation common to the ſovereigns of *Meroe*, we are by no means inclinable to come into ſuch an opinion. Several of the fathers thought, that the eunuch's name was *Candace*; which muſt certainly be deemed a miſtake: for that this word either ſignified ſovereign authority, or at leaſt was a title pe-

[n] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 820. DIO, l. liv. p. 524, 525. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. SEXT. AUR. VICT. epit. de vit. & mor. imperator. Romanor.

culiar

culiar to the royal family of *Meroe*, the teſtimony already produced ſeems to put beyond all doubt °.

And from thence to the reign of Diocleſian.

LITTLE after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the *Ethiopians*. *Ælius Spartianus* relates, that the emperor *Heliogabalus* frequently confined his moſt intimate friends for whole nights together with little old *Ethiopian* women, by way of diverſion, ſaying, that theſe women were the moſt beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of Chriſt 220. there was an intercourſe betwixt the *Roman* empire and the *Ethiopians*. *Probus*, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition againſt the *Blemmyes*, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of *Thebais*, vanquiſhed them, and ſent many of them priſoners to *Rome*. What occaſioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the *Blemmyan* captives graced *Probus*'s triumph, and exhibited ſuch an odd appearance, as greatly aſtoniſhed the *Romans*, we learn from *Vopiſcus*. Towards the cloſe of the third century, that nation and the *Nobatæ*, a people inhabiting the banks of the *Nile* near the *Upper Egypt*, committing great depredations upon the *Roman* territories, and the adjacent part of *Thebais* being, probably on this account, but thinly peopled, the emperor *Diocleſian* found his revenue in thoſe parts ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the garriſons placed there to repreſs the courſes of the *Ethiopians*. He therefore aſſigned the *Nobatæ* lands in the *Roman* dominions, and gave both them and the *Blemmyes* a conſiderable annual ſum, to deſiſt from their former practices. But, notwithſtanding their ſolemn aſſurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the *Roman* ſubjects to the time of *Juſtinian*, according to *Procopius*. That prince did not treat them with ſuch lenity as they had met with from *Diocleſian*. For this laſt emperor did not only grant them the favour above-mentioned, but likewiſe tranſplanted ſome of them to an iſland in the *Nile* near *Elephantine*, gave them the uſe of the (I) temples there in

° DIO, ubi ſup. Comes FRANCISC. MEDIOBARB. BIRAG. in numiſm. imp. Rom. congeſt. ad A. U. C. 732. p. 32. edit. Mediolan. 1730. Act. c. viii. ver. 27. CALMET. in voce *Candace*. ANASTAS. SINAIT. l. vi. EUTHYM. in pſal. lxii. GREG. NAZ. in ſanct. baptiſm.

(I) *Procopius* ſays, that the barbarians worſhiped the *Sun*, *Iſis*, *Oſiris*, *Priapus*, and other pagan deities. It likewiſe appears from him, that they offered human ſacrifices to their idols. Their religion was probably the ſame, or nearly ſo, with that of the

in common with the *Romans*, and ordered priests to be selected from them all to officiate therein, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them. But *Justinian* ordered *Narses*, the commandant of the garison in *Philæ*, to demolish the temples of the barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to *Byzantium*; which he did accordingly. That *Diocletian* built the fortress of *Philæ*, and gave it that name, from the friendship and union, which, he imagined, the measures he had taken would occasion betwixt the *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* settled there, as we find advanced by *Procopius*, can by no means be allowed; since this very fortress was in being, and called by the same name, in the days of *Strabo*. *Procopius*, in agreement with *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, asserts *Elephantine* to have been thirty days journey from *Axuma*, or, as he calls it, *Auxomis*. The same author also affirms, that, before the reign of *Diocletian*, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire on that side extended so far into *Ethiopia*, that they were not above twenty-three days journey distant from this capital [o].

Nothing material to be met with in history concerning the Ethiopians, *from the reign of* Diocletian *to the time of St.* Athanasius.

We find nothing worthy of observation recorded of the *Ethiopians*, from the reign of *Diocletian*, to the time of their conversion to Christianity, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The modern *Abassines* inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of *Bazen*, a prince of the *Solomonean* line, and the twenty-fourth from *Menilehec*, surnamed *El Hakim*, i. e. *the Wise*, or *Son of the wise*, abovementioned. They likewise enumerate thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, betwixt him and *Abreha* and *Atzbeha*, or *Abra* and *Asba*, who sat upon the throne when *Frumentius* carried the light of the gospel into *Abassia*. *Frumentius*, according to some, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. *Matthew*, who had applied himself to the conversion of the *Nubians*, a nation before disposed for the reception of Christianity by the eunuch of *Candace*, who had already sown in their minds the first seeds

[o] Ælius Lampridius in Heliogab. Flavius Vopiscus in Prob. Procop. de bell. Pers. l. i. c. 19. Strab. l. xvii. Cosmas Ægyptius in topograph. Christian. l. ii. p. 138, 139, 140. edit. D. Bern. de Montfauc. Parisiis, 1706.

the *Romans*; which, had the *Nobatæ* and *Blemmyes* been people of any principles, might have greatly contributed to the keeping up a good correspondence between them (9).

(9) *Procop. in loc. laudat.*

of that religion. These St. *Matthew*, continue the same authors, took care to cultivate, and raise to fruit, tho' he could not reach *Abassia*. The planting of the Christian faith in that country was reserved for the age of St. *Athanasius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*; of which great event *Rufinus* and others have given us the following relation P.

Ethiopians *or* Abassines *converted by* Frumentius.

MEROPIUS the philosopher, a native of *Tyre*, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffick, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy. This man, after having wandered over all *India*, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels; and, touching at an island in the *Red Sea*, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. *Frumentius* and *Ædesius*, or, as the *Abassines* will have it; *Fremonatus* and *Sidracus* (for so were his kinsmen called), falling into the hands of the barbarians, were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his person, and advanced them. Their talents and industry procured them such distinguishing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in *Frumentius* a greater capacity, he made him his treasurer, and *Ædesius* his butler; in which posts they behaved themselves with so much applause, that, upon the king's death, which followed some time after, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her son, would not grant either of them permission to leave the kingdom, as they desired. On the contrary, she left the management of public affairs intirely to *Frumentius*, who made use of this new authority to bring the people under his inspection to the knowlege of JESUS CHRIST. Contracting an acquaintance with some Christian merchants, either trading to or settled in *Abassia*, who sometimes came to that island, he granted them great privileges, and places to assemble in for public worship. This first excited in the *Abassines* a desire to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; which induced *Frumentius*, after having got the queen's leave, to take a journey to *Alexandria*, in order to inform St. *Athanasius* of the disposition of that people. The patriarch hereupon consecrated him bishop of *Axuma*, and about the year of our Lord 335. sent him to propagate the Christian religion in *Ethiopia*. Soon after his arrival there, he baptized vast numbers of the *Abassines*, ordained deacons and presbyters, built churches, and, in short, gained an assent to the divine truths

P RUFIN. l. i. c. 9. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 19. SOZOM. l. ii. c. 24. THEODORET. l. i. c. 23.

of the goſpel in almoſt every part of that vaſt region. The *Ethiopic* book at *Axuma*, held in the higheſt veneration by the *Abaſſines*, agreeing in the main with this relation, as well as ſeveral *Greek* and *Latin* authors of good repute, it muſt deſerve the greateſt regard. That *Adad* or *Aidog*, therefore, king of the *Axumites*, firſt introduced Chriſtianity into *Ethiopia* about the fifteenth year of the emperor *Juſtinian*, after an unparalleled defeat given the king of the *Homerites*, in conſequence of a vow made before the engagement, as ſome have not ſcrupled to aſſert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at leaſt the court and nobleſſe, afterwards relapſed into paganiſm, according to an *Oriental* author of ſome note; and embraced again the Chriſtian religion, about the fourth year of the emperor *Juſtin*, *an. Ch.* 521. This they were then commanded to do by *Aidog*, for the reaſon above aſſigned. A full and minute account of this memorable tranſaction may be drawn from the extracts of ſeveral *Syriac* writers, to be met with in the learned M. *Aſſemanus*'s *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* [q].

Abra *and* Aſba *refuſe to admit* Arianiſm.

ABRA and *Aſba*, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre, are greatly celebrated by the *Ethiopian* hiſtorians. The harmony that reigned betwixt them was ſo ſingular and uncommon, that it almoſt became a proverb in *Ethiopia*. *Conſtantius* the emperor made uſe of many expedients to introduce *Arianiſm* into the country we are now upon, but without effect. He ſent embaſſadors to thoſe kings, in order to prevail upon them to put *Frumentius* the biſhop of *Axuma* into the hands of *George* the *Arian* biſhop of *Alexandria*, ſubſtituted in the place of *Athanaſius*, who was forced to quit that ſee, and retire to a place of obſcurity. But they refuſed to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines as well as perſon with an unſhaken reſolution, notwithſtanding *Philoſtorgius* falſly affirms an *Arian* biſhop to have ſettled at *Axuma*. So mild and amiable was his conduct amongſt them, that they called him *Abba Salamah*, *the pacific father*. The *Copts* and *Abaſſines* have a notion, that one *Tacalhaïmanout*, a ſaint or *Abaſſine* monk, deſcended from *Sadok* the high-prieſt in the days of *David* and *Solomon*, attended *Abba Salamah* into *Ethiopia*, to demonſtrate to the people there the neceſſity of baptiſm,

[q] Iidem ibid. THEOPHANES ad an. incarnat. ſecund. Alexandrin. 535. SIMEON epiſc. Beth-Arſamen. apud Cl. Aſſeman. in Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 359. & ſeq. ed. Romæ, 1719. CÆS. BARONII annal. ad an. 523. vol. vii. LUDOLF. hiſt. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 2. Vide & not. Cl. ASSEMAN. ubi ſup.

they

they having till that time practiſed (K) circumciſion. The twenty-fourth day of the month *Meſri*, correſponding with that of *Auguſt* in the *Julian* calendar, is celebrated as the feſtival of this ſaint by the *Copts*. The word *Tacalhaïmanout* is *Ethiopic*, and, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, ſignifies *the paradiſe of the Trinity*. But *Ludolfus* gives us to underſtand, that this *Tacalhaïmanout*, or, as he calls him, *Tecla Haimanout*, that is, according to his interpretation of thoſe words, *the plant of faith*, reſtored the monaſtic way of life in *Ethiopia* about the year of Chriſt 600. and lived till *A. D.* 630. The *Abaſſines* believe, that he ſpoke in his cradle, and wrought ſeveral miracles in his infancy; as alſo, that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by *Cyril* metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Benjamin* patriarch of *Alexandria*, of the *Jacobite* ſect. *Gonzales* relates, that he firſt converted the *Ethiopians* to Chriſtianity, by deſtroying a ſerpent before worſhiped amongſt them; which, if admitted, will bring him to the age M. *D'Herbelot* aſſigns him. Be that as it will, next to *Gabra-Menſes-Keddus* (L), i. e. *the ſervant*

(K) Authors are divided in their ſentiments in relation to the origin of circumciſion amongſt the *Abaſſines*. Some maintain, that this inſtitution was introduced amongſt them by *Moſes*; others, that they received it from *Menilehech* the ſon of *Solomon*. Which of theſe opinions is true, or whether either of them be ſo, we ſhall not pretend to determine. That it was not in uſe amongſt the *Arabian Cuſhites* before the time of *Moſes*, appears from Scripture. One ſtrong preſumption againſt *Herodotus*'s notion, that the *Egyptians* firſt practiſed circumciſion, is, that this author has not told us how, or when, that nation came firſt to admit ſo painful a rite; whereas the Scripture is expreſs in both thoſe particulars, with regard to the origin of it amongſt the *Hebrews*. *Grotius* has evinced, from a multitude of different authors, that GOD, in commanding *Abraham* to uſe the rite of circumciſion, meant it a mark of covenant between his poſterity and the Creator; and that every other nation, practiſing it, learned it either from him, or his deſcendents. The firm perſuaſion of the *Abaſſines* is, that they derived it from the *Hebrews*. We may perhaps ſay ſomething of the circumciſion of women, when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Abaſſia* (1).

(L) *Gabra-Menſes-Keddus* lived only upon herbs, and uſed for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all worldly pleaſures and delights in the utmoſt contempt. He ſubdued lions and dragons, according to the *Abaſſines*, who ſtill preſerve many

(1) *Exod. c.* iv. *Hugo Grot. in Gen. & alib. Ludolf. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 269, *& alib. Vid. & Calmet. diſſert. de circumc. &c.*

servant of the Holy Ghost, in honour of whom they kept holy-day once every month, he was the most celebrated saint in *Ethiopia*. *D'Herbelot* farther informs us, that *Claudius* king of the *Abassines* sent the life of this saint written in *Ethiopic* to *Gabriel* the ninety-fifth patriarch of *Alexandria*, which is at this day to be seen in the royal library at *Paris*, num. 796. under the title of *Saïrat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaïmanout* [r].

The Ethiopians *conquer the* Homerites.

HISTORY scarce supplies us with any memoirs relating to *Ethiopia*, from the reign of *Constantius* to the time of the famous *Elesbas* or *Elesbaan* king of *Ethiopia*, called *Caleb* by the *Abassines*, who seems to have been the same prince with *Adad* or *Aidog* above-mentioned. This conqueror, having made up matters with *Xenodon* or *Axenodon*, an *Indian* prince, with whom, according to *Simeon Beth-Arsamensis*, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the *Homerites* or *Sabæans* in *Arabia Felix*, after having vanquished in battle the impious *Dunawas*, *Dunaan*, or *Dhu Nowas*, the last king of that people, who was of the *Jewish* religion. *Elesbaan* had some time before declared war against the king of the *Homerites*, for massacring certain Christian merchants, and vowed most solemnly to become a Christian, in case he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and stripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Christ, in pursuance of the vow already made, and placed a Christian prince upon the throne of the *Homerites*. After this prince's death, which happened in winter, when the *Ethiopians* could not transport (M) a body of forces into *Arabia*,

[r] JOANNES As. episc. apud Dionys. patriarch. in Bibl. Orient. Asseman. ubi sup. PHILOSTORG. l. iii. PAGIUS ad an. 541. num. 6. & alib. LUDOLF. ubi sup. c. 33. & in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479. ut & in calend. Æthiop. ibid. N°. 51. p. 436. LE GRAND, dissert. ix. D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tacalhaïmanout*, p. 834, 835. à Paris, 1697. Vid. etiam GONZAL. apud Ludolf. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479.

fabulous traditions concerning him. One of these is, that he had a conference with the ever-blessed Trinity, and our Saviour, at which he gave several answers too blasphemous to be mentioned (2).

(M) One of the most noted ports of the *Ethiopians* on the *Red Sea* was *Adule* or *Adulis*, twenty stadia from the city of that name, and twelve days journey from *Auxomis* or *Axuma* the capital of *Ethiopia*. The

(2) *Poet. Abas. & Sandoval. apud Job. Ludolf. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 291, 292. ut & ipse Ludolf. ibid.*

Greek

Arabia, *Dunaan* found means to ſeize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent perſecution of the Chriſtians, upon whom he exerciſed unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given us by various authors. St. *Aretas*, in particular, and many others, he cauſed to be burnt in the city of *Nagra*. This indnced the *Alexandrian* patriarch to invite, by letters, *Eleſbaan* to carry his arms into *Arabia*, in defence of the Chriſtians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the moſt exquiſite tortures (N). *Eleſbaan* embraced the occaſion, and was favoured by God with a complete victory (O), which gave the *Abaſſines* (P) the poſſeſſion of

Greek writers of the later ages denominated the *Ethiopians* in general *Axumites* from the name of this city, as we learn from *Nonnoſus*, *Procopius*, and others. *Adule* was the great mart for the commodities of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, &c. to which the merchants of thoſe countries conſtantly reſorted. Beſides the wares already mentioned, thoſe merchants exported from thence vaſt numbers of *Ethiopian* ſlaves, who, by this means, were diſperſed over a great part of the world (3).

(N) It appears from *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, *Theophanes*, *Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis*, *Alphonſus Mendeſius*, and others, that this *Caleb* or *Eleſbaan* was a prince of great ſanctity, and as ſuch the church of *Rome* has honoured him with canonization. M. *Ludolfus* informs us, that Father *Tellez* obſerved a ſurpriſing agreement betwixt the *Ethiopic* and *Latin* writers, with regard to the life and actions of *Eleſbaan*. To which we may add, that M. *Aſſemanus* has likewiſe exhibited to our view the harmony betwixt *Metaphraſtes* and *Beth-Arſamenſis*, in relation to the conduct and great atchievements of the ſame prince. But we ſhall be more particular and explicit on this head, in the hiſtory of the antient *Arabs*, whoſe country was the theatre of thoſe atchievements (4).

(O) This happened in the reign of the emperor *Juſtin*, probably about the ſeventh or eighth year of it, *A. C.* 524. or 525. and not, as *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* ſeem to intimate, 522. or 523 (5).

(P) *Procopius* attributes this famous exploit to *Helleſtæus*, *Eleſbaan*'s ſon, whom he calls king of the *Axumites*, and is followed herein by cardinal *Baronius*. But, as this notion has been overthrown by *Ludolfus*, as ſo noble an action ſeems more agreeable to the character of *Eleſbaan*, than that of his ſon, of whom the *Abaſſine* hiſtorians

(3) *Ptol. in geogr. Æthiop. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Procop. de bell. Perſic. l.* i. *c.* 19. *& alib. Geo. Cedren. ad an.* 15. *imp. Juſtinian. Coſm. Ægypt. ubi ſup.* (4) *Sim. Metaphraſt. apud Surium, tom.* v. *p.* 943, *& alib. paſſ. Procop. Evagr. Theophan. Cedren. Simeon epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. aliique apud Joſeph. Simon. Aſſeman. in biblioth. Oriental. tom.* i. *p.* 359——385. *Alphonſ. Mendez. & Balth. Tellez. apud Ludolf. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 232. (5) *Vid. not. Cl. Aſſeman. ad Sim. epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. in Bibl. Orient. p.* 365.

ſay

of *Arabia Felix* till the time of *Abd al Motalleb* grandfather of *Mohammed*. *Abrahah Ebn al Sabah al Aſhram* was the governor of *Yaman*, under the king of *Abaſſia*, whoſe puniſhment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the *Koran*. He brought, ſays the author of that book, an army with a great number of elephants to the ſiege of *Mecca*; upon which came a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder, upon him. Each of theſe birds had a ſtone in its beak, which it dropped with ſuch violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but, according to ſome, purſued the viceroy into his maſter's dominions, where one of theſe fowls let its ſtone fall upon his head, and killed him [s].

That Atzham *king of* Ethiopia *embraced* Mohammedaniſm, *not probable.*

THE *Mohammedan* writers generally agree, that *Atzham*, or *Aſhamah Ebn Abhar*, the *Najâſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, during *Mohammed*'s miſſion, did not only take under his protection a conſiderable number of *Mohammed*'s friends, who were driven out of *Hejaz* by the *Koreiſh*, but likewiſe became a convert to the new religion of that impoſtor. This converſion, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Bâki*, happened in the ſecond year of the *Hejra*; though it is placed ten years higher by *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius*. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly *Selden* and *Colomeſius*. But the abſurdities with which *Abdo'l-Bakides*'s narration, which, by a very able *Oriental* critic, ſeems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, is ſtuffed, and the abſolute ſilence of the *Ethiopians*, as well as thoſe authors who have written the hiſtories of the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and the *Saracens*, on this head, will not permit us to come into ſuch an opinion.

[s] NICEPH. CALLIST. & CEDREN. apud Ludolf. ubi ſup. NONNOSUS apud Phot. SIMEON METAPHRASTES apud Surium, p. 943, & alib. paſſ. JOANNES AS. epiſc. THEOPHANES & SIMEON epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. apud Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 364—385. PROCOP. de bel. Perſic. l. i. c. 20. PAGIUS ad an. 523, & alib. LAMBECIUS, l. v. p. 133. Vid. etiam not. eruditiſſ. Cl. ASSEMAN. ubi ſup. p. 381—385. Al Koran MOHAMMED. c. 105. & LE GRAND, in diſſert. ix.

ſay but little, and as *Metaphraſtes* and *Beth-Arſamenſis* poſitively affirm *Eleſbaan* to have taken vengeance on *Dunaan*, we cannot but declare ourſelves of another opinion (6).

(6) *Procop. de bel. Perſic. l.* i. c. 20. *Baron. ann.* 523. *num.* 30. *Sim. Metaphraſt. p.* 939. *& ſeq. Sim. Beth-Arſamenſ. apud Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. tom.* i. *p.* 381—385. *Ludolf. hiſt. Æthiop. l.* ii. c. 4. *Vide & MS. Græcor. Menelog. apud Lambecium, l.* v. *p.* 133.

That

That *Atzham*, all his biſhops, preſbyters, monks, &c. ſhould allow, that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that *Mohammed* was this prophet; that the *Abaſſine* biſhops and preſbyters, by citing it to the *Najâſhi* in favour of *Mohammed*, ſhould admit for genuine a paſſage of the New Teſtament not to be found there; and, to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the ſight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the *Koran*, they ſhould all burſt out into a flood of tears, and be in the ſoreſt affliction; in ſhort, that they ſhould be converted to *Moſlemiſm* by the goſpel itſelf; theſe, we ſay, are ſuch glaring abſurdities, as can be ſwallowed by none but a moſt bigoted *Mohammedan*. And ſuch a train of remarkable effects muſt have followed a king of *Ethiopia*'s embracing *Moſlemiſm*, that the above-mentioned hiſtorians could not have omitted taking notice of it. Nay, the *Mohammedan* writers themſelves would undoubtedly have recorded many tranſactions, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch an event, which we find they have not ſo much as touched upon, had their prophet converted the king of *Ethiopia*, even before the *Arabs* themſelves. It is to us, therefore, matter of great ſurprize, that the very learned M. *Ludolfus* ſhould run himſelf into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of *Abdo'l-Bakides* and *Abulfeda* with regard to the introduction of *Moſlemiſm* into *Ethiopia*. The ſpirit with which the *Koran* was written, that is, a lying ſpirit; the genius of the *Mohammedan* writers, not only with the worſt kind of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, but likewiſe addicted to romance and fiction in points abſtracted from religion; theſe, we ſay, in conjunction with what has been juſt offered, greatly diſcredit the aforeſaid ſtory. Nay, they amount to little leſs than a demonſtration, that it was invented by the *Moſlems*, purely with a deſign to do honour to *Mohammed* and the *Koran*. For which reaſons we ſhall make no ſcruple to reject it intirely, with Father *Marracci* [t].

Their hiſtory to the uſurpation of the Zagæan *family extremely ſhort.*

GEBRA-MESKEL, ſucceſſor to *Eleſbaan*, according to the *Ethiopian* poet ſo often cited by *Ludolfus*, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions; though we have no particulars of his conqueſts. His ſubjects, however, enjoyed the ſweets of a peace a good part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. *Procopius* gives us to underſtand, that the emperor *Juſtinian* entered into an

[t] Poet. Æthiop. apud Job. Ludolf. hiſt. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 4. ut & ipſe LUDOLF. ibid. Vid. & PROCOP. de bel. Perſic. l. i. c. 9.

alliance

alliance with him; but what hereupon enſued, we no-where find. The ſame author alſo relates, that even in *Gebra-Meſkel*'s time the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* were ſo little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they croſſed the ſtreights of *Bal al Mandab* in rude veſſels, conſiſting of nothing but planks or boards faſtened together with ropes. This ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for ſhipping, their maritim provinces affording them ſcarce any thing of this kind, and the *Romans* being obliged, by a particular law, not to tranſport any naval ſtores into *Ethiopia*. Next to this pious king (for as ſuch he is deſcribed by the *Abaſſines*), one *Conſtantine* aſcended the throne, and after him one *Freſenna*, whoſe name imports *good fruit*. During the (Q) interval between *Freſenna* and *Delnoad*, who reigned about the year of the Chriſtian æra 960. the *Ethiopian* hiſtory is ſo barren, as not to ſupply us with one article meriting any great regard. About this time the uſurpation of the *Zagæan* family commenced, the cauſe of which will hereafter be fully explained [u].

CHAP.

[u] ABULFEDA in vit. Mohammed. p. 24, 25, 26. 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1723. EBN. SHOHNAH. ABDO'L-BAKID. in hiſt. Habeſſin. par. 2. c. 2. & c. 3. AL-JANNABIUS in vit. Mohammed. Al Koran MOHAMMED. c. 19. c. 29. & c. 30. AL-WAKEDIUS apud ABDO'L-BAKID. ubi ſup. SELDEN. de ux. Hebraic. p. 553. & alib. COLOMES. in obſervat. ſacr. JOB. LUDOLF. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiopic. p. 223. & p. 284. & alib. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS in prodrom. par. i. c. 2. p. 45. edit. Patavii, 1698. Vid. etiam Cl. GAGN. in Abulfed. ubi ſup.

(Q) We are told, that about *A. D.* 836. *Ethiopia* groaned under the complicated miſeries of war, peſtilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in ſight of the enemy. The *Abaſſines*, continues this author, attributed theſe evils to the violence and indignities offered *John* the metropolitan ſent them by *James* the fiftieth patriarch of *Alexandria*. A knot of the nobility had before caballed againſt this prelate, and, after bringing others over to their party, driven him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above-mentioned perſuaſion, he was recalled and re-eſtabliſhed. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, raiſed new perſecutions againſt the *Abuna*, and left him only the choice of being circumciſed, or leaving the kingdom. *John* choſe to undergo circumciſion, and, being ſtripped in order to the operation, had upon him, by a ſingular miracle, ſay the *Copts* and *Abaſſines*, evident tokens that he had been circumciſed on the eighth day. We muſt here obſerve, that as the church of *Abaſſia* acknowleges that of *Alexandria* as its mother, it is ſubject

to


ARABIA
PETRÆA AND DESERTA
North
South
West
East
PART OF THE MEDITER RANEAN SEA
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
BABYLONIA AND CHALDEA
THE DESERTS OF ARABIA
ARABIA PETRAEA
The Country of ye Nabatæans
PERAEA
JUDEA
Galilæa
Phoenicia
Ituræa
Batanæa
Trachonitis
The Desert of Palmyrene
Solitudo Arabica
Solitudines
The Mountains of Chaldea Ptol.
FELICIS ARABIAE FINIS. quam vide in Tabula Orientis expressam
Part of the Persian Gulf.
Part of ye Arabian Gulf
Aegypti fines
Antiochia
Orontes R.
Casius M.
Apamea Hemath
Euphrates River.
Chaboras R.
Saocoras R.
Euphrates R.
Arabes
Scenitæ Transeuphratesii
Rescipha
Byblus
Berytus
Libanus M.
Antilibanus
Sidon
Tyrus
Cæsarea Philippi
Damascus
Palmyra
Thapsacus Amphipolis
Birtha
Gadirtha
Auzara
Audatha
Dadara
Balagæa
Colarina
Pharga
Belgynæa
Catanii
Terra Vz or Ausitis
S. Iobi Sedes
Cauchabeni
Ptolemais
Gene sareth
Canatha
Saceæa
Gaulon
Adra
Barathena
Sabe
Rheganna
Urchoa
Cæsarea
Pella
Bostra
Samaria
Philadelphia Rabbat Ammon
Philippopolis
Choce
Gabare
Aurana
Aisitæ of Ptol or rather Ausitæ
Ioppe
Jaser
Amorits
Hierosolyma
Callirrhoe
Areopolis Rabbat Moab
Arnon R.
Themma seu Thema
Azotus
Asphaltites
Moab
Zared R.
Gaza
Corace
Agræi
Raphia
Zoara
Rhinocolura
Ziza
Luma
Maguza
Erupa
Marteni
Duma
Tedium
Cuparorsa
Theman
Seuia
Dapha
Masam
Terra Heuila
Elusa
Zur
Thauba
Sirbonis Lacus
Eboda
Audia
Cora
Lysa
Sinai
Horeb
Petra Arce
Zagmais
Gubba
Neela
Anitha
Banacha
Dumetha
Ammæa
Mesene Isl.
Gypsaria
Auara
Adron
Moca
Agubeni
Allata Alata
Elana
Phara
Asiongeber
Berenice
Obara
Rhaabeni
Bere Abere
Calathusa
Idicara
Kedar Cedrei
Artemita
Orchem
Salma
Iucara
35
34
33
32
31
30

CHAP. XXI.

The Hiſtory of the Arabs, *and their antient State, to* Mohammed.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Arabia.

Many authors have takengreat pains to give an accurate geographical deſcription of Arabia.

THE independency moſt of the *Arabs* maintained to the downfal of the *Roman* empire, and the ſurpriſing conqueſts they made under *Mohammed* and his ſucceſſors, rendered their country ſo famous, that it is no wonder many authors ſhould have taken ſuch pains to give an accurate deſcription of it. *Ptolemy* ſeems to have laboured this point more than any other: *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, with many more of the antients, in their accounts of *Arabia*, are likewiſe pretty prolix. But the *Arab* writers themſelves have been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular and minute, both in their hiſtorical and geographical relations; which would have met with a more general eſteem, had not the *Arab* genius, ſo ſtrongly tinctured with enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, and conſequently inclined to fable and romance, ſo eminently diſplayed itſelf through almoſt every part of thoſe compoſitions [a].

Whence Arabia *ſo called.*

ARABIA, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable part of it, was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives *Arabah*; which name it ſtill retains. However, we find it frequently ſtiled by their hiſtorians *Gjazîrah* or *Jezîrat al Arab*, the peninſula

[a] PTOL. in Arabia, edit. Oxon. 1712. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. l. i. l. xvi. & alib. PLIN. l. vi. c. 27, & alib. ABULFED. deſcript. Arab. edit. Oxon. 1712. Vid. etiam STEPH. BYZANT. in voce Χαράκμωβα, & HUDS. in præfat. ad vol. iii. geograph. vet. ſcript. Græc. min. Oxon. 1712.

to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty of electing its own biſhop. This ſubjection is as antient as the converſion of the *Abaſſines* to Chriſtianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which they held in equal eſteem with the ſacred writings. The particular canon here hinted at will be inſerted when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Abaſſia* (7).

(7) *Le Grand, diſſert.* viii. *c.* 9.

of

of the *Arabs*, *Belad al Arab*, the region of the *Arabs*, *Diyar al Arab*, the provinces of the *Arabs* ; and, by many of the *Orientals*, *Arabiſtân*. Amongſt ſome of the *Syriac* writers it ſeems to have gone under the appellation of *Cuſhatha*, and ſometimes in Scripture that of *Cuſh*, as we have already obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Ethiopians*. *'Al Motarezzi*, in the book *Mogreb*, derives the name *Arabah* from *Arbah*, a diſtrict of *Tehâma*, where *Iſhmael* dwelt, or, according to *Safioddin*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Mecca* ; and *'Ebn Saïd 'Al Magrebî*, in *'Abu'l-Fedah*, from *Ya'rab*, the ſon of *Kahtân* or *Joktan*, and grandſon of *Eber*. But thoſe bid the faireſt for truth, who deduce it from an *Hebrew* original ; the word *arab* or *ereb* having ſeveral ſignifications very favourable to ſuch a conjecture. For it imports, *the weſt*, *a mixture*, and *merchandize* or *traffick*. Now, that the weſtern part of *Arabia* was at firſt called ארץ ארב *eretz arab* or (A) *ereb*, the weſtern country, may be deemed highly probable from hence, that its eaſtern provinces are denominated in Scripture ארץ קדם *eretz kedem*, the land of the eaſt. Which if we admit, from ארב *arab* naturally and eaſily flows *Arabah*. This notion ſeems the leſs liable to exception, as *Moſes* himſelf ſtiles the weſtern *Arabia Arabah* ; which goes a good way towards evincing, that, from its ſituation, it firſt received that name. Afterwards the *Iſhmaelites*, who were poſſeſſed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word *Arabah* along with them, and applied it to the whole peninſula. Some, however, think, that this tract might have aſſumed the name we are now conſidering, from that mixture of different tribes, which, they pretend, formed the *Arab* nation. In ſupport of this opinion it is alleged, that in Scripture the *Arabs* are termed *a mingled people*, and that the antients enumerate many nations inhabiting *Arabia*. But, as the paſſage of Scripture here hinted at does not appear neceſſarily to denote the *Arabs* ; as the various names given by the antients to the different clans of this region do not abſolutely imply, that all thoſe clans had a different original ; and as the

(A) From hence, by the inſertion of an epenthetic N, comes the word *Erembi*, the name of a nation mentioned by *Homer* and *Strabo*. *Homer*'s ſcholiaſt and *Bochart* intimate, that the *Erembi* were the ſame people with the *Troglodytes* ; though they likewiſe allow, that they might have been a branch of the *Arabians*. For a more ample diſcuſſion of this point, we muſt refer our readers to *Bochart* (1).

(1) *Hom. Odyſſ.* Δ. *v.* 85. *& ſchol. in loc. Strab. l.* i. *Bochart. Phal. l.* iv. *c.* 2. *& c.* 29.

beſt

beſt *Arabian* hiſtorians aſſert all their countrymen to be ſprung from two ſtocks only; perhaps our readers will allow a greater degree of probability to the former etymon. Laſtly, others deduce the name *Arabah* from the third ſignification of ערב above-mentioned, becauſe the *Arabs* in very early ages took their principal delight in merchandize or traffick; the gold, frankincenſe, myrrh, jewels, ſpices, and many other valuable commodities, either the natural produce of their country, or brought thither from *India*, prompting them thereto. Now, though it cannot be denied, that this carries a good appearance of truth, and that the facts on which it is founded are clear and inconteſtable; yet, as the moſt antient names of places ſeem chiefly to have been taken, either from thoſe of the firſt planters of colonies, builders of cities, &c. or ſome circumſtance in the ſituation, we are inclined to adhere to the etymon ſuggeſted by the ſignification of ארב *arab*. The ſacred hiſtorian calls the territory, where the deſcendents of *Joktan* ſettled, *Kedem, the eaſt*; which renders it probable, that in his time the name *Arabah* was not known there. This is ſufficient to invalidate what has been advanced in the point before us by *'Ebn Saïd 'Al Magrebi*, which depends only upon an *Arabian* tradition, that can by no means ſtand in competition with Scripture. Neither ought we to be cenſured for deducing the moſt noted name of *Arabia* from the *Hebrew* tongue. For, that *Moſes* uſes this very name, has been already obſerved; and that in early ages the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages were the ſame, ſeems to be acknowleged by the *Arabs*, when they make themſelves the deſcendents of *Eber* and *Abraham*, the two great anceſtors of the *Hebrews* [b].

The largeſt extent of Arabia.

ARABIA, taken in its largeſt extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-

[b] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 78, & alib. Cl. GAGNIER in not. ad Abulfed. geogr. Arab. ſub init. CUMBERL. Phœn. hiſt. Sanchoniath. p. 367. ed. Lond. 1720. EBN SAID AL MAGREBI apud Abulfed. hiſt. cap. 4. POCOCK. ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. 33. AL MOTARREZZI in lib. *Mogreb*. ALFIRAUZABADIUS, & SAFIODDIN. apud Cl. Pocock. ibid. GAGN. diatrib. de Arabum & Arabiæ nomin. ſect. 1. BUXTORF. SCHINDL. aliique lexicograph. Hebr. Gen. c. xxv. v. 6. JOB. c. i. v. 3. Jud. c. vi. v. 3. Deut. c. ii. v. 8. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. & 3. JER. c. xxv. ver. 20. 24. EZEK. c. 30. ver. 5. DIOD. SIC. lib. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28, & alib. PTOL. in Arab. R. SAADIAS in verſ. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. POCOCK. ubi ſup. 39. GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 159. Gen. c. xxxvii. v. 25. DIONYS. Perieg. v. 927, &c. BOCH. præf. ad Chan. Gen. c. x. v. 30.

third

third and seventy-eighth of longitude. The greatest length, or a line drawn from a point on the coast of the *Red-sea* about 1° 25′ S. of the tropic of *Cancer* to the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greatest breadth, that is to say, the distance from the northern extremity of the deserts of *'Al-Jazira* to the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the west by *Palæstine*, part of *Syria*, the isthmus of *Suez*, and the *Red-sea*, called by the *Arabs* the *Sea 'Al-Kolzom*; on the East by the *Euphrates*, the *Persian* gulph, and bay of *Ormus*; on the north by part of *Syria*, *Diyar-Becr*, *Irâk*, and *Khûzestân*; and on the south by the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, and the *Indian* ocean. It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of *Syria* and *Diyar-Becr*; and, by reason of the proximity of the *Euphrates* to the *Mediterranean*, may be looked upon as a peninsula, and that one of the largest in the world [c].

Its proper limits.

But the limits of the *Proper Arabia* are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the isthmus, which runs from *Ailah* to the head of the *Persian* gulph, and the borders of the territory of *Cûfa*; which tract of land the *Greeks* nearly comprehended under the name of *Arabia the Happy*. Here the *Arabs* have been settled almost ever since the flood. The eastern geographers make *Arabia Petræa* to belong partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Shâm* or *Syria*; and *Arabia Deserta* they call the deserts of *Syria*. But as the *Arabs* have for many ages reduced these two provinces or kingdoms, either by settlements, or continual incursions, the *Turks* and *Persians* at this day include them in *Arabistân*. The antients in like manner assigned different limits to this vast peninsula, *Pliny* extended it as far as the borders of *Commagene*, the north part of *Syria*, on account of the many *Arabian* colonies planted there by *Tigranes*; and *Xenophon* included in it the greatest part of *Mesopotamia*. But *Ptolemy*, who gives us a more accurate description of *Arabia*, determines its dimensions differently from those authors. According to him, the city of *Phara*, between the *Elanitic* and *Heroopolitan* gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the westward of this city near the district of *Heroopolis*, was its boundary on the side of *Egypt*. On the west it was terminated by *Palæstine*, part of *Syria*, the confines of *Egypt*, and the *Arabian* gulph; on the north by the *Euphrates*, from the city of *Thapsacus*, near the borders of *Palmyrene*, to the district of *Idicara* in *Babylonia*; on the east by the *Chaldæan* mountains,

[c] Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79, &c. Abulfed. in descript. Arab. pass. ut & Atwal, Kanun, Rasm, ibid.

and

and the *Perſian* gulph; and on the ſouth by the *Erythræan* ſea. The ſame ſituation and extent, or nearly ſo, are aſſigned it by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Conformably to the ſentiment of the *Arabs*, this region may be deemed a peninſula, whether we conſider it as anſwering to the name of *Arabia* in its moſt uſual ſenſe, or as it is variouſly deſcribed by the antients, or, laſtly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almoſt intirely by the *Euphrates*, the *Perſian* gulph, the (B) *Sindian*, *Indian*, *Red* ſeas, and part of the *Mediterranean* [d].

THE firſt diviſion of the peninſula of the *Arabs* was into *Kedem* and *Arabah*, as we learn from Scripture. *Kedem*, or the land of *Kedem*, comprehended the *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Deſerta* of *Ptolemy*, whoſe limits and extent we ſhall ſoon define from that geographer. *Arabah* anſwered to that country called, from *Petra* its metropolis, *Arabia Petræa* by *Ptolemy*; *Arabia Citerior*, from its ſituation in reſpect of *Italy*, by *Pliny*; and *Arabia Vetus* by *Stephanus* and *Procopius*, according to *Ortelius*. *Moſes* ſeems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a preciſion worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the ſouth it reached to the ſea of *Suph*, or the *Red-ſea*; on the weſt to *Paran* and *Tophel*; on the north to *Laban*, *Hatſeroth*, and *Dî-Zahab*, that is, to the borders of *Syria*; and on the eaſt to *Kadeſh-Barnea*, eleven days journey from mount *Horeb*. As *Arabah* imports the weſt, ſo *Kedem* does the eaſt; and theſe ſignifications agree with the ſituation of thoſe regions. The *Arabic* verſion makes *Kedem* to extend as far as *Rekem* or *Petra*, which runs counter to ſome other authors. In one paſſage *Moſes* apparently comprehends *Chaldæa* under the name of *Kedem*; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The firſt inhabitants of *Arabah*, or the weſtern *Arabia*, were the *Ca-*

The firſt diviſion of Arabia.

[d] DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi ſup. XENOPH. in ἀναβάσ. l. i. PTOL. in Arab. ATWAL, KANUN, RASM, ABULFED. GOL. &c. ubi ſup.

(B) *Sind* or *Sindia* is that large tract comprehending all thoſe countries between *India*, *Carmania*, and *Sigiſtân*. On the ſouth it is waſhed by the ſea, which from thence is called the *Sindian* ſea, contiguous to the bay of *Ormuz* and the *Indian* ocean. Its metropolis is known by the name of *Manſoura*, according to the eaſtern writers. The *Sindon* of the antients was ſo denominated from *Sindia*, where it was produced in great abundance. The *Arabs* believe the people of this region to be the poſterity of *Cham* (2).

(2) *Strab. paſſ. Abulfed. apud Schult. ubi ſup. Gol. in lex. & ad Alfragan. p.* 77.

Sabbim, descended from *Misraim*, the *Caphtorim*, and the *Horites*, who occupied mount *Seir*, before they were expelled from thence by *Esau* and his posterity. Afterwards *Ishmael* and his descendents settled here; and last of all the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*. As for *Kedem*, or the eastern *Arabia*, it was first peopled by the sons of *Joktan*, who are reputed the genuine *Arabians*; though in process of time the *Ishmaelites* spread themselves over this country. That some of the *Cushites* also possessed themselves of part of it in early times, has been already observed. The children of *Abraham* by his concubine *Keturah* likewise contributed towards replenishing it with inhabitants, as appears from the sacred historian [e].

Ptolemy *the first who divided it into three parts.*

PTOLEMY seems to be the first who divided the peninsula we are now upon into three parts. These he termed *Arabia Petræa*, *Arabia Deserta*, and *Arabia Felix*; and since his time that division has generally prevailed. In order, therefore, to give our readers a succinct idea of every one of these provinces, we shall pursue the method he has observed, and describe them upon the plan he has laid down [f].

Arabia Petræa.

ARABIA PETRÆA on the east was contiguous to *Syria* and *Arabia Deserta*; on the west to *Egypt*, or rather that neck of land separating *Africa* from *Asia*, called at this day the isthmus of *Suez*, and the (C) *Heroopolitan* gulph; on the

[e] GAGNIER. ubi sup. Deut. c. 1. ver. 1. c. ii. ver. 8. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 6. JOB. c. i. ver. 3. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. PLIN. l. v. c. 11. & l. vi. c. 34. STRAB. ubi sup. PROCOPIUS, STEPHANUS BYZANT. & ORTELIUS apud Gagn. ubi supra. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. PTOL. Arab. ubi sup. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33. Gen. c. xxix. ver. 1. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. iv. sub init. Gen. c. x. ver. 26—31. c. xxxvii. v. 25. & c. xxv. ver. 1—19. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. vi. [f] PTOL. in Arab.

(C) The *Hercopolitan* gulph received its name from the city of *Heroopolis* bordering upon it. This gulph, the western arm of the sea *Al-Kolzom*, is the *Yam Suph*, or *Yam Souph*, *The weedy sea*, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. *Shaw* supposes it to have been so called from the variety of *algæ* and *fuci* that grow within its chanel, and, at low-water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the sea-shore. If this be admitted, the word סוף *souph* has not been rendered so properly *flags* by our translators, *Exod. c.* ii. *ver.* 8. *Isa. c.* xix. *ver.* 6. nor *juncus* or *juncetum* by *Buxtorf*. The same worthy gentleman relates, that, whilst the surface of the sea is calm, such a variety of *madrepores*, *fuci*, and other marine vegetables, present themselves to the eye, that they resemble a forest under water, agreeably to what we find observed by *Pliny*. It may not be improper farther to

the north to *Palæstine*, the lake *Asphaltites* and *Cœle Syria*; and on the south to *Arabia Felix*. This tract did not admit of much cultivation, the greatest part of it being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here-and-there with some fruitful spots. *Petra*, its metropolis, seems to have been denominated by the *Hebrews Sela*. Among the *Syrians* it went by the name of *Rekem*, and was the same town that we find in Scripture stiled *Joktheel*. *Josephus* calls it *Arke* and *Arakeme*, which *Bochart* takes to be equivalent to *Rekem*, as being only that word with an article prefixed. *Petra* was the chief fortress of the *Idumeans*, *Edomites*, or *Nabathæans*, as already observed, and derived its name from its rocky situation. It was accessible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. Authors, however, differ (D) with regard

to remark, that the *Yam Souph* was likewise denominated *Yam Edom*, or *the sea of* Edom, by the antient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it. For the sons of *Edom*, having possessed themselves of those parts, from their father *Edom*, called the gulph we are now upon *the sea of* Edom. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, rendered *Yam Edom* improperly ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, *The Red-sea*, mistaking the word *Edom* for an appellative. However, they seem to have been well apprised, that the name was not derived from any redness peculiar to this sea, or the territory bordering upon it. For *Agatharchides* and *Suidas* expressly assert, that it was so denominated from one king *Erythras*, who could be no other than *Esau* or *Edom*. Though there are several thickets of the arundinaceous plants, at some small distances from the immediate banks of the *Yam Souph*, yet none are observed either upon them, or growing out of the sea; which is an additional argument in favour of Dr. *Shaw*'s notion. The castle and garison of *Adjeroute* are supposed to occupy at present the spot of ground on which the antient *Heroopolis* stood (3).

(D) It will be found difficult enough to determine the situation of *Petra*. *Strabo* places it three or four days journey from *Jericho*, and five days journey from the forest of *Palm-trees*, which was upon the *Red-sea*. *Pliny* makes it to be six hundred miles distant from *Gaza*, and an hundred twenty-five miles from the *Persian* gulph. But *Reland* and *Cellarius* think, that the numbers have been changed, and

(3) *Shaw's geograph. observat. in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, &c. p.* 342. 386, 387, *& alib. Exod. c.* x. *v.* 19. *c.* xiii. *v.* 18, *&c. Strab. lib.* xvi. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 23. *Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Agatharchid. Cnid. edit. Oxon. p.* 2. *Q. Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 9. *& l.* x. *c.* 1. *Philostrat. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *Arrian. in rer. Indicar. libro, p.* 579. *edit. Blanc. Prid. connect. of the history of the Old and New Test. vol.* i. *p.* 10, 11. *ed.* 2.

regard to its ſituation. Some think, that the city of *Karak*, or *Krak*, lying on the confines of *Arabia* and *Syria*, is the antient *Petra*. According to them, this *fortreſs* (for that the word ſignifies in the *Syriac* and *Chaldee* tongues) anſwers to the *Characha* in the *Maccabees*, the *Karkaa* in the book of *Joſhua*, the *Charac Moab* or *Charac Moba* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Charakmoba* of *Stephanus*. Others make this city to be the ſame with *Hagr* or *Hejr* the capital of a diſtrict in the kingdom of *Hejaz*. And, laſtly, others believe *Errakim*, or *Arrakeh*, a place in a northerly direction from *Hagr* near *Krak* or *Caracha*, to correſpond with the *Petra* of the antients. None of theſe notions ſeems very remote from truth; though the laſt has been ſo ſtrongly ſupported by the famous Mr. *Albertus Schultens*, that, we think, it cannot be eaſily overturned g.

It

g Idem ibid. Dr. Shaw's phyſical obſervations, &c. or an eſſay towards the natural hiſtory of Arabia Petræa, p. 377, 378, & ſeq. Jos. c. xv. ver. 3. 2 Maccab. c. 12. ver. 17. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. Strab. lib. xvi. Joseph. antiq. lib. iv. c. 4. 7. & l. xiv. c. 9, & alib. paſſ. Euseb. & Hieron. in Arkem. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in *Arab. Petr.* Steph. Byzant. de urb. in voc. Χαράκμωβα. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785, 786. Herodian. l. iii. p. 528. Athanas. epiſt. ad monach. Sharif al Edresi, clim. iii. par. 5. Ptol. l. v. c. 17. Calmet, in dict. bibl. voc. *Petra*. Jud. c. xi. ver. 3. 2 Mac. c. xii. v. 17. Euseb. onomaſt. urb. & loc. ad voc. Πέτρα. 2 Kin. c. xiv. ver. 7. Ism. Abulfed. in Arab. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96, 97. Bochart. Chan. lib. i. c. 44. Alb. Schult. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Errakimum*. Vide etiam Gul. Tyr. lib. xxii. c. 2. & 5. Bern. Thesaur. de acquiſ. ter. ſanct. Ebn Hawkal apud Abulfed. & Alb. Schult. ubi ſup. in voc. *Caracha*.

that the true reading in the laſt author is an hundred twenty-five miles from *Gaza*, and ſix hundred miles from the *Perſian* gulph. *Euſebius* places *Theman* five miles from *Petra*, and *Carcaria* a day's journey from the ſame city. Some geographers believe, that there were more than one *Petra*. St. *Athanaſius* diſtinguiſhes two, one in *Palæſtine*, and the other in *Arabia*. *Petra*, the capital of *Arabia Petræa*, is appropriated to *Paleſtine* by the author of the antient *Notitia eccleſiaſtica*, being the metropolis of what was called the *Third Paleſtine*. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* alſo extend *Paleſtine* as far as the *Red-ſea*, to *Eloth*. Father *Calmet* ſuppoſes the *Petra* called *Sela* by *Iſaiah*, and the author of the book of *kings*, to have been ſeated in the land of *Moab*, or the eaſtern part of *Idumæa*, and afterwards named *Joktheel*; whereas the other, called *Rekem*, was, according to him, ſituated in the ſouth *Idumæa*,

or

Towns in Arabia Petræa.

It cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a barren region ſhould abound with large and populous cities; and therefore moſt of thoſe places, whoſe names have been handed down to us by *Ptolemy*, muſt be conſidered as inſignificant and obſcure. The principal places appertaining to *Arabia Petræa*, taken notice of by Scripture, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were *Paran*, *Duma*, and *Pithom*. *Paran*, the *Phara* of *Ptolemy*, gave name to a famous deſert adjoining to it. *Duma* ſtood upon mount *Seir*; and, from what the prophet *Iſaiah* intimates, was probably a place of ſome conſideration. *Heroopolis*, on the weſtern extremity of the *Arabian* gulph, is by ſome ſuppoſed to be *Pithom*, built by the *Iſraelites* for *Pharaoh*, during their ſervitude in *Egypt*, and the *Patumos* or *Patumon* of *Herodotus*. Be that as it will, it is certain the *Septuagint* and *Coptic* verſions countenance ſuch a ſuppoſition, the one rendering *Goſhen Heroopolis*, and the other *Pethom*. The generality of the antient geographers have ranked this city amongſt thoſe belonging to *Egypt*; but *Herodotus* was of another opinion. *Haura*, *Zathag* or *Zatha*, and *Zize*, three modern places of this country, correſpond tolerably well with the *Auara*, *Zanaatha*, and *Ziza* of *Ptolemy*; but as for *Lyſa*, *Gypſaria*, *Geraſa*, and moſt, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer, ſcarce any footſteps or traces of them are now to be ſeen [h].

Nations of Arabia Petræa.

The moſt conſiderable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Nabatæi* or *Nabathæans*, the *Cedræi* or *Kedareni*, and the *Agareni* or *Hagareni* (E). Of

[h] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Hieronymus apud Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 344. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. Num. c. x. ver. 12. Isai. c. xxi. ver. 11. Exod. c. i. ver. 11. LXX. in Gen. c. xlvi. ver. 28, 29. & Interp. Ægypt. ibid. Guil. Bonjour. in monument. Coptic. ſect. 21. Herodot. l. ii. c. 158. Vide Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 1. par. 1. ſect. 7. & chart. geograph. Arab. a Sen. & Sal. ed.

or *Arabia Petræa*, or the country of the *Amalekites*. The ſame author, together with M. *Tillemont*, alſo believes, that the capital of the *Hagarenes*, ineffectually attacked by *Trajan*, was different from the city we are now upon (4).

(E) To theſe we may add the inhabitants of the wilderneſs of *Mahon*, called in Scripture *Mehunim*, who bordered upon *Gerar* and *Pharan*, and conſequently were ſeated in the neighbourhood of *Egypt*. For a further account

(4) *Strab. Plin. Joſeph. Dio. Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *Reland. Palæſt. l.* iii. *p.* 927, 928. *Vid. etiam SS. Script. paſſ. P. Auguſt. Calmet, in voc.* Petra; *ut & D. Tillem. in Traj. art.* xxiv. *p.* 204.

Of these the *Ishmaelites* were the most potent, if they did not comprehend all the rest. The *Nabathæans* and *Kedareni* apparently deduced their names from *Nebaioth* and *Kedar*, the sons of *Ishmael*, and consequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the *Ishmaelites*, or in all respects as the same nation with them. It is probable the descendents of *Midian*, one of *Abraham*'s sons by *Keturah*, seated themselves in the neighbourhood of the *Ishmaelites*; since we find the same people called in Scripture *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*. Amongst the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deserta*, at least the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of *Arabes*, and *Nabatæi*, *Nauatæi*, or *Nabatæ*. They extended themselves, according to St. *Jerom*, from the *Red-sea* to the *Euphrates*; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated *Nabatena*. Nay, so numerous were the *Nabathæans*, that we find them mixed with the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and people of *Moab*. The *Cedræi* or *Kedareni* and *Chanclei* seem to have been intermixed with them. *Cellarius* places the *Cedræi* near the northern confines of *Arabia Felix*. The *Midianites* made a settlement behind the *Elanitic* gulph, and incorporated themselves with the *Cushites*. If the *Hagareni* did not correspond intirely with the *Ishmaelites*, they must have been nearly related to them. *Kimchi* insinuates, that they were originally the children of *Hagar* by an *Arab*, after she had left *Abraham*; but others rather apprehend they assumed their name from the stony region they inhabited. *Cellarius* thinks, that at first they must have been but an obscure people, though neither *Trajan* nor *Severus* could reduce their metropolis, according to *Dio*. Their territory bordered upon the land of *Moab*, as may be inferred from Scripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon were absorbed in that of *Saracens*, which continued famous for several centuries over the eastern and western parts of the world. It is observable, that the *Jerusalem Targum* stiles the *Ishmaelites Saracens*. That the *Arraceni* of *Pliny* were the *Saraceni* of *Ptolemy* and *Dioscorides*, may be evinced by several arguments: 1. The same proper name has sometimes an S, and sometimes a vowel, for its initial letter. So we find Ἀλμυδησσὸς and Σαλμυδησσὸς, Ἀνδράκοπτα and Σανδράκοπτος, Ἐξιτανία and Σεξιτανία, Ἀσιράτης and Σιασιράτης, Ἀρδιαῖοι and Σαρδιαῖοι, *Elana*, and *Selana*, *Sam-*

of *Arabia Petræa*, or the country of this people, our readers may have recourse to the fourth volume of the Universal history (5).

(5) 2 *Chron.* c. xxvi. *ver.* 7. *Univers. hist. vol.* iv. *p.* 150, *not.* (G).

nitæ,

nitæ, and *Amnitæ*, &c. 2. *Ptolemy* assigns the same situation to the *Saraceni*, that *Pliny* does to the *Arraceni*. 3. They had both the same origin, and deduced their names from that of the same city. This will more evidently appear from the account we shall give of the *Saracens* in the following section [1].

Some remarkable places of Arabia Petræa.

BEFORE we leave *Arabia Petræa*, our readers will expect us to touch upon the following remarkable places: 1. The town of *Colzum* or *Kolzom*, giving name to the sea adjoining to it, the *Clysma*, as is supposed, of *Ptolemy*, which stood on the western extremity of the *Red sea*, near the spot where the city of *Suez* was afterwards erected, and not far from the antient *Heroopolis*. 2. The wilderness of *Sdur* or *Shur*, which extends from the extremity of the *Heroopolitan* gulph, now called by the *Arabs* the western arm of the sea *Al Kolzom*, to the desert of *Paran*. 3. The wilderness of *Paran*, extending from the former desert to mount *Sinai*. 4. The wilderness of *Sin*, contiguous to the former, and lying between mount *Sinai* and the aforesaid branch of the sea *Al Kolzom*. 5. The desert of *Sinai*, which is separated from that of *Sin* by many windings, and difficult ways, that take up twelve hours in passing. It is a beautiful plain, more than a league in breadth, and near three in length, lying open towards the N. E. where passengers enter it; but is closed up to the southward by some of the lower eminences of mount *Sinai*. 6. The mounts *Casius* and *Sinai*, which were in *Arabia*, according to St. *Paul*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. 7. *Eziongaber*, a celebrated port in the reigns of *Solomon* and *Jehosaphat*, now called *Meenah el Dsahab*, *the Port of Gold*, on the *Elanitic* gulph of the *Red-sea*. 8. The promontory of *Paran* between the *Heroopolitan* and *Elanitic* gulphs, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. 9. *Adra*, in the northern part of *Arabia Petræa*, an episcopal see, over which *Proclus* presided at the council of *Chalcedon*, according to *Lucas Holstenius*. 10. *Elusa*, which, according to the *Jerusalem Targum*, seems to have

[1] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. & iii. OVID. metam. l. i. ver. 61. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. lib. v. c. 11. l. vi. c. 28. & lib. xii. c. 17. EPIPHAN. hæres. ix. 1 Macc. c. ix. ver. 35. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. ubi supra. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 18. & c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 27. HIERONYM. in loc. Hebr. & alib. Psal. lxxxiii. ver. 6. & KIMCHI in loc. DIO, ubi sup. & alib. EUSEB. in voc. *Madian*. PROCOP. de bell. Pers. lib. i. c. 17. 19. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. peripl. Sin. Arab. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 2, & alib. pass. CELLAR. geog. ant. l. iii. c. 14. TARG. HIEROSOL. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. Is. CASAUB. in comment. ad Strab. p. 32. col. 2. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 8, 9, & alib.

correſponded with *Sur*, and was likewiſe the ſeat of a biſhop. 11. *Boſtra*, twenty-five miles from *Adra*, a town of this region greatly honoured by *Trajan*, and called alſo *Philippopolis*, from the emperor *Philip*, ſurnamed *Arabs* by *Aurelius Victor*. 12. *Moca*, a city taken notice of by a medal of *Antoninus Pius* as governed by its own laws. We ſhall paſs over in ſilence here every thing relating to the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites* or *Idumæans*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*, though ſettled in *Arabia Petræa*, ſince they have been already treated of at large in the ſecond volume of this hiſtory [k].

Arabia Deſerta.

ARABIA DESERTA was bounded on the north by the *Euphrates*, which, bending its courſe eaſterly, ſeparated it from *Meſopotamia* (F); on the weſt by *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia Petræa*; on the eaſt by *Chaldæa* and *Babylonia*, or more preciſely by a ridge of mountains dividing it from thoſe countries; and on the ſouth by *Arabia Felix*, from whence it was likewiſe disjoined by ſeveral ranges of hills. The *Cauchabeni*, according to *Ptolemy*, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the *Euphrates*, as the *Batanæi* did that upon the confines of *Syria*. The *Agubeni* and *Rhaabeni* were placed more ſoutherly, towards the frontiers of *Arabia Felix*; and by the *Perſian* gulph the *Orcheni*. Under the *Cauchabeni*, near the borders of *Babylonia*, the *Æſitæ* had their habitation; and above the *Rhaabeni* the *Maſani*. In the interior part the *Agræi* were ſeated; and in the mountainous region, near *Chaldæa*, the *Marteni* or *Martini*. All theſe nations, or rather tribes, except the *Æſitæ* and *Agræi*, were very obſcure; but thoſe deſerving ſome regard, a word or two concerning them may not prove unacceptable to our readers [l].

[k] GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 88. 144, 145. PTOL. HIERONYM. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2, & alib. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi ſup. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 344. AUR. VICT. TARG. HIEROSOL. & LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, apud Cellar. ubi ſup. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xiv. c. 27. ed. Valeſ. Num. Antonin. Pii apud Patin. aliique num. ant. apud Cellar. in loc. citat. SHAW ubi ſup. p. 341—358. [l] PTOL. ubi ſup.

(F) It appears from *Strabo*, that all the *Arab* tribes bordering on *Meſopotamia*, from their way of life, were by the *Greeks* and *Romans* denominated *Arabes Scenitæ*. That roving people, whom ſome authors make the ſame with the *Saracens* and *Nabatheans*, diſperſed themſelves over ſeveral parts of *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Felix*, as well as through almoſt every diſtrict of this barren province (6).

(6) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 526. *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 24. & 26. & *l.* vi. *c.* 28. *Vide etiam Chr. Cellar. geogr. antiq. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *p.* 586, 587. 594.

BOCHART

BOCHART ſuppoſes the *Æſitæ* to have inhabited that tract where the holy and patient *Job* was ſeated. He believes, that *Ptolemy* wrote Αυσίται *Auſitæ*; and that *Uz* the ſon of *Nahor*, ſettling here, gave name to the whole diſtrict. This notion, it muſt be owned, as well as the emendation that ſupports it, is not void of a good degree of probability. For the *Septuagint* verſion renders *in the land of* Uz ἐν χώρᾳ Αὐσίτιδι, *in the land of the* Auſitæ; and *Haran* or *Charræ*, where *Terah*'s family reſided, was on the oppoſite bank of the *Euphrates*, and conſequently in the neighbourhood of this place. Add to this, that the *Chaldæans* and *Sabæans* are repreſented as *Job*'s neighbours in Scripture; which circumſtance agrees extremely well with the country of the *Auſitæ* or *Æſitæ*, as being contiguous to *Chaldæa*, and having, according to *Ptolemy*, a city called *Sabe* ſituated in it. Further, *Buz* was *Nahor*'s ſecond ſon; and we find, adjoining to this territory, a diſtrict called *Buſitis*, of which *Elihu*, one of *Job*'s friends, was a native; and another of them came from *Tema* or *Thema*, a town of *Arabia Deſerta*, not very remote from hence. From which conſiderations, as well as ſeveral others that might be offered, we may infer, that *the land of* Uz, *and the territory of the* Auſitæ *or* Æſitæ, were one and the ſame country [m]. *The* Æſitæ.

THE *Agræi* lay more weſterly, and even cloſe upon the ſkirts of *Arabia Petræa*; which poſſibly may have induced ſome learned men to call them *Agræi*, and make them the ſame people with the *Hagareni* above-mentioned, whom we have placed in *Arabia Petræa*. If this be admitted, they muſt have poſſeſſed a good part of *Arabia*, and been much more powerful than *Cellarius* is willing to allow them. Be that as it will, it is certain *Pliny* takes notice of the *Agræi*, and the city of *Egra* or *Agra*; that, in the cabinets of the curious, antique (G) coins *The* Agræi.

[m] BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 8. VERS. SEPTUAG. in Job. c. i. FRID. SPANHEM. in Jobi hiſt. p. 50. Gen. c. xxii. ver. 21. JOB. c. xxxii. ver. 2, &c.

(G) That the coins here mentioned belonged to this city, ſeems plain, not only from the legend they exhibit, but likewiſe from the workmanſhip, taſte, and manner of them, ſince they agree intirely with thoſe of the cities in the neighbourhood of *Paleſtine*. They prove therefore *Pliny*'s text to have been corrupted, and that his preſent *Egra* was originally *Agra*. That *Jupiter* ſhould have been honoured with ſuch an appellation, will not appear ſtrange, when

coins have been discovered, with the words ΖΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΕΥΣ, Jupiter *of* Agra, or Jupiter *the protector of* Agra, upon them; and lastly, that the situation the *Oriental* geographers assign *Hagr*, a name not very remote from *Agra*, is not incompatible with such a supposition. But as it is not a matter of any great moment whether the *Agræi* and *Hagareni* were the same people or not, whether their territories were extensive, or confined within narrow bounds, we leave our readers to take which side of the question they please [n].

Some curious particulars relating to Arabia Deserta.

It is very well known, that the antient *Ituræans*, *Edomites*, *Nabathæans*, people of *Kedar*, and other nations settled in *Arabia Petræa*, led, for the most part, a wandering life, like their posterity the present *Bedoweens*, without houses, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greatest part of both these provinces or kingdoms was a lonesome, desolate wilderness, no otherwise diversified than by plains covered with sand, or mountains consisting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, unless sometimes at the equinoxes, refreshed with rain. The few vegetables, therefore, which they produced, must have been stinted by a perpetual drought, and the nourishment afforded them by the nocturnal dews sufficiently impaired by the intense heat of the sun in the day. Throughout the sandy deserts were found huge mountains of sand, formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceased in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were so very rare in these parts, that it is no wonder they should have occasioned so much strife and contention. However, notwithstanding the natural sterility of the tract we are now upon, those vast plains of sand above-mentioned were here-and-there interspersed with fruitful spots, which appeared like so many little islands surrounded by an immense ocean, as has been observed by *Pliny*. These being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and most excellent fruits, the *Arabs*, with their flocks, encamped upon

[n] Jacob. de Barry apud Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. ubi sup. Moham. Alfrag. in clim. ii. astronom. c. 9. ut & Gol. in loc. & lex. Arab. Vide etiam not. ad Christ. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592. & Abulfed. in Arab.

when we consider the *Diana Ephesia*, *Apollo Delphicus*, *Apollo Clarius*, &c. of the antients (7).

(7) *Jacob. de Barry apud Hadrian. Reland. Palæst. tom.* ii. *p.* 933, *& seq. Vide etiam Plin. Macrob. &c. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *p.* 592.

some

ſome of them, and, having conſumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the cuſtom of the *Bedoweens* at this day. Such fruitful ſpots were likewiſe frequent in *Libya*, and by the *Egyptians* called *Auaſes* or *Abaſes*, as we learn from *Strabo*. The barren part of *Arabia Felix*, bordering upon the *Red-ſea*, was, in like manner, interſperſed with ſuch *Abaſes*; which probably gave name to the *Abaſeni*, a nation ſettled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of theſe, croſſing the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, paſſed into *Ethiopia*, which from them received the denomination of *Abaſſia*. This, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. *Ludolfus*, appears to us much more likely, than that either the *Arabs* or *Ethiopians* ſhould have been called *Abaſſines*, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation. For the very notion of ſuch a mixture is repugnant to the whole ſtream of *Oriental* antiquity, and even to the ſacred writings themſelves, as our readers will eaſily collect from ſeveral paſſages of this hiſtory. It is certain the *Nubians* (H), a people inhabiting part of *Libya Interior*, abounding with *Abaſes*, and *Ethiopia*, went antiently under the appellation of *Abaſeni*; which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of *Arabia Felix* itſelf ſhould be called *Abaſene*, is not to be wondered at, ſince it might as well derive this name from *Arabia Petræa*, as it did from thence that of *Arabah* or *Arabia*. For, that *Arabia Petræa* was ſtiled *Abaſene*, appears from *Herodian* and *Dio*, who have given an account of *Severus*'s expedition into this country, in conjunction with a coin of that emperor, having on the reverſe the word ΑΒΑΣΗΝΩΝ,

(H) That the *Nubians* were a branch of the antient *Ethiopians*, appears from *Ariſtotle*, *Ptolemy*, and others; and that the *Ethiopians* were nearly related to the *Egyptians*, after conſulting *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, no one can doubt. The *Ethiopic* and *Egyptian* languages therefore, in early ages, muſt have been, in a manner, the ſame; which likewiſe may be immediately collected from the aforeſaid authors. *Auaſes* or *Abaſes*, therefore, was probably an *Ethiopic* as well as an *Egyptian* word. Now, that the *Arabic* tongue antiently agreed with the *Ethiopic*, cannot well be denied, ſo uncommon an affinity betwixt them remaining to this day; ſo that *Auaſes* or *Abaſes* may be conſidered likewiſe as a word uſed by the antient *Arabs*. Theſe points add great weight to the conjecture here propoſed (8).

(8) *Herodot. l.* ii. *Strab. l.* xvii. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. l.* viii. *c.* 12. *Ptol. l.* iv. *c.* 8. *Heſych. in voc.* Νῶβαι-Πυγμαῖοι. *Steph. Byzant. de urb. Suid. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Vide etiam Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 29. *Elmacin. hiſt. Sar, l.* i, *c.* 17. *& Bochart. Phal. l.* ii, *c.* 23. *l.* iv, *c.* 26, *&c.*

exhi-

exhibited by *Goltzius*. And this takes off the whole force of the objection offered by M. *Ludolfus* againſt the etymon of *Abaſene* or *Abaſſia* here propoſed [o].

Towns of Arabia Deſerta.

THOUGH *Ptolemy* has handed down to us a large liſt of the towns appertaining to *Arabia Deſerta*, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing obſervations, that few of them were places of any great repute. That geographer makes *Thapſacus* on the *Euphrates*, a city of ſome note on account of the bridge over which *Alexander* and *Darius* marched their reſpective armies, its frontier on the ſide of *Meſopotamia*; but *Pliny* and *Stephanus* think this town belonged to *Syria*. Near the mountains ſeparating *Arabia* from *Chaldæa* ſtood *Themma*, *Thema*, or *Tema*, ſo called from *Thema* or *Tema* the ſon of *Iſhmael*, mentioned in Scripture; for the *Iſhmaelites* extended themſelves from the land of *Havilah* near the *Euphrates* to the confines of *Egypt*. *Seba* was upon the borders of *Arabia Felix*, and founded probably by *Seba Abraham*'s grandſon; ſince all that patriarch's children by *Keturah*, according to *Moſes*, moved towards the eaſt. *Gadirtha*, *Auzara*, *Audattha* or *Adittha*, *Balatæa*, *Pharga*, *Belgnæa*, and the other antient cities ſituated along the banks of the *Euphrates*, have long ſince diſappeared; unleſs we will allow ſome traces of *Audattha*, or *Adittha*, and *Balatæa*, to be ſtill viſible in the modern *Haditha* and *Balladoc*. *Ammæa*, *Idacara*, and *Jucara*, towards the *Perſian* gulph, are equally obſcure; except the preſent *Al-Kere* ſhould be thought to bear ſome reſemblance to the two latter. *Salma*, *Calathuſa*, *Arrade*, *Tedium*, *Odagena*, *Luma*, *Dumætha*, &c. in the mediterranean parts; *Artemita* and *Abæra* on the ſkirts of *Arabia Felix*; *Thauba*, *Erupa*, *Alata*, *Aurana*, *Choce*, *Barathena*, &c. to the northward; never probably made any conſiderable figure. However, that ſome memory of *Salma* ſeems at this day to be preſerved in mount *Salma*, of *Dumæ-*

[o] HEROD. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. &c. paſſ. SHAW, ubi ſupra. STRAB. l. ii. & alib. CASAUB. in Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. PLIN. l. v. c. 25. Voyage au camp du Grand Emir, par le chevalier D'ARVIEUX, paſſ. Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. 123, &c. SCALIG. in comput. eccleſ. Æthiop. de emend. temp. lib. vii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 275—278. BALTH. TELLEZIUS, lib. i. c. 2. p. 5. J. LUDOLF. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 50, 51, 52. NONNOSUS apud Phot. HESYCH. in voc. Νῶται-Πυγμαῖοι. ARISTOT. hiſt. animal. l. viii. c. 12. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. lib. iv. c. 8. GEORG. ELMACIN. hiſt. Sar. lib. i. c. 17. DIO, ubi ſupra. HERODIAN. lib. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. HUBERTUS GOLTZIUS in theſaur. rei antiquar. p. 217. edit. Antuerp. 1618.

the

tha in *Dawmat-al-Jandal*, of *Aurana* in *Auran*, and of *Alata* in *Aladi*, we think, cannot well be denied [p].

Arabia Felix. Arabia Felix was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms juſt deſcribed; on the ſouth by the *Erythræan* ſea; on the eaſt and weſt by part of that ſea, together with the *Arabian* and *Perſian* gulphs. In ſhort, it pretty nearly anſwered to that tract, which is looked upon as the proper peninſula of the *Arabs* by the *Oriental* geographers. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which well enough correſponds with the diviſion of the *Proper Arabia* into five provinces by the eaſtern writers. Theſe provinces are *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tehâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*; to which ſome add *Bahrein*, as a ſixth. But the more exact make this a part of *Irâk*, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with *Strabo*. However, others reduce them all to two, *Yaman* and *Hejaz*, the laſt including the three provinces of *Tehâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. The principal nations taken notice of by the antients as ſettled here were the *Sabæi*, *Gerræi*, *Minæi* or *Minnæi*, *Atramitæ*, *Maranitæ*, *Catabani*, *Aſcitæ*, *Homeritæ*, *Sapphoritæ*, *Omanitæ*, *Saraceni*, *Nabathæi*, *Thamydeni*, *Bnizomenæ*, &c. As the limits and ſituation of theſe nations cannot be determined with any manner of preciſion, we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in the particular geography of the *Happy Arabia* [q].

The Sabæ. The *Sabæi* ſeem to have poſſeſſed a very conſiderable territory in the ſouthern and beſt part of this peninſula. Their country was greatly celebrated amongſt the antients for the vaſt quantity of frankincenſe it produced. *Saba* or *Sabæ*, its metropolis, according to the antient geographers, ſtood upon an hill, at no very conſiderable diſtance from the *Red-ſea*, being a large, opulent, and ſtrong city. It was defended by a caſtle, and, as has been ſuppoſed by many learned men, together with the *Aràb* nation in general, the reſidence of the queen of *Sheba*. However, provided we allow the modern *Mâreb* in the province of *Hadramaut* to correſpond with the antient *Saba*, this laſt muſt have been ſeated more to the ſouth, and near the coaſt of the *Erythræan* ſea, or, as it is now called, the *Indian* ocean. And that the modern *Mareb* anſwers to *Saba*, muſt be admitted at leaſt extremely probable from *Pliny*, who, together with *Strabo*, mentions

[p] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Arrian. lib. i. p. 116. & lib. iii. p. 168. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. v. c. 24. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Vide etiam chart. geograph. Arab. a Sen. Sal. &c. ed.

[q] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Strab. l. xvii. p. 1129. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Agatharchid. Cnid. Mel. Plin. Steph. Byzant. Marcian. Heracleot. Agathem. aliique antiq. ſcript. paſſ.

Mariaba or *Meriaba*, the ſame words apparently with *Mâreb*, as the capital of the *Sabæi*; but is intirely ſilent as to the city of *Saba*. According to the eaſtern geographers, the town of *Mâreb* or *Mârab* is ſomething above three days journey from *Sanaa* the capital of *Yaman*, in an eaſtern direction. From the ſame authors it alſo appears, that *Saba* was originally the name of a diſtrict, as well as a city, which could only be deemed a ſmall part of the kingdom of *Yaman*. But that this diſtrict ſhould have been always confined to the province of *Hadramaut* or *Shibâm*, if not a part of it, as they ſeem to inſinuate, cannot be allowed; ſince frankincenſe, for the production of which the territory of the *Sabæi* was ſo famous, is only found in the province of *Shihr*, different from that of *Hadramaut*. The *Arabs* aſſert both the town and diſtrict to have been ſo denominated from *Saba* the ſon of *Jexhab*, and grandſon of *Joktan*, whoſe name imports *to lead into captivity*, becauſe he was the firſt who reduced men to a ſtate of ſervitude. *Pliny* makes the *Perſian* and *Arabian* gulphs the eaſtern and weſtern boundaries of this nation. The maritim towns were *Marana*, *Marma*, (I) *Corolia*, *Sabatha*, &c. and inland cities *Naſcus*, *Cardaua*, *Carnus*, &c. *Rhegama* or *Rhegma*, founded probably by *Raamah* the ſon of *Cuſh*, ſeated on the *Perſian* gulph, ſeems likewiſe to have appertained to the *Sabæi* [r].

The Gerræi *and* Minæi.

THE *Gerræi* and *Minæi*, according to *Strabo*, brought vaſt quantities of frankincenſe, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or ſouthern parts of *Arabia Felix* to the ſea-ports; which is a ſtrong preſumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the *Sabæi*. We find the towns of *Bilæna* or *Bilbana*, *Gera*, and *Magindana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* as belonging to the *Gerræi*; and the *Minæi*, a powerful nation, joined with the *Gerræi* by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. The laſt

[r] DIOD. SIC. lib. iii. AGATHARCHID. CNID. peripl. p. 63. PTOL. ubi ſupra. DIONYS. perieg. v. 927, &c. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 86, 87. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. par. 6, & alib.

(I) It is poſſible, that this town might be ſeated on ſome part of the *Red ſea* abounding with *coral*, eſpecially ſince that ſea was famous for the production of this marine vegetable; which if we admit, it may appear probable, that *Corolia* received its name from the *coral* in its neighbourhood. Notwithſtanding what has been advanced by *Pliny*, the word *coral* ſeems to be of *Oriental* extraction. For חורול חרל, or חורל ſignifies *a thorn*, *a nettle*, *a thiſtle*, &c. which are vegetables, and conſequently bear ſome analogy to *coral*. Some may perhaps imagine, that *coral* was ſo denominated from the town we are here ſpeaking of (9).

(9) *Plin. l.* xxxii. *c.* 2. *Schind. lex. pentaglot. in voc.* חרל.

author calls the region of the *Minæi Minæa* or *Meinæa*, and makes its northern frontiers seventy days journey from *Ailah*. Its principal city was *Carna* or *Carana*, called, as should seem, *Carnus* by *Pliny*, and placed by him in the country of the *Sabæi*; which brings no small accession of strength to what we have just advanced. Some authors take notice of the *Charmæi* as a people contiguous to the *Minæi* and *Gerræi*; but deliver nothing of moment concerning them [s].

The Adramitæ.

As for the *Atramitæ* or *Adramitæ*, they undoubtedly inhabited part at least of the province at this day named *Hadramaut* or *Hadramutta*, and consequently were a tribe of the *Sabæi*. Their metropolis was called *Sabota* or *Sabatha*, as may be inferred from *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; besides which the port of *Cane*, at the southern extremity of *Arabia Felix*, belonged to them. *Xibân*, or *Shibam*, and *Tezim*, are now the principal towns of *Hadramaut*, both of them about a day's journey from the *Indian* ocean. *Shibâm* stands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the same name, is fortified with a citadel of great strength, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation. It goes likewise under the name of *Hadramaut* amongst the *Arabs*, lies in about 13° 30′ N. latitude, and is seven days journey from *Aden*. The province was denominated *Hadramaut* from one of the sons of *Joktan*, whose descendents first peopled it. *Shibâm* and *Tezim* were also the names of two tribes, who founded, and settled themselves in, the cities so called, as we learn from the *Arab* historians. *Ebisma*, *Dama*, *Ægisthæ*, *Trulla*, *Mæphath*, and other places fixed by *Ptolemy* here, deserve not the least attention [t].

The Maranitæ.

The *Maranitæ* or *Maranenses* must have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot pretend to ascertain their situation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the *Mara* or *Amara* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Mara* of some of the *Oriental* geographers [u].

The Catabani.

Cellarius makes the *Catabani* a people of good consideration; which is confirmed by *Pliny*, who tells us, that the *Larendani*, *Catabani*, and *Gebanitæ*, had many towns, particularly *Nagia* and *Tamna* that contained 65 temples. *Tamna* must have been the seat of some *Arab* prince governing the *Catabani*, according to *Strabo*; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of *Tehama* stretching out as far to the southward as the city of *Aden*. *Golius* says, that the word signifies a violent heat; and that the country

[s] Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. [t] Plin. ubi sup. Ptol. ibid. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 82. [u] Ptol. l. viii. Cotbodin & Ebn Joun. apud Gol. ubi supra, p. 84.

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was so denominated from its being greatly exposed to the solar rays, whose heat there is very intense. But as many other places in *Arabia* were subject to the same inconvenience, our readers may possibly suppose it rather to have deduced its name from *Tema* the son of *Ishmael*, whose posterity, in process of time, might settle themselves in it. This seems to be confirmed by *Almotarezzi*, who says, that *Ishmael* himself resided in *Araba*, a district of *Tehama*. *Tebala*, the capital of *Tehama*, a town of considerable note, built by *Tebala*, the son of *Midian*, stands in the road from *Mecca* to *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman* [u].

The Ascitæ.

THE *Ascitæ* possessed all that tract about the promontory *Syagrus*, the cape *Ras al Ghat* of the moderns, including, as should seem, part of the provinces of *Omân* and *Mahra*. Nay, they must have spread themselves much farther, if we suppose *Hâsec*, a maritim town on the coast of *Hadramaut*, to have been so denominated from them. Whether any traces of the *Ascitæ* are still visible in *Maskat* an *Arab* town on the bay of *Ormuz*, a little above a degree north of the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, and almost under the tropic of *Cancer*, we must submit to the judgment of our curious and inquisitive readers [w].

The Homerites.

PTOLEMY mentions the *Homerites* as a nation seated in the southern parts of *Arabia Felix*, and bounded on the east by the *Adramitæ*, or province of *Hadramaut*. His *Arabiæ Emporium* he likewise places in their country, as *Pliny* does his *Massala*. Some authors make them the same people with the *Sabæans*, whilst others consider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon *Sabæi* and *Homeritæ* to have been different names of the same nation, and are countenanced herein by the *Oriental* historians. For these inform us, that the *Sabæans* were called *Hamyarites* from *Hamyar* the son of their great ancestor *Saba*; and that they ruled over almost the whole country of *Yaman*. Though the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, or *Homerites*, was at length translated from the princes of *Hamyar* to the descendents of *Cahlan* his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. We find them stiled *Immireni* by *Theodorus Lector*, and *Theophanes Byzantius* gives them the name of *Ethiopians*, insinuating them to be the *Macrobii* of *Herodotus*, which yet we are by no means disposed to admit. They made a great figure amongst

[u] CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 598, 599. PLIN. PTOL. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. KELEBÆUS in lib. de etymis locor. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 85. Geogr. Nubiens. & YACÛT ibid. ALMOTAREZZI in *Mogreb* apud Cl. Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 33. [w] PTOL. & ABULFED. in Arab.

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the antient *Arabs* before the time of *Mohammed*, as will more fully appear in the sequel of this history [x].

THE *Sapphoritæ* of *Ptolemy* cennot be considered as a people distinct from the *Homerites*, notwithstanding the authority of *Ptolemy* and *Cellarius*. They were only the citizens of *Sapphar*, or, as *Pliny* has it, *Saphar*, a city of note in the dominions of the *Homerites*. *Ptolemy* assigns this place a position nearly agreeing with that of the present *Sanaa*, which we cannot help looking upon as extremely probable, especially as *Saphar* is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by *Pliny*. The *Arabs* believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincense went, in the earliest times, by the name of *Sephar*; from whence the excellent *Golius* concludes this tract to have been the mount *Sephar* of *Moses*. A strong presumption of the truth of which notion is, that *Dhafâr*, the same word with the modern *Arabs* as the antient *Saphar*, is the name of a town in *Shihr*, the only province of *Arabia* bearing frankincense, on the coast of the *Indian* ocean, five parasangs from (K) *Merbât*. This we learn from *Safioddin*, who likewise informs us, that this thuriferous mountainous country of *Dhafâr* is about three days journey long, and of an equal breath. *Bochart* therefore deserves little regard, when he intimates, that the *Mesha* of *Moses* was the *Muza* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mocha* of the moderns, a celebrated port of the *Red Sea*, about four or five days journey from *Dhafâr*; since this is much too narrow an extent of territory to receive all the posterity of the thirteen sons of *Joktan*, as we are assured by *Moses* the tract between *Mesha* and *Sephar* did. For which reason we cannot help preferring the sentiment of *R. Saadias* and *R. Abraham Zachutus*, who assert *Mesha* to be *Mecca*; especially since it is a point agreed upon by the *Arabs*, that *Mesha* was one of the most antient names of *Mecca*. Some authors believe, that in early times there stood a city called *Dhafâr* or *Saphar*, the *Arabic* letter ظ frequently answering to the *Hebrew* ס and

The Sapphoritæ.

[x] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. GOLIUS in Alfragan. p. 86, 87. POC. spec. hist. Arab. p. 65, 66. PHILOSTORGIUS, l. ii. num. 6, & l. iii. num. 4. THEODORUS LECTOR, l. ii. p. 567. THEOPHANES BYZANTIUS in excerpt. de legat. Vide & CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 599.

(K) A parasang is about three miles. Eight parasangs, according to *Abulfeda*, or twenty-four miles, make a station, or a day's journey. But the *Nubian* geographer says, that a station consists of thirty miles (2).

(2) *Abulfed. Geog. Nub.*

Greek Σ, in the neighbourhood of *Sanaa*; and others, that *Sanaa* itſelf went formerly by that name; which in a great meaſure confirms what we have juſt advanced [y].

The Omanitæ.

WE find the *Omanitæ* taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, and *Omanum* their chief city repreſented by him as one of the moſt conſiderable places in *Arabia*. It cannot be doubted but the *Omân* of *Alfraganus*, and capital of the province of the ſame name, the common boundary of *Yaman* and *Bahrein*, is the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, and the country in which it is ſeated, the diſtrict of the antient *Omanitæ*. From whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the juriſdiction of the *Homerites*, and conſequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of *Omân* is defended by a ſtrong gariſon of *Arabs*. Either the tract itſelf, or the metropolis, ſeems alſo to have been called antiently *Sohâr*; but at this day the former is denominated *Omân*, and the latter *Sohâr*. The province of *Omân* ſtretches itſelf out three hundred miles on the coaſt of the *Perſian* ſea, which is there called the ſea of *Omân*. In the time of *Ptolemy*, *Omanûm*, or *Sohâr*, was a famous mart; but has been, in a manner, deſerted by merchants for ſeveral ages [z].

The Saracens.

THE *Saracens* or *Nabathæans* poſſeſſed that part of *Arabia Felix* bordering upon *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deſerta*; but what extent this territory was of, we no-where find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the *Thamudeni*, *Thamuditæ*, or *Thamydeni*, a people alſo mentioned in the *Koran*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that the (L) *Thamydeni* inhabited part of the coaſt of the *Arabian* gulph; and *Pliny* intimates their principal city to have been named *Badanatha*. In fine, *Golius* believes them to have occupied a good part at leaſt of the province of *Hejâz*, and particularly that diſtrict wherein *Hagr* or *Al Hejr*, the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy*, is ſituated. This, as well as other conſiderations that might

[y] PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi ſup. PLIN. l. vi. c. 23. & l. xii. c. 14. ARRIAN. peripl. mar. Erythr. Gen. c. x. v. 30. R. SAADIAS in verſ. Arab. Pentat. POCOCK. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. apud GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. SAFIODDIN. in lex. geographic. BOCHART. Phal. p. 163. RR. ABRAH. ZACHUTUS & SAADIAS apud BOCHART. ibid. GOL. ubi ſup. p. 84. [z] PLIN. l. vi c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. GOL. notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 80, 81. Geogr. Nubienſ. & philoſophus Xiraſita in clim. ii.

(L) The *Thamydeni* were the tribe of *Thamud*, ſo famous amongſt the *Arab* writers, of whom we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak (3).

(3) *Abulfed. Gol. Pocock, &c.*

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be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the *Saracens* and *Nabathæans*, if not intirely the ſame people with them [a].

The Bnizomenæ.

DIODORUS SICULUS tells us, that in the neighbourhood of the *Thamydeni* were likewiſe ſeated the *Bnizomenæ*, who lived upon wild beaſts taken in hunting. In their country ſtood a temple held in the higheſt veneration amongſt all the *Arabs*. It is probable this temple was ſacred to *Iſis*, as *Diodorus* relates an iſland near the *Bnizomenean* coaſt to have been more immediately under her protection. Theſe likewiſe muſt have been ſettled in ſome of the maritim parts of *Hejâz*; but their ſituation, for want of ſufficient light from antient hiſtory, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the *Nabathæans*, as well as their neighbours the *Thamydeni* [b].

WE might here mention ſeveral other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to *Arabia Felix*. But ſince theſe either coincide with ſome of the *Ethiopic* cantons already deſcribed, as the *Troglodytes*, &c. or may be conſidered as branches of the *Saracens*, *Nabathæans*, *Sabæans*, *Homerites*, &c. our readers will excuſe even a bare enumeration of them. The ſame may be ſaid of that large catalogue of obſcure and inſignificant towns and villages, belonging to theſe tribes, to be met with in *Ptolemy*, of which that geographer himſelf had no idea. However, we muſt not paſs over in ſilence ſome towns and ſea-ports of *Arabia*, that were held in good repute by the old geographers and hiſtorians [c].

Remarkable places in Arabia Felix.

NYSA was a town of *Arabia* on the *Red Sea*, famous for the education of *Bacchus*, who from thence, and his father *Jupiter*, received the name of *Dionyſus*. *Arga* and *Badeo*, two maritim cities in a ſoutherly direction from *Nyſa*, had royal palaces, in which the ſovereigns of the country ſometimes reſided. *Pudni* we find eſteemed by *Ptolemy* as one of the principal places of *Arabia Felix*. *Muſa* or *Muza* was a celebrated empory and harbour, to which the *Arab* merchants reſorted with their frankincenſe, ſpices, and perfumes. The beſt authors take the modern *Mocha* or *Mokha* to correſpond with the antient *Muſa*; but, in our opinion, *Moſa*, at preſent a ſmall, but handſome town, near ten leagues from *Mokha*, ſeems to bid the faireſt for that antient mart. This does not only appear from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and ſituation, but likewiſe from hence, that

[a] PLIN. & CELLAR. ubi ſup. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 9. [b] DIOD. SIC. l. iii. [c] Vide STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. &c.

Moſa is the rendezvous and thoroughfare of the fruits which come from the mountainous parts of *Arabia*, a circumſtance well enough ſuiting with what the antients have related of *Muſa*. Be that as it will, we cannot well deny, that ſome traces of *Muſa* are ſtill preſerved in *Moſa*; eſpecially as *Pliny* intimates the *Arab* merchants to have brought in his time vaſt quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. *Ocelis*, according to *Pliny* and *Arrian*, ſtood upon the ſhore of that narrow ſea called by the moderns the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, and ſupplied the merchants with freſh water in their *Indian* voyages. *Arabiæ Emporium* has been already mentioned, and will be deſcribed when we come to ſpeak of the city of *Aden*, which is ſuppoſed to anſwer to it. The port of *Moſcha* our readers will probably place upon the ſpot occupied at this day by the city of *Maſkat*; which is all that we can ſay of it. As for the *Itamas portus*, the memory and ſituation of it ſtill remain in *Câdhema*, a town or village on the *Perſian* gulph, or bay of *Baſra* [d].

Oriental geography of Arabia.

BEFORE we conclude this ſection, our readers will expect a ſketch of the *Oriental* geography of the peninſula of the *Arabs*. The beſt eaſtern writers, as has been already obſerved, divide this peninſula into five provinces or kingdoms, to wit, *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tehama*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. This diviſion is of great antiquity, as appears from *Strabo*; which is not to be wondered at, ſince the *Arab* cuſtoms, names of towns, &c. are nearly the ſame now that they were above three thouſand years ago [e].

Yaman.

THE province of *Yaman*, ſo called either from its ſituation to the *right-hand* or ſouth of the temple of *Mecca*, or elſe from the *happineſs* and *verdure* of its ſoil, extends itſelf along the *Indian* ocean from the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab* to cape *Raſalgat*. Part of the *Red Sea* bounds it on the weſt, as the towns of *Najran*, the *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, *Haly* or *Haljo* on the ſea *Al Kolzom*, and *Omân* or *Sohar*, do on the north. It is ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer provinces, as *Hadramaut*, *Shihr*, *Omân*, *Mahra*, &c. of which *Shihr* alone produces the frankincenſe. The very learned Mr. *Sale* did not ſufficiently attend to the *Oriental* geographers, when he limited *Yaman* on the north by *Hejaz*, and made *Najran* a province, neither of which particulars have any foundation in them [f].

[d] HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. & l. iii. APOLLOD. bibliothec. l. iii. c. 4. ſect. 3. extr. p. 159. EUSEB. præp. Evang. l. ii c. 2. ARRIAN. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. 1711, 1712, 1713. ARRIAN. peripl. p. 8. CELLAR. ubi ſup. [e] STRAB. l. xvi. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 79. [f] LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. GOLIUS ubi ſup. & p. 87. PTOL. ubi ſup. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 2.

THIS

THIS country has been famous from all antiquity [g] for its fertility, riches, and happineſs of its climate. The principal cities in it known to the antients are the following: 1. *Mokha*, if it was the *Muſa* or *Muza* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Arrian*; which yet, we apprehend, will admit of a diſpute. It is at preſent a port and town on the *Red Sea* of conſiderable trade; contains ten thouſand inhabitants, *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Mohammedans*; is ſurrounded with walls, after the antient manner; and has four gates without a ditch, though ſtrengthened by four towers with a proper number of cannon [h] placed upon them. 2. *Aden*, a celebrated mart on the *Indian* ocean, not far from the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, ſo called, according to the *Arabs*, from its founder *Aden* the ſon of *Saba*, and grandſon of *Abraham*. Some believe the name to be the ſame with *Eden*, the *Hebrew* word denoting *Paradiſe*, and that the town under conſideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was ſituated. It ſtands at the foot of ſeveral high mountains, which ſurround it almoſt on all ſides. The *Arabs* have erected five or ſix forts on the ſummits of theſe mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications, on their necks. A fair aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reſervoir, built about three quarters of a mile from the city, which ſupplies the inhabitants with very good water. *Golius* produces ſeveral reaſons to prove, that *Aden* is the *Arabiæ Emporium* of *Ptolemy*, which ſeem to carry conſiderable weight. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Aden* is the *Adana* which *Stephanus* mentions from *Uranius* [i]. 3. *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, a very antient city, greatly reſembling *Damaſcus*. It is ſeated in a mountainous territory, and bleſſed with a moſt delightful air; inſomuch that it enjoys a double ſummer, or rather a perpetual ſpring. It is about fifty leagues diſtant from *Mokha* on the borders of *Hadramaut*, and was denominated *Ozâl* from its founder the ſon of *Joktan*, as the *Arabs* pretend. They likewiſe make *Sanaa* the ſon of *Ozâl* to have communicated that name to it, by which it goes at preſent. Some aſſert it to be the *Saphar* of *Ptolemy*, as above obſerved. *Sanaa*, towards the beginning of the laſt century, conſiſted of good houſes built with lime and ſtone, being as large as *Briſtol*. It ſtands in a barren and ſtony valley, ſurrounded at a ſmall diſtance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the

Principal antient cities of Yaman.

[g] STRAB. PLIN. paſſ. DIONYS. AF. ubi ſup. [h] LA ROQUE, ubi ſup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 84. [i] URANIUS apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. GOLIUS, ubi ſup. p. 83. LA ROQUE, ubi ſup. ABULFED. in Arab.

Arabs have built a small castle to keep off the neighbouring mountaineers, who sometimes insult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from far, and consequently very dear. On the east side stands the castle invironed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are posted proper guards. The king of *Yaman* does not now reside here, but at *Muab*, a town built by one of the last monarchs of this country, not a mile from *Dhamar* a little to the S. E. of *Sanaa*. About three quarters of a mile from this place, on a pretty high hill, the prince above-mentioned built a palace or pleasure-house, to which he frequently retired, in order to divert himself; and, from the pleasant country in which it was seated, stiled it *Hisn almawaheb* [k], or the *castle of delights*. 4. *Saba* or *Mareb* in the province of *Hadramaut*, of which an account has been given above. It is at present little better than a village, and stands above three days journey E. of *Sanaa* [l]. 5. *Shibam*, *Dhafar*, *&c.* towns of a very high antiquity, have been [m] already described. 6. *Oman* or *Sohar*, the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, was formerly frequented by merchants of various nations; but has for several ages been deserted by them. This seems to have been occasioned by the vicinity of a small rocky island called *Kîs*, so low that it cannot be discovered at any distance, on which many ships were dashed to pieces. *Kîs* lies a little to the east of *Charec*, another small island opposite to the coast of *Oman*, and famous for a pearl-fishery, according to *Abulfeda*. *Iachtus* and the *Nubian* geographer make both these islands, now called the isles of *Sohar*, about half a day's sail from the main land of *Arabia*; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in *Oman* are frequently so intense, that they have passed into a proverb amongst the *Orientals*. The town of *Sohar* must be in something more than 24°. N. lat. though *Ptolemy* places his *Omanum Emporium* in 19°. 45′ N. lat. and *Ebn Maruph*, mathematician to sultan *Morad* or *Amurath* II. asserts *Oman* or *Sohar* to be in about 23°. N. lat. All other particulars of note relating to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to [n].

Soil, mountains, rivers, &c. of Yaman.

THE best part of *Arabia Felix*, or that which the *Greeks* called *most happy*, was probably the country of *Yaman*; the

[k] La Roque, p. 232, & alib. Gol. ad Alfrag. p. 83, 84. Sir Henry Middleton's journey to *Sanaa*. [l] Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 86, 87. [m] Idem ibid. p. 82. ut & Abulfed. in Arab. [n] Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Geogr. Nubiens. & philos. Xirasita in clim. ii. Abulfed. in Arab. Yacût. & Ebn Maruph, apud Gol. ibid. p. 78. 81.

delight-

delightfulneſs and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains. For all that part lying along the *Red Sea* is a dry barren deſert, in ſome places ten or twelve leagues over; but, in return, bounded by the aforeſaid mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almoſt perpetual ſpring, and, beſides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and ſpices. The principal of theſe mountains taken notice of by the antients were *Cabubathra*, *Melan*, *Prionotus*, and *Didymi*, whoſe *Arabic* names have not hitherto been brought into *Europe*. As the *Greeks* and *Romans* were little acquainted with this region, we muſt allow *Ptolemy* to have been very inaccurate in his geography of it; which might alſo be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary. Admit this, and we may be allowed to ſuppoſe, that the preſent *Arab* river *Falj*, emptying itſelf into the *Bay of Baſra*, is the *Prion* of *Ptolemy*; and the modern city *Masfa* his *Mæphath*, ſituate about 0°. 30′ N. of the ſource of that river. However, it muſt be owned, that a river of *Oman*, falling into the *Indian* ocean at *Sûr*, about 0°. 40′. N. of *Maſkat*, poſſibly the *Moſcha portus* of *Ptolemy*, bids likewiſe fair for the *Prion*. No other rivers of note are to be met with in *Yaman*; which is not to be wondered at, ſince the ſtreams, which at certain times of the year deſcend from the mountains, ſeldom reach the ſea, being for the moſt part drunk up and loſt in the burning ſands of that coaſt [o].

Hejaz, *with its chief cities, &c.*

HEJAZ, either ſo named, becauſe it divides *Najd* from *Tehama*, or becauſe it is ſurrounded with mountains, is limited on the ſouth by *Yaman* and *Tehama*; on the weſt by the ſea *Al Kolzom*; on the north by the deſerts of *Sham* or *Syria*; and on the eaſt by the province of *Najd* [p]. This province is famous for its two chief cities *Mecca* and *Medina*, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to *Mohammed*; and the other for being the place of his reſidence for the laſt ten years of his life, and of his interrment. The ſoil of *Hejaz*, as that of *Najd*, *Tehama*, and *Yamama*, is much more barren than that of *Yaman*; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here and there with ſome fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in *Hejaz*, deſerving any attention on account of their antiquity, are theſe that follow:

[o] LA ROQUE voy. de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. 123. 153. PTOL. STRAB. PLIN. ubi ſup. ABULFED. in Arab. [p] GOL. ad Alfragan. p. 98. ABULFED. in Arab. p. 5.

1. *Mecca*, ſometimes alſo called *Becca*, which words are ſynonymous, and ſignify *a place of great intercourſe*, is certainly one of the moſt antient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the *Meſa* or *Meſha* of the Scripture, as above obſerved, and that it deduced its name from one of *Iſhmael*'s ſons. It ſtands in a ſtony and barren valley, ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains under the ſame parallel with the *Macoraba* of *Ptolemy*, and about forty *Arabian* miles from the ſea *'Al Kolzom*. The length of *Mecca*, from *Maalah* to *Maſphalah*, is about two miles; and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain *Ajyad* to the top of another called *Koaikaan*, about a mile. In the midſt of this ſpace the town is ſeated, built of ſtone cut from the neighbouring mountains. The *Arab* authors tell us, that near a chapel or holy houſe (for ſo the *Arabs* term it) in the centre of *'Al-Hharam*, or great temple, here called *'Al-Caabah*, ſtands a white ſtone, which was the ſepulcre of *Iſhmael*; and that *'Al-Caabah* was firſt built by *Adam* of ſtone, but deſtroyed by the deluge. However, add they, GOD commanded *Abraham* and *Iſhmael* to rebuild it; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and for pillars erecting the trunks of palm-trees. There being no ſprings at *Mecca*, at leaſt none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, except only the well *Zemzem*, the water of which, though far the beſt, yet cannot be drunk for any continuance, being brackiſh, and cauſing eruptions in thoſe who drink plentifully of it, the inhabitants are obliged to uſe rain-water, which they catch in ciſterns. But this not being ſufficient, ſeveral attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about *Mohammed*'s time, *Zobair*, one of the principal men of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, endeavoured at a great expence to ſupply the city with water from mount *Arafat*, but without ſucceſs; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of *Soliman* the *Turkiſh* emperor. But, long before the time of that prince, another aqueduct had been made from a ſpring at a conſiderable diſtance, which was, after ſeveral years labour, finiſhed by the *Khalif al Moktader Abbaſida*. Notwithſtanding the ſterility of the ſoil near *Mecca*, it being ſo barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deſerts, yet a traveler is no ſooner out of its territory, than he meets on all ſides with plenty of good ſprings, and ſtreams of running water, with many gardens and cultivated lands. The prince or *Sharîf* of *Mecca* has a garden well planted at his caſtle of *Marbaa*, about three miles weſtward from the city, where he uſually reſides. This prince is lineally deſcended from *Haſhem*, *Mohammed*'s great-grandfather, who,

being

being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to set out yearly, the one in summer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to supply his countrymen with provisions, the people of *Mecca* having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are supplied with dates in vast abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from *Tayef*, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at *Mccca*. As for the citizens of *Mecca*, they are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. The *Sharîf* of *Mecca*'s troops consist intirely of infantry, which the *Arabs* call *'Al-Harrabah*, i. e. *archers* or *dartmen*. We must not omit observing, that *Safa* and *Marwah* were two places in *Mecca*, in which the idols *Asaph* and *Nayelah* were placed before the time of *Mohammed*. As for the temple of *Mecca*, and the reputed holiness of this territory, they will be treated of in the modern history of the *Arabs*. Some authors write, that the interior or middle part of *Mecca* only had the name of *Becca* assigned it, because it *was greatly crouded with inhabitants*, which that word imports; others believe, that *Mecca* was the name of the city, and *Becca* of the temple; and lastly, others think, that *Becca* passed into *Mecca*, as *Balbec* into *Malbec*, *Banbe* into *Manbe*, &c. which seems to us the most probable opinion. We must distinguish between the *Hharam* of *Mecca*, considered as the territory of the *Sharîf*, extending some miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it so called, being three hundred and seventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and supported by four hundred and thirty-four [q] pillars. It must not be forgot, that the

[q] R. Saadias in version. Arab. Pentat. Abraham Zachut. in Sefer Juchasin, 135. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. c. xxv. v. 15. Pitt's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p. 96. 107. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82. 98, 99. Sharif al Edrisi apud Pocock. in not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 122. 124, 125, ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. p. 51. Algiawhary apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40. Alb. Schult. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. sub voc. *Manbesium & Mecca*. Sharif al Edrisi apud Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 29, 30. ut & ipse Abulfed. ibid. Vid. etiam Adr. Reland. lib. de relig. Mohammed. & effig. *Caabæ* cum *Templ.* ei circumd. ibid.

Arabs

Arabs have a tradition amongſt them, that *Iſhmael*, with his mother *Hagar*, fixed his reſidence here; which ſeems to have induced them frequently to viſit *Mecca*, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of *Mohammed*. They likewiſe believe *Zemzem* to have been the well, near which *Hagar* ſat down with her ſon *Iſhmael*, and was comforted by the angel. *Abulfeda* places the city we are now upon in 67 °. 31′. long. and 21 °. 20′. N. lat. Some of the *Orientals* make the patriarch *Abraham* to have been the founder of it; but others with more reaſon attribute its foundation to one of the ſons of *Iſhmael*. It does not follow from *Moſes*'s mentioning *Meſha* as inhabited by the poſterity of *Joktan*, that *Mecca* was built before the time of *Iſhmael*, ſuppoſing thoſe places to have been the ſame, ſince he more than once uſes the appellations by which towns went in his age, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary [r]. 2. *Medina*, which, till *Mohammed*'s retreat thither, was called *Yathreb*, is a city ſtanding in a plain, ſurrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coaſt of the *Red Sea*. *Abulfeda* intimates, that one of its antient names was *Taibah*, a word importing *ſalubrious*, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half as big as *Mecca*, ten days journey from thence, and ſalt in many places. In ſome parts its territory produces palm-trees, fruits, and ſeveral ſalſuginous plants. About the mountains *Air* and *Ohud*, the firſt of which is about two leagues to the ſouth, and the other as many to the north, of *Medina*, the country is fruitful in dates. The name *Yathreb* was derived from the chief of the tribe that firſt ſettled here, whom the *Arabs* make the great-grandſon of *Aram*. *Golius* takes it to be the Ἰάθριππα of *Stephanus*, and the Λάθριππα of *Ptolemy*. Here *Mohammed* lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a *cupola*, and adjoining to the eaſt ſide of the great temple, which is built in the midſt of the city. Its ſituation has not been exactly defined, ſome authors determining its longitude to be 67 °. 30′. and others 65 °. 20′. and its latitude either 24 °. or 25 °. N. The moſt ingenious Mr. *Sale* muſt be deemed guilty of an error, when he makes mount *Thabir* two leagues diſtant only from *Medina*, ſince that mountain is in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*. *Medina* is dignified by the *Mohammedans* with the title of *the city of the prophet*, from the kind reception *Mohammed* met with there, as we ſhall

[r] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. Gen. c. x. & c. xxxi. Abulfed. & Alb. Schult. ubi ſup.

hereafter

hereafter have occaſion more fully to obſerve [s]. 3. *Thaifa* or *Taifa*, a town ſixty miles to the eaſt of *Mecca*, behind mount *Gazwan*, where the cold is more intenſe than in any other part of *Hejaz*, but the air moſt ſalubrious. It had the name of *Vegja* given it at firſt by its founder. The *Turks* call it the region of *Al Abbas* from the uncle of *Mohammed*, who fixed his reſidence here. The word *Taifa* plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is ſurrounded. Lat. 21 °. 20′. N [t]. 4. *Gjudda* or *Jodda*, a port and maritim city, the bulwark of *Mecca*, muſt undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though ſcarce ever taken notice of by the *Greek* or *Roman* authors. The town of *Aidab*, on the confines of *Abaſſia*, ſtands on the oppoſite ſhore, where great numbers of the *African Mohammedans* take ſhipping, in order to viſit the holy city of *Mecca*. Lat. 21°. 45′. N [u]. 5. *Yanbo'*, or *'Al-Yanbo'*, is undoubtedly the *Iambia* of *Ptolemy*, and not far from *Medina*, or, as the *Arabs* more properly ſtile it, *'Al-Madinah*. We find it repreſented as a ſmall city by *Abulfeda*, who likewiſe cites *'Ebn Said*, as affirming it to have a caſtle, and ſeveral fountains in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to *'Al-Madinah*. A little to the eaſt of *Yanbo'* ſtands mount *Radwa*, about ſeven ſtations from *'Al-Madinah*, from whence a vaſt quantity of the whetſtone is exported into various regions. All the diſtrict of *Yanbo'* produces palm-trees, water, corn, *&c.* and was inhabited by the *Hhaſanites*, who lived after the manner of the antient *Arabes Scenitæ*, and reſembled them in all particulars. *Ebn Hhawkal* obſerves, that the *Hhaſanites* and *Giafarites*, whoſe territories were contiguous, ſo weakened one another by bloody wars, that their country became a prey to the king of *Yaman* [w]. 6. *Madian*, the *Modiana* of *Ptolomy*, and *Midian* or *Madian* of Scripture, is a city of *Hejaz*, at preſent little better than a heap of ruins. It is ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the ſea *'Al Kolzom*, at no great diſtance

[s] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97, 98. Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40, 41. Alb. Schult. in ind. geographic. ubi ſup. Ptol. & Steph. Byzant. apud Gol. ubi ſup. Sharif al Edrisi, vulgo geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. par. 5. Kalkashendi, p. 400. Pocock. in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. paſſ. Safiod. in compend. lexic. Yacût. & ipſe Yacût. ſub litera ع *'Ain*. Al Sharistani apud Pocock. ubi ſup. Vid. etiam Cl. Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 31. & Sal. prelim. diſc. p. 5. [t] Golius ubi ſup. p. 99, 100. Sharif al Edrisi, clim. ii. par. 5. Atwal, Rasm, Ulugh Beigh apud Abulfed. ubi ſup. [u] Golius, Sharif al Edrisi, ubi ſup. Atwal, Kanun, Rasm apud Abulfed. ibid. [w] Ebn Said & Ebn Hhawkal apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 45. ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. & alib. Ptol. in Arab.

from

from the gulph of *Ailah*. The *Arabs* have ſeveral traditions relating to this place; to wit, that it received its name from the tribe of *Madian*, who firſt built and inhabited it; that *Shoaib*, the ſon of *Mikail*, the ſon of *Yaſhjar*, the ſon of *Madian*, of that tribe, was the ſame perſon with the father-in-law of *Moſes*, called in Scripture *Reuel* or *Reguel*, and *Jethro*; and that the well, whence *Moſes*, or, as they call him, *Muſa*, watered *Jethro*'s flocks, ſtill remained when *Abulfeda* wrote his geographical deſcription of *Arabia*. Moſt authors agree, that the *Midianites* ought to be looked upon as the deſcendents of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who afterwards ſeem to have coaleſced with the *Iſhmaelites*; ſince *Moſes* names the ſame merchants, who ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Iſhmaelites*, and in another *Midianites*. The ſacred hiſtorian makes *Jethro* both the prieſt and prince of *Midian*. *Ptolemy* aſſerts the latitude of *Modiana* to be 27° 45′ N. which almoſt exactly correſponds with that aſſigned it by *'Ebn Saîd*, to wit, 27° 50′. though other *Oriental* writers place it in [x] 29° 00′ N. lat. 7. *Hejr*, or *'Al-Hheg'r*, in 28° 30′ N. lat. according to *'Ebn Hhawkal*, was the ſeat of the tribe of *Thamud*, the *Thamydeni* of the antients. This clearly evinces *Hejr* to be the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Pliny*, ſince that author makes the *Thamydeni* neighbours to that city. *'Al-Hheg'r* ſtands amidſt a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houſes have been cut, as ſome ſuppoſe, by the *Amalekites*, or their anceſtors the *Adites*, *Iramites*, *Thamudites*, &c. But this notion we cannot rely upon, as depending chiefly on the authority of the *Koran*. *'Ebn Hhawkal* calls this ridge of mountains *'Al-Athaleb*, i. e. *the fragments of ſtones* [y].

Tehama. TIHAMA, or *Tehama*, is a ſmall province, whoſe limits have not been ſufficiently defined by the *Arab* geographers,

[x] PTOL. in Arab. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 143, 144. ABULFED. & EBN. SAID, ubi ſup. SHARIF. AL EDRISI, clim. iii. par. 5. p. 109. AL BEIDAWI, TARIKH MONTAKHAB. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 2. c. xxix. ver. 1. c. xxxvii. ver. 36. Exod. c. ii. ver. 18. c. iii. ver. 1. Vide etiam D'HERBELOT, bibl. Orient. art. *Schoaib*. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 24, & alib. *Shalſhel hakkab*. p. 12. Deut. c. xxv. ver. 13, 14. SAL. in not. ad Al-Kor. ſur. vii. p. 126. & GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 6. [y] EBN HHAWKAL apud Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 43. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96. PTOL. in Arab. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. ABULFED. ubi ſup. SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. POCOCK in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 37. ALB. SCHULT. in Ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. ſub voc. *Errakimum*. Vide etiam Al-Kor. ſur. lxxxix. ver. 9.

who

who have ſometimes confounded it with *Yaman* and *Hejaz*. *Tehama*, according to *Golius*, derived that name from its ſandy ſoil, as it did another, to wit, *Gaur*, from its low ſituation. It is bounded on the weſt by the *Red Sea*, and on the other ſides by *Hejâz* and *Yaman*, extending almoſt from *Mecca* to *Aden*. *Abulfeda* mentions ſeveral towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Tamna* of *Pliny*, and *Thumna* of *Ptolemy*, by the latitude he aſſigns it, to wit, 17° 15′ N. ſeem to bear ſome relation to *Tehama* [z].

As the *Nabathæans* poſſeſſed the beſt part of, if not all, the province of *Hejâz*, contiguous to *Tihama*, the *Thimanei* of *Pliny*, neighbours to the *Nabathæans*, muſt be the *Arabs* of *Tihama*.

THE province of *Najd*, which word ſignifies *a riſing country*, lies between thoſe of *Yamana*, *Yaman*, and *Hejaz*; and is limited on the eaſt by *Irâk*. *Najd* is peculiarly oppoſed to *Tehama*, as the name implies, though this laſt has ſeveral ridges of mountains in it [a]. Najd.

YAMAMA, alſo called *Arud*, from its *oblique ſituation* in reſpect of *Yaman*, is encompaſſed by *Najd*, *Tehama*, *Bahrein*, *Omân*, *Shihr*, *Hadramaut*, and *Saba*. The chief city is *Yamâma*, which gives name to the province, and was anciently called *Jaw*, or *Gjauva*. It is four degrees to the E. of *Mecca*, and deduced its name, according to the excellent *Golius*, from the niece of *Taſm*, whoſe brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her ſo famous amongſt the *Arabs*, that one of their proverbs was, *more ſharp-ſighted than* YAMAMA. This lady governed *Yamama*, and therefore the quality above-mentioned was the more conſpicuous in her. However, ſome authors relate, that there was a river, or fountain, in this province, called *Yamama*, from whence the province itſelf was ſo denominated. The falſe prophet *Moſeilama*, *Mohammed*'s competitor, rendered this place famous by reſiding in it. But, he being vanquiſhed and killed, it ſubmitted to *Abubecr* [b]. Yamama.

THOUGH the more accurate *Oriental* geographers make *Bahrein* part of *Irâk*, yet a ſhort deſcription of it ought not to be omitted here. *Bahrein* then, in the moſt extenſive acceptation of the word, denotes that maritim tract lying between *Baſra* and the fartheſt limits of *Omân*; to which the *Arabs* have given the name of *Bahrein*, i. e. *Of two ſeas*, Bahrein.

[z] GOLIUS, ubi ſup. p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI, clim. ii. par. 5. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. ubi ſup. [a] GOLIUS, ubi ſup. p. 94. ABULFED. in Arab. paſſ. [b] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI, clim. ii. par. 6. GEORG. ELMACIN. hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 2.

or *the country of two ſeas*, becauſe it connects the *Perſian* gulph with the *Indian* ocean. In a more confined ſenſe it is applied to an iſland, or rather two, of the *Perſian* gulph, in 26° 30′ N. lat. about a league from the town of *'Al-Katîf* ſeated on that gulph. One of theſe iſlands ſeems to be the *Ichara* of *Ptolemy*, and *Icharia* of *Strabo*. As *Jûlfâr* and the other principal towns of *Bahrein* were built after *Mohammed*'s death, our readers will expect ſome account of them in the modern hiſtory of *Arabia* [c].

The principal iſlands on the coaſt of Arabia.

As for the iſlands of *Ænus*, *Timagenes*, *Zygæna*, and many others, both in the *Arabian* and (M) and *Perſian* gulphs, enumerated by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Ælian*, &c. as appertaining to *Arabia*, they merit not the leaſt attention. But it may not be improper to obſerve, that, in our opinion, *Ptolemy*'s iſland of *Socrates* may be looked upon as the ſame with the *Socotra* of the moderns. It is true, he places the former two or three degrees more to the northward, than the latter is found to be by experience. However, his inaccuracy, which we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, and the little acquaintance the *Greeks* and *Romans* had with the people of *Arabia Felix*, ſufficiently account for ſuch a difference; which being admitted, the affinity of the names *Socrates* and *Socotra* ſeems no inconſiderable argument in favour of the

[c] Golius ubi ſup. p. 96. Ptol. ubi ſup. Strab. l. xvi. Ælian. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. Sharif al Edrisi, Yacut, & Abulfed. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78. 81.

(M) The antients frequently called the *Perſian* gulph, or gulph of *Baſra*, as well as the *Indian* ocean, the *Erythræan* or *Red Sea*, as we learn from *Herodotus*, *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Philoſtratus*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Dionyſius Afer*, and *Ælian*. Several reaſons have been aſſigned for that appellation; but the moſt probable ſeems to be the reflexion of the ſolar rays in that hot climate, which gave the water a reddiſh colour. The learned Dr. *Prideaux*, without a ſufficient foundation, aſſerts this to have been the only proper *Red Sea* of the antients; ſince, according to *Pliny*, the *Arabian* and *Perſian* gulphs were both branches of that ſea. He ſeems likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he affirms the whole *Arabian* gulph to have been the *Yam Souph* of the *Hebrews*; ſince it is highly probable, that the *Heroopolitan* gulph only was ſo called by that people (1).

(1) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 180. & *l.* iv. *c.* 37. *Strab. l.* xvi. *Polyb. l.* v. *Philoſtrat. vit. Apollon. l.* iii. *c.* 50. *p.* 136. *Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 23. 26. *Solin. c.* 58. *Dionyſ. Af. v.* 1132. *Ælian. hiſt. animal. l.* xvi. *c.* 14. *Prideaux & Shaw, ubi ſup.*

conjecture here proposed. With this observation we shall close our description of *Arabia* [d].

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Learning, Arts and Sciences, Disposition, Manner of Life, &c. of the Arabs.

Some of the posterity of Cush *settle in* Arabia.

SOME of the descendents of *Cush* fixed themselves in that part of *Arabia Petræa* bordering upon *Egypt*, and extending itself along the eastern shore of the *Red Sea* towards the frontiers of *Palæstine* and *Arabia Felix*, in very early times, as has been already observed in the history of the *Ethiopians*. His sons *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabtah*, *Regma* or *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and grandsons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, seated themselves likewise in the Happy and Desert *Arabia*, as appears from the cities *Sabota*, *Rhegana*, *Rhegama* or *Rhegma*, *Saba*, *Saue*, *Saptha* or *Saptah*, *Dedan*, and the country of the *Sabæi*, whose metropolis was the great city *Saba*. All these places preserved very sensible footsteps of the names of the first planters of those two provinces or kingdoms. However, it seems to us most probable, for the reasons already given, that the bulk of the *Cushites* made settlements in other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be observed, that the *Arab* writers take little or no notice of them [e].

Casluhim, Caphtorim, Hhorites, &c.

As for the *Casluhhim*, *Caphtorim*, and *Hhorites*, occupying the hilly district about mount *Seir*, though very antient, they never made any considerable figure. The posterity of *Edom*, who after their excision seized upon the tract they inhabited, in process of time intermixing with the proper *Arabs*, formed one people with them. But neither do the present *Arabs* look upon *Esau* or *Edom* as one of the proper founders of their nation [f].

WE have already observed, that the *Arraceni* and *Saraceni* of the antients were the same people. From the situation assigned them by the old geographers, it can scarce be doubted

[d] DIODOR. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. PTOL. & ÆLIAN. ubi sup.
[e] Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 254—257. 275—278. & alib. Gen. c. x. ver. 7. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. HYDE hist. rel. vet. Pers. p. 37, & alib. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 9. [f] Gen. c. x. ver. 14. c. xxxvi. ver. 8. c. xiv. ver. 6. Deut. c. ii. ver. 12. Vide etiam Cl. GAGN. diatrib. sect. 4.

but

but that the *Arra* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* was the capital of the region they inhabited, and gave them the appellation they went under. *Strabo*, deſcribing *Ælius Gallus*'s expedition into *Arabia*, intimates, that the province of *Ararena* was thirty days journey from *Petra*, and fifty from the city of the *Negrani*, or *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, i. e. the modern *Nag'ran*; that it was for the moſt part deſert, and inhabited by the *Nomades*, or *Arabes Scenitæ*; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathleſs region, interſperſed in ſome parts with palm-trees. All which particulars, as well as the name itſelf, clearly evince this province to be the country of the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni*, which had the above-mentioned *Arra* for its capital city. From ſeveral circumſtances in the deſcription of the expeditions into *Arabia* made by *Trajan* and *Severus*, to be met with in *Dio*, it appears that the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni* were likewiſe ſometimes in the eaſt denominated *Agareni*, and their chief town *Arra Atra*, or, as *Herodian* calls it, *Atræ*. It is therefore highly probable, that the antient *Saracens* were ſtiled *Hagarenes*, either from the nature of the tract they inhabited, or from *Hagar* the mother of *Iſhmael* g.

In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther obſerved, that *Stephanus* mentions a country called *Saraca*, inhabited by the *Saraceni* (N), as contiguous to that of

g Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 342, 343. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Strab. l. xvi. p. 781. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 855. Herodian. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14.

(N) Mr. *Gagnier* thinks, that the *Saracens* of *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Petræa* were two different nations; and that the latter received their name *Araceni* from the city of *Arke*, *Arakeme*, or *Petra*, their metropolis. But in the firſt article, we humbly conceive, he ſeems to contradict himſelf; ſince in the former part of the *Diatriba* ſo often cited, he appears to us to be of opinion, that the *Iſhmaelites* ſpread themſelves gradually over *Arabia Felix*, as well as *Arabia Petræa*; and that the *Iſhmaelites*, *Arabes Scenitæ*, and *Saracens*, were frequently taken for the ſame people. This notion we own ourſelves inclined to eſpouſe, as being not only ſupported by the proofs brought by Mr. *Gagnier* for that purpoſe, but likewiſe by Scripture, all thoſe authors who have ſo juſtly repreſented the *Saracens* as a moſt numerous and powerful nation, *Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius*, and other eaſtern writers (2).

(2) *Gagn. diatrib. ſect.* 11. *Vide etiam ſect.* 1. 4. 6. *Iſai. c.* xxi. *ver.* 13. *Jer. c.* xlix. *ver.* 28. *Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. c.* xxxvii. *ver.* 25. *Mohammed. Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p.* 110. *ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid.*

the

the *Nabathæans*. The *Arab* writer *Yâkût* alſo takes notice of the town *'Al-'Arakh* ſeated on *Agja*, one of the two celebrated mountains of the *Taïtes*, or the tribe of *Taï*, the *Taueni* of *Pliny*, and Ταϊνοὶ *Taini* of *Bardeſanes* in *Euſebius*, who joins them with the *Saracens*. From hence, in conjunction with the reaſons alleged by the learned M. *Gagnier*, we may conclude, that *Pliny* called this nation *Arraceni*; and that *Dioſcorides* was the firſt of the antients now extant that prefixed to that word the hiſſing letter S, as has been determined by the excellent *Salmaſius* [h].

THE *Jeruſalem Targum* takes the names *Iſhmaelites* and *Saracens* to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the ſame nation. This not only included the *Arabes Scenitæ*, bordering upon *Palæſtine*, *Syria*, and *Chaldæa*, but likewiſe thoſe ſeparated by the *Red Sea* from *Ethiopia*; all of whom we find in Scripture going under the general name of *Arabians*. That the word *Saraceni* cannot be derived from any of the following ſources, notwithſtanding the authority of the learned men here mentioned, we believe our readers will allow [i].

1. JOANNES DAMASCENUS, *Nicetas Choniates*, and others, ſuppoſe this word to have been of *Greek* extraction, alluding to *Sarah*'s ſending away *Hagar* empty, without any ſort of neceſſaries or accommodations. But this is too abſurd to merit any attention. 2. *Scaliger* deduces the name *Saraceni* from the *Arabic* سرق *ſarak*, i. e. *He ſtole privately*, alluding, as that great critic obſerves, to their anceſtor *Iſhmael*, who lived upon rapine and robbery. This, it muſt be owned, carries with it a greater appearance of truth than the former, ſince it is much more probable, that the word ſhould be of an *Arab* than a *Greek* origin. But the misfortune is, that *Iſhmael* was not a pickpocket, but a robber or highwayman; and therefore the root سرق *ſarak* by no means comes up to the ſignification of *Saraceni*, as determined even by this author himſelf. 3. Dr. *Pocock* aſſerts *Saraceni* to import *Oriental*, or *people of the eaſt*. But, as Mr. *Gagnier* has demonſtrated, that the chief arguments he has offered in defence of this opinion hold equally true of the *Chaldæans*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, and *Chineſe*, they prove too much, and therefore we think

[h] STEPH. BYZANT. in voc. Σάρακα. PTOL. ubi ſup. YAKUTUS geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 9. PLIN. ubi ſup. BARDESANES apud Euſeb. de præp. Evang. p. 277. Vide etiam HARDUIN. in Plin. ubi ſup. GAGN. diatr. ſect. 9. & SALMAS. in exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. ſub init. [i] Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 Chron. c. xvii. ver. 1. & c. xxi. ver. 16. ISAI. c. xiii. ver. 20. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 4. ſub fin.

not the leaſt regard is due to them. The etymon of *Saraceni* we have given muſt therefore be allowed to approach the neareſt to truth. As the *Saracens* were ſo celebrated a nation, and ſuch different notions relating to their name, which points out their origin, have been advanced, we could not well avoid the prolixity our readers may poſſibly think us guilty of on this occaſion [k].

Two claſſes of the Arabs.

If we follow the *Oriental* writers, we muſt divide the *Arabs* into two claſſes, to wit, *the old loſt Arabians*, and *the preſent*. The moſt famous tribes amongſt the former were *Ad*, *Thamûd*, *Taſm*, *Jadîs*, the firſt *Jorham*, *Amalek*, *Amtem*, *Haſbem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*. Though theſe were very numerous, yet they are now either all deſtroyed, or loſt and ſwallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. However, as the memory of ſome very remarkable events, that happened amongſt them, and the cataſtrophe of ſome of theſe tribes, have been preſerved by tradition, and ſince confirmed by the authority of the *Koran*, we think it not improper to give our readers a ſuccinct and conciſe account of them [l].

The tribe of *Ad* deduced their origin from *Ad*, the ſon of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, who, after the confuſion of tongues, ſettled in *Al Ahkâf*, or *the winding ſands* in the province of *Hadramaut*, upon the confines of *Omân* and *Yaman*, where his poſterity greatly multiplied. The firſt prince that reigned over them was *Sheddâd* the ſon of *Ad*, of whom we find many fabulous things related by the eaſtern writers. Some of theſe, however, tell us, that *Ad* had two ſons *Sheddâd* and *Sheddîd*, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre after his deceaſe, and extended their dominions from the ſands of *Alaj* to the trees of *Oman*. *Sheddîd* dying firſt, his brother became ſole monarch, and, having built a ſumptuous palace, made a delightful garden in the deſerts of *Aden*, in imitation of the *celeſtial paradiſe*, which he called *Irem*, after the name of his great grandfather. When it was finiſhed, he ſet out with a great retinue, in order to take a view of it; but, being arrived at a place within

[k] Joannes Damascenus de hæreſ. apud Cotelerium in lib. de monument. eccleſ. Græc. p. 326. Nicet. Choniat. MS. in bibliothec. Colbert. Hieronym. comment. in Ezech. l. viii. c. 25. Fuller. in miſcel. ſacr. c. 12. Jos. Scalig. ap. Fuller. ibid. Pocock. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 33. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. xi. p. 62, 63. Mohammed. Al-Firauzabadius, & Safioddin. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 35.

[l] Greg. Abulf. p. 159. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 5. Jallalo 'ddin. in lib. *Meſhar*. Vide & *Pocockium*, ubi ſup. p. 38, 39.

a day's

a day's journey of it, they were all deſtroyed by a terrible noiſe from heaven. However, according to them, the city ſtill remains, though inviſible, being preſerved by Providence as a monument of divine juſtice, *Sheddâd* propoſing by this impious imitation to create in his ſubjects a ſuperſtitious veneration of himſelf as a god. *Al Beidawi* adds, that one *Abdallah Ebn Kelabah*, or, as *D'Herbelot* calls him, *Colabah*, in the reign of the khalîf *Moâwiyah*, accidentally had *Irem* diſcovered to him, as he was ſeeking a camel he had loſt; but, ſeeing no creature there, he was ſo terrified, that he ſtaid no longer than to take with him from thence ſome fine ſtones, which he ſhewed the khalîf [m].

AFTER the death of *Sheddâd*, the kingdom of *Ad* was governed by a long ſeries of princes, of whom the *Oriental* hiſtorians deliver many particulars, that have no great appearance of truth. The *Adites*, in proceſs of time, falling from the worſhip of the true GOD into idolatry, GOD ſent the prophet *Hûd*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Heber*, to preach to and reclaim them. But they refuſing to acknowlege his miſſion, or to obey him, GOD ſent an hot and ſuffocating wind, which blew ſeven nights and eight days without intermiſſion, and, entering at their noſtrils, paſſed through their bodies, and deſtroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had liſtened to *Hûd*, and retired with him to another place. Others relate, that before this terrible deſtruction they had been previouſly chaſtiſed with a three years drought; and therefore ſent *Kail Ebn Ithar*, and *Morthed Ebn Saad*, with ſeventy other principal men, to *Mecca*, then in the hands of the tribe of *Amalek*, whoſe prince was *Moâwiyah Ebn Becr*, to obtain of GOD ſome rain. *Kail*, continue theſe authors, having begged of GOD, that HE would ſend rain to the people of *Ad*, three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered him to chooſe which he would. *Kail* failed not to make choice of the laſt, thinking it to be loaden with the moſt rain; but, when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempeſt broke forth from it, which deſtroyed them all. Some authors affirm, that *Lokmân* king of the *Adites*, after his ſubjects had been afflicted with a drought for four years, to incline them to hearken to the preaching of *Hûd*, and brought to the very brink of deſtruction, went with ſixty others to *Mecca* to beg

[m] Gen. c. x. ver. 22, 23. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. lxxxix. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 51. 498. AL-BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. ubi ſup. POCOCK. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 35, 36.

rain; which they not obtaining, *Lokman* with some of the company staid there, and by this means escaped being involved in the common calamity. They farther relate of this *Lokman*, that his life was extended by GOD to the length of those seven eagles, each of the six last of which was hatched the instant its predecessor expired. The few *Adites* with *Lokmân* that survived their countrymen, gave rise to a tribe called *the latter Ad*, who were afterwards changed into monkeys. *Hûd* returned into *Hadramaut*, and was buried near *Hasec*, where there is a small town now standing called *Kabr Hûd*, or *the sepulcre of Hûd*. When the *Arabs* would signify the high antiquity of any thing, they say *as old as king Ad*, in like manner as the *Greeks*, when they would express any thing extremely antient, made it coæval with *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, and *Ogyges* [n].

Thamûd. THE tribe of *Thamûd* were the posterity of *Thamûd* the son of *Gather* or *Gether*, the son of *Aram*, who falling into idolatry, the prophet *Sâleh* was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true GOD. M. *Bochart* takes this prophet to be *Phaleg*, and M. *D'Herbelot Saleh* the son of *Arphaxad*, and father of *Heber* or *Hûd*. The learned Mr. *Sale* determines in favour of M. *Bochart*, because, says he, the prophet *Sâleh* lived between the time of *Hûd* and of *Abraham*. On the contrary, we own ourselves of M. *D'Herbelot*'s opinion, because the identity of names is a stronger argument in favour of that opinion, than any small inaccuracy in chronology of the *Arab* historians can be against it. Besides, it does not appear from any *Oriental* author, that the prophet *Sâleh* did actually live between the times of *Hûd* and *Abraham*, as Mr. *Sale* suggests; nay, Mr. *Sale* himself disproves this, when he cites with approbation an eastern author making him later than *Abraham*. Some few of the *Thamudites* received *Saleh* as a true prophet; but the rest, as a proof of his mission, required that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence; which having obtained of GOD, the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. But, instead of believing, the *Thamudites* cut the ham-strings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety GOD being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake, and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some say, was the voice of *Gabriel* the archangel crying aloud, *Die, all of you*. *Jonda Ebn Amru*, prince of the *Thamudites*, pro-

[n] POCOCK. ibid. AL-BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Houd*. ISM. ABULFED. AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL-JANNABIUS apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 36.

posed

poſed this miracle to *Sâleh*, promiſing, that if it was wrought, he and his people would believe. Accordingly *Jonda* acknowleged the prophet's miſſion; but the greateſt part of his ſubjects periſhed in their infidelity, as above obſerved. *Sâleh*, with thoſe reformed by him, was ſaved from this deſtruction. The prophet afterwards went to *Palæſtine*, and from thence to *Mecca*, where he ended his days. This tribe firſt dwelt in *Yaman*; but, being expelled thence by *Hamyar* the ſon of *Saba*, they ſettled in the territory of *Hejr*, in the province of *Hejaz*, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the *Koran*, are ſtill to be ſeen, and alſo the crack of the rock whence the camel iſſued, which, as an eye-witneſs hath declared, is ſixty cubits wide. Theſe houſes of the *Thamudites* being of the ordinary proportion, are uſed as an argument to convince thoſe of a miſtake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic ſtature. They will likewiſe confute thoſe commentators on the *Koran*, who affirm, that the largeſt of the old *Adites* were an hundred cubits high, and the leaſt of them ſixty. By comparing the eaſtern writers with thoſe of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we ſhall find, that the tribe of *Thamûd* correſponded exactly with the *Thamudeni* or *Thamydeni* of *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy* [o].

Taſm and Jadîs.

THE tribe of *Taſm* were the deſcendents of *Lud* the ſon of *Shem*, and that of *Jadîs* a branch of the poſterity of *Gether*, as we learn from *Abulfeda*. Both theſe tribes lived promiſcuouſly together under the government of *Taſm*, till a certain tyrant made a law, that twenty maids of the tribe of *Jadîs* ſhould not marry, unleſs firſt deflowered by him; which the *Jadiſians* not enduring, formed a conſpiracy, and, inviting the king and chiefs of *Taſm* to an entertainment, privately hid their ſwords in the ſand, and in the midſt of their mirth fell on them, ſlew them all, and extirpated the greateſt part of that tribe. However, the few who eſcaped obtaining aid of the king of *Yaman*, *Dhu Habſhân Ebn Akrân*, aſſaulted *Jadîs*, and utterly deſtroyed them, there being ſcarce any mention made from that time of either of thoſe tribes. As all the traditions relating to *Taſm* are reckoned of a very dubious authority, when any thing is advanced without a proper foundation to ſupport it, the *Arabs* call it *a ſtory of*

[o] Gen. c. x. ver. 23. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. 366. 740. ABULFEDA, AL-ZAMAKHSHARI. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. vii. & c. xv. BOCHART. geog. ſacr. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 7. & note upon the *Koran*, c. vii. p. 124. EBN SHONAH. ABU MUSA AL ASHARI. POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 37. 57. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. ſub voc. *Errakim*.

Tasm. The notion many of the *Orientals* have of *Tasm*'s grand-daughter *Yamama*, our readers will find in the former section, where we give a short description of the province of the same name [P].

Jorham. ALL that we find delivered by the *Arabs* of the former tribe of *Jorham* is, that their ancestor was an antediluvian, and one of the eighty persons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were saved with *Noah* in the ark [Q]. This tribe was cotemporary with that of *Ad*, and utterly perished, in a manner to us unknown.

Amalek. SOME of the *Oriental* authors inform us, that *Amalek*, the progenitor of the tribe of the same name, was the son of *Eliphaz* the son of *Esau*, though others make him the son of *Ham* the son of *Noah*. This tribe, under their king *Walîd*, the first who assumed the name of *Pharaoh*, before the time of *Joseph*, conquered *Egypt*, according to the eastern writers, who seem to confound the *Amalekites* with the *Phœnician* shepherds of *Manetho*. After they had possessed the throne of *Egypt* for a considerable period, they were expelled by the natives, and at last totally destroyed by the *Israelites* [R].

Amtem, Hashem, Abil, *and* Bar. As for the tribes of *Amtem*, *Hashem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*, all that the *Orientals* know of them is, that by some means or other they became extinct, most of them being cut off, and the rest incorporating with the other tribes [S].

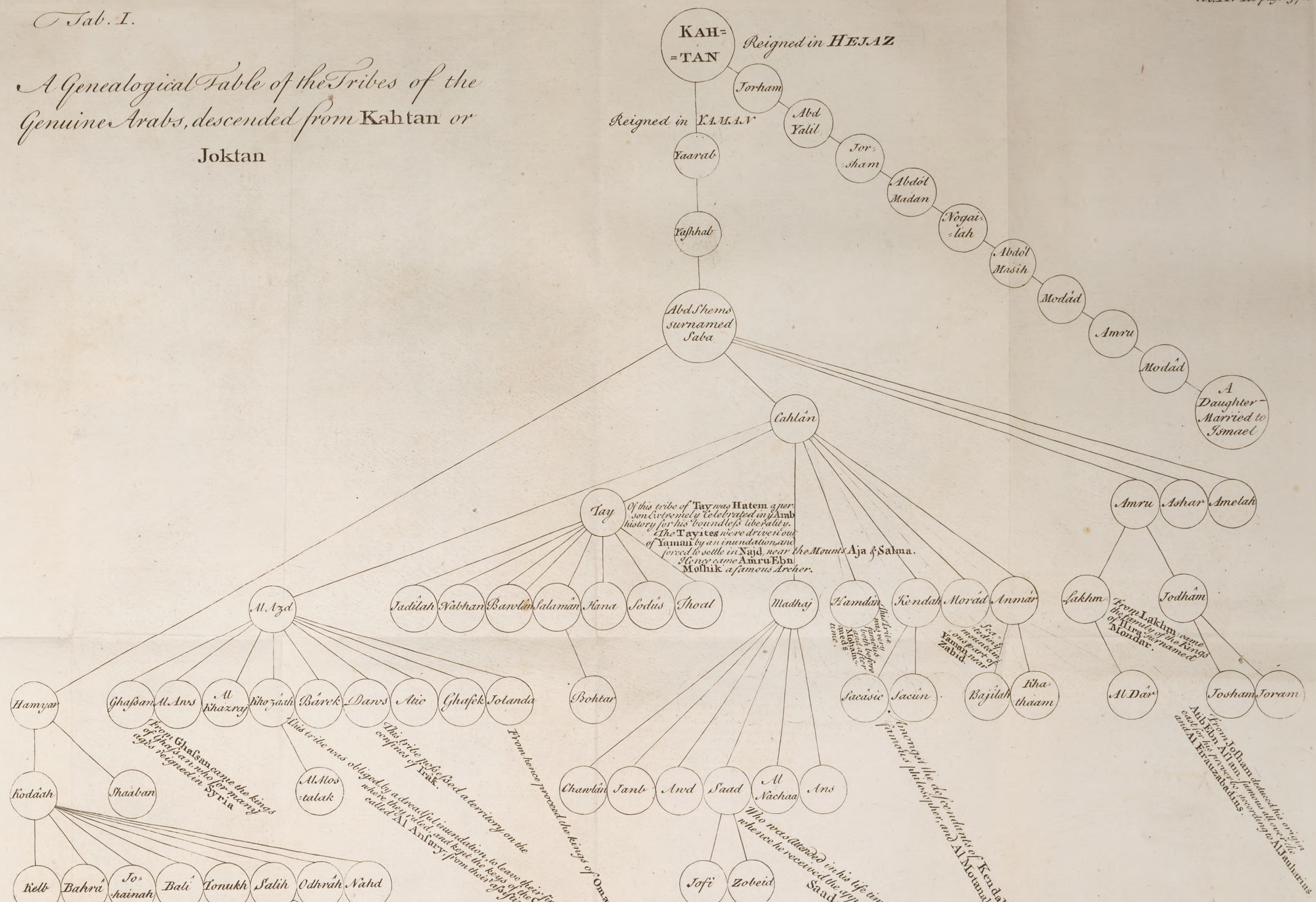
The present Arabs *descended from* Kahtan *and* Joktan. ACCORDING to their own historians, the present *Arabs* are sprung from two stocks, *Kahtan*, the same with *Joktan* the son of *Eber*, and *Adnan* descended in a direct line from *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham* and *Hagar* (O). The posterity of

[P] Poc. ubi sup. p. 37, 38. 60. ABULFED. GOLII notæ ad ALFRAGANUM, p. 95. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 365. [Q] ABULFED. Poc. ubi sup. EBN SHONAH. [R] Gen. c. xxxvi. ver. 12. D'HERBEL. p. 110. EBN SHONAH. Num. c. xxiv. ver. 20. MIRAT CAINAT. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. Exod. c. xvii. ver. 18, &c. 1 SAM. c. xv. ver. 2, &c. & c. xxvii. ver. 8, 9. 1 Chron. c. iv. ver. 43. [S] JALLALO'DDIN. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 39. ut & ipse POCOCK ibid.

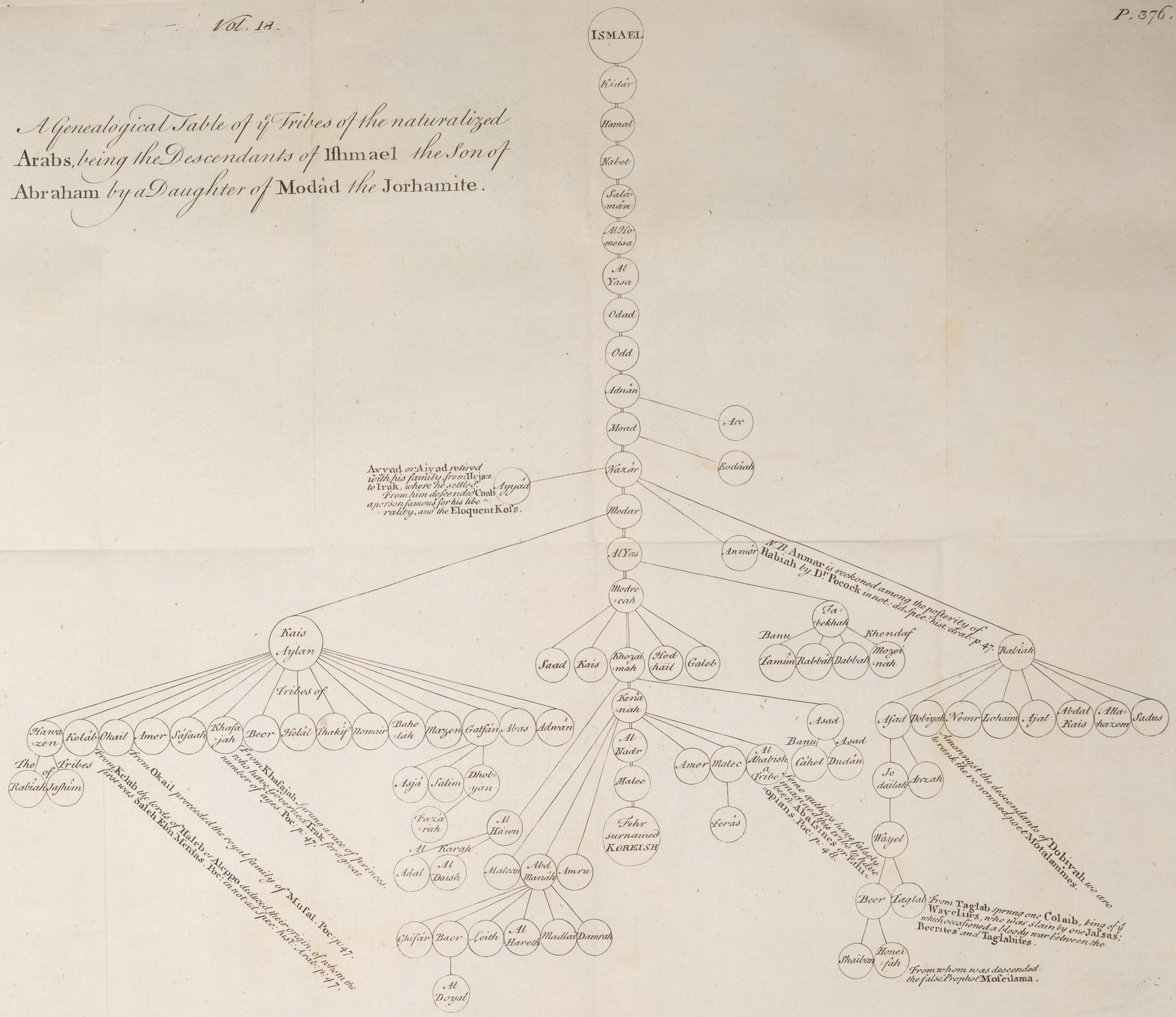
(O) As the genealogy of these tribes is of great use to illustrate the *Arabian* history, our readers would have judged this work incomplete, had we not here inserted the two genealogical tables of the descendents of *Kahtan* and *Ishmael*, formed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. *Sale* from the most approved *Oriental* authors. In order to render that of the descendents of *Ishmael* the more perfect, we have added thereto the nine generations between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*, which is the most approved series of descents between them; though this, as here observed, cannot be

Tab. I.

A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs, descended from Kahtan or Joktan



A Genealogical Table of ye Tribes of the naturalized Arabs, being the Descendants of Ishmael the Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modâd the Jorhamite.



of the former they call *al Arab al Ariba*, i. e. the *genuine* or *pure Arabs*, and thoſe of the latter *al Arab al Moſtáreba*, i. e. *naturalized* or *inſititious Arabs*, though ſome reckon the antient loſt tribes to have been the only *pure Arabians*, and therefore call the deſcendents of *Kahtan* alſo *Motareba*, which word likewiſe ſignifies *inſititious Arabs*, though in a nearer degree than *Moſtareba*; thoſe acknowleging *Adnan* for their great anceſtor, being the more diſtant graff. As *Iſhmael* was by origin and language an *Hebrew*, it is no wonder thoſe ſuppoſed to be deſcended from him ſhould have no claim to be admitted as *pure Arabs*; however, ſince he contracted an alliance with the *Jorhamites*, by marrying a daughter of *Modad*, accuſtomed himſelf to their manner of living and language, and became blended with them into one nation, they have certainly a right to be conſidered as *Moſtareba*. The uncertainty of the deſcents between *Iſhmael* and *Adnan* is the reaſon why they ſeldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore look upon as the father of their tribes; the deſcents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eaſtern writers ſcarce take any notice at all of *Abraham*'s progeny by *Keturah*, though they undoubtedly made up a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of *Arabia*. Their names were, *Zimran*, *Jokſhan*, *Medan*, *Midian* or *Madian*, *Iſhbak*, and *Shuah*. Notwithſtanding the *Arabs* affirm *Iſhmael*'s wife to have been a genuine *Arabian*, the Scripture ſays ſhe was an *Egyptian*; which greatly ſhakes the authority of their hiſtorians, except it ſhould be admitted, that he had a ſecond wife, or ſeveral at once. His ſons were *Nebaioth*, *Kedar*, *Adeel*, *Mibſam*, *Miſhma*, *Dumah*, *Maſſa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Jetur*, *Naphiſh*, and *Kedemah*; beſides which he had a daughter called *Mahalath* and *Baſhemath*, whom *Edom* took to wife. Some writers

be abſolutely depended upon. For *Al Beihaki* reckons one generation leſs, differing alſo in the names, in the following manner: *Iſhmael*, *Nabet*, *Yaſhab*, *Yárab*, *Yârah*, *Yâhur*, *al Mokawwam*, *Odad*, *Odd*, *Adnân*; and *Mohammed* himſelf, according to a tradition of his wife *Omm Salma*, counted but three generations between *Iſhmael* and *Adnân*, to wit, *Berâ*, *Zeid*, and *Odad*. With the tables here exhibited, we have intermixed ſome few additional obſervations, that may tend either to illuſtrate or correct them, as our readers will find by comparing them with the originals in Mr. *Sale*'s excellent *preliminary diſcourſe*. We muſt not forget to remark, that in the firſt ſeries of deſcents between *Iſhmael* and *Adnân* Mr. *Sale* has omitted *Odd*, which makes him run counter to the beſt *Oriental* writers, and therefore in that particular we have diſſented from him.

make *Kahtan* a descendent of *Ishmael*; but among the *Orientals* this is not the most received opinion. However, it agrees the best with the *Chaldee* and *Arabic* paraphrasts, who believed the name of *Ishmaelites* to be as general and extensive as that of *Arabs* [t].

Government of the Scenite Arabs.

We have already observed, that the customs, manners, and genius, of the *Arabs*, except in matters of religion, are in effect the same at this day that they were betwixt three and four thousand years ago; and therefore we may presume, that the antient and modern forms of government of this nation may be considered as agreeing in almost all particulars. The *Arabes Scenitæ*, therefore, as their successors the present *Bedoweens*, were governed by *Shekhs* and *Emirs*. The *Shekhs* superintended only particular *Dow-wars*, that is, *collections of tents* called *Hhymas*, answering to villages or towns, already described. Every one of these *Dow-wars*, therefore, might have been looked upon as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greatest name, substance, and reputation, amongst the *Arabs* that composed it. The *Emirs* or *Emeers*, the phylarchs of the *Greeks*, ruled over a whole tribe, and consequently their authority extended to many of those *Dow-wars*. It is probable, that they were sometimes dignified with the title of (P) *Shekh al Kibeer*, as some of their successors are at this day. And lastly, from what has been observed of the *Phylarchs* of the *Nomades*, agreeing in most points with the *Arabes Scenitæ*, we may conclude, that the *Emirs* were under the domination of one particular prince, who was the sovereign of these *Arabs*, or at least distinguished from the other *Emirs* by the title of the *Grand Emir*, consonant to the form of government still prevailing amongst the modern *Bedoweens*. However, we take this prince not to have been intirely despotic, but considered by his subjects only as their supreme magistrate, who maintained them in the possession of their private laws, privileges, and customs [u].

The

[t] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. c. xxv. ver. 1, &c. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al-Jauhar, Al-Firauzabadius, Abulfed. Shahaboddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahya, &c. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi sup. 49—52.

[u] Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 133. not. (A). Shaw ubi sup. p. 286, 287, 288. 300. 310. Univ. hist. ibid. p. 137. 194, 195. Appian. in Libyc. 67. Les mœurs & les coûtumes des Arabes, p. 115, 116. à Paris, 1717.

(P) *Shekh* or *Sheikh* شيخ according to *Golius*, is equivalent to the *Latin senex*, *senior*, *doctor*; or *auctoritate*, *principatu*, *pietate* &

THE *Arabs* that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the ſame manner as the *Bedoweens*. That ſeveral cities of *Arabia Felix*, particularly thoſe of the *Adramitæ* or *Chatramotitæ*, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from *Eratoſthenes* in *Strabo*. That author likewiſe informs us, that the order of ſucceſſion in theſe cities was not hereditary, but that the firſt child born in any of the noble families after the king's acceſſion was deemed the preſumptive heir to the crown. As ſoon, therefore, as any prince aſcended the throne, a liſt was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a ſon, who always received an education ſuitable to his high birth. However, *Artemidorus* in the ſame author intimates, that the *Sabæan* nation had only one ſovereign; which manifeſtly implies, that all the little princes or *Emirs* above-mentioned had a ſupreme head preſiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here, as deſcribed by *Artemidorus* and *Eratoſthenes*, ſeems confirmed by Scripture, when the Pſalmiſt mentions the KINGS OF ARABIA *and* SABA. The *Arabians* were, for ſome centuries, under the government of the deſcendents of *Kâhtan*; *Yárab*, one of his ſons, founding the kingdom of *Yaman*, and *Jorham*, another of them, that of *Hejâz*. The kings of *Hamyar*, who poſſeſſed the kingdom of *Yaman*, or at leaſt the beſt part of it, had the general title of *Tobba*, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, and was affected by theſe princes, as that of *Cæſar* was by the *Roman* emperors, and khalîf by the ſucceſſors of *Mohammed*. There were ſeveral leſſer princes, who reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, and were moſtly, if not altogether, ſubject to the king of *Hamyar*, whom they call *the great king*; but of theſe hiſtory has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. *May you avert all malediction*, or, *May* GOD *be propitious to you*, was the form in which the antient *Arabs* uſed to addreſs themſelves to their king [w].

Of thoſe that dwelt in cities and towns.

[w] ERATOSTHENES & ARTEMIDORUS apud Strabon. l. xvi. VERS. SEPTUAG. in Pſal. lxxii. ver. x. AL-MOTAREZZI in lib. Mogreb. AL-JAUHARIUS, ABULFEDA, EBN AL ATHIR, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 65, 66. ut & ipſe POCOCK ibid.

& arte conſpicuus. *Emir* or *Emeer* أمير according to the ſame author, is to be deduced from the verb أمر *mandavit, juſſit, præcepit*, &c (3).

(3) *Gol. in vocib.*

THE

Laws of the Arabs.

THE principal civil inſtitutions among the *Arabs*, that ſeemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That eſtabliſhing the above-mentioned order of ſucceſſion. 2. That in force among the *Sabæans*, whereby the king was ſolemnly inveſted with his prerogative by an aſſembly of the people. 3. That injoining the ſaid king never to go out of his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of government. 4. That commanding his ſubjects to ſtone him to death, in caſe he ſhould be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an abſolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, conſiſtent with the aforeſaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the *Arabs* obſerved may be conſidered as coinciding with their cuſtoms, there is no neceſſity of touching upon them here [w].

Religion.

THE religion of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, which they call the *ſtate of ignorance*, was chiefly groſs idolatry; the *Sabian* religion having almoſt over-run the whole nation, tho' there were alſo great numbers of *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, amongſt them. The idolatry of the *Arabs*, as *Sabians*, chiefly conſiſted in worſhiping the fixed ſtars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whoſe interceſſion they begged, as their mediators with GOD. For they acknowleged one ſupreme GOD, the Creator and Lord of the univerſe, whom they called *Allah Taâla*, *the moſt high* GOD; and their other deities, who were ſubordinate to him, they called ſimply *Al Ilahât*, i. e. *the goddeſſes*. "Theſe words, ſays Mr. *Sale*, the *Greeks* "not underſtanding, and it being their conſtant cuſtom to "reſolve the religion of every other nation into their own, "and find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pre-"tended the *Arabs* worſhiped only two deities, *Orotalt* and "*Alilat*, as thoſe names are corruptly written, whom they "will have to be the ſame with *Bacchus* and *Urania*; pitch-"ing on the former as one of the greateſt of their own gods, "and educated in *Arabia*; and on the other, becauſe of the "veneration ſhewn by the *Arabs* to the ſtars." But that this notion will at leaſt bear ſome diſpute, may, perhaps, hereafter more fully appear [x].

THAT

[w] AGATH. CNID. de mar. rubr. l. v. c. 50. apud Phot. p. 1374. ERATOSTHENES apud Strabon. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe STRAB. ibid.
[x] Poc. not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 138. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 251. MAIMONID. in moreh nevochim, par. iii. c. 29. HOTTINGERI hiſt. Orient. l. iv. c. 8. HYDE hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. PRIDEAUX in connect. p. i. b. iii. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 8. ARRIAN. p. 161, 162. STRAB. l. xvi. GREG. ABULFARAG. hiſt. dynaſt.

THAT the *Arabs* ſhould eaſily be led into the worſhip of the ſtars, is not at all ſurpriſing, ſince, by obſerving the changes of the weather to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them for a conſiderable period, they might eaſily be induced to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and think themſelves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parched country. Hence poſſibly it came to paſs, that they had ſeven celebrated temples dedicated to the ſeven planets; one of theſe, in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, by *Dahac*, to the honour of *Al Zoharah*, or the planet *Venus*, and was demoliſhed by the khalîf *Othman*. By the murder of this khalîf was fulfilled, as the *Mohammedans* pretend, the prophetical inſcription, ſet, as is reported, over this temple, to wit, *Ghomdân, He who deſtroyeth thee, ſhall be ſlain*. The temple of *Mecca* is alſo ſaid to have been conſecrated to *Zohal*, or *Saturn*. That planetary worſhip was the firſt ſpecies of idolatry, we have already obſerved; and therefore it is no wonder the *Arabs*, at preſent the moſt antient nation in the world, ſhould have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we ſhall here beg leave to add the teſtimony of *Pauſanias*, who intimates, that the worſhip of the planets was earlier than the firſt arrival of the *Pelaſgi* in *Greece*; and that before this time they had ſtatues erected in their honour. This obſervation will not only illuſtrate, but likewiſe bring a freſh acceſſion of ſtrength to, what has been advanced in a former note [y].

Moſt of the Arabs Sabians.

BUT, beſides thoſe ſtars which were the general objects of worſhip throughout *Arabia*, there were ſome more peculiarly reverenced in particular provinces. Thus the *Hamyarites* chiefly worſhiped the *Sun*; *Miſam*, *Al Debaran*, or *the bull's eye*; *Lakhm* and *Jodam*, *Al Moſhtari*, or *Jupiter*; *Tay*, *Sohail*, or *Canopus*; *Kais*, *Sirius*, or *the dog-ſtar*; and *Aſad*, *Otared*, or *Mercury*. *Abu Cabſha*, a worſhiper of *Sirius*, whom ſome will have to be the ſame with *Waheb*, *Mohammed*'s grandfather on the mother's ſide, though others make him of the tribe of *Khozaah*, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the *Koreiſh* to leave their images, and worſhip this ſtar. For which reaſon, when *Mohammed* endeavoured alſo to draw them off from image-worſhip, they nick-named him the ſon of *Abu Cabſha*. However, the *Arabs*, together with

Worſhip the fixed ſtars, as well as the planets.

ynaſt. p. 281, &c. AL-SHAHRESTANIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 108. ut & ipſe POCOCKIUS ibid. SALE's prelim. diſc. . 15, 16.

[y] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 163. AL-JANNABI. SHAHESTANI. PAUSAN. Laconic. p. 202. Univ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 269—72, (R).

the

the *Indians* in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed ſtars, than to the planets; which diſtinguiſhed the *Sabians* amongſt them from thoſe amongſt the *Greeks*, who directed their worſhip to the planets. The *Arabs* did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed ſtars, but likewiſe their winds, ſtorms, tempeſts, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in their atmoſphere. They differed, however, amongſt themſelves in this, that ſome aſcribed the influence producing all the meteorological phænomena to the riſing, and others to the ſetting, of the conſtellations known amongſt them by the name of *Al-Anwa* [z].

As likewiſe angels, or intelligences.

OF the angels or intelligences which they worſhiped, we find only three mentioned in the *Koran*, to wit, *Allat*, *Al-Uzza*, and *Manah*; theſe they called *goddeſſes*, and *the daughters of* GOD; an appellation they gave not only to angels, but alſo to their images, which they believed either to be inſpired with life by GOD, or elſe to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, becauſe they believed them to intercede for their votaries with GOD. The *Arab Sabians* likewiſe, in common with thoſe of other nations, imagined, that the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Fixed ſtars* were inhabited by intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the ſame manner as the human body does the ſoul; and that this was the true cauſe of all their motions. Theſe beings, they had a notion, became mediators between GOD and them; for the neceſſity of a mediator they clearly diſcovered from the beginning, and therefore, as gods mediators, directed divine worſhip to them. They firſt worſhiped them by their *tabernacles*, i. e. their orbs themſelves; but theſe, by their riſing and ſetting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loſs how to addreſs themſelves to them in their abſence. To remedy this, they had recourſe to the invention of images, in which, after their conſecration, they thought theſe inferior deities to be as much preſent by their influence, as in the ſtars themſelves; and therefore that all addreſſes were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this may be conſidered as the origin of image-worſhip. All other material particulars

[z] ABULFARAGIUS, ubi ſupra, p. 160. AL SHAHRESTANI. ABULFED. AL JAUHARIUS, EBN'OL ATHIR. & AL FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 163, 164. ut et ipſe POCOCK. p. 130. 132.

relating

relating to the *Sabians*, omitted here, will either be found in note (Q), or a former part of this history [a].

ALLAT,

[a] Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. liii. POC. p. 138. GOL. MAIMONID. HOTTING. HYDE, PRIDEAUX, ubi ſupra. SHAHRESTANIUS apud Hyde, c. 5. p. 124. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 726. HOUSAÏN VAEZ comment. Perſ. in Al-Koran, c. 2. Lib. Phar. Gj. apud Hyd. ubi ſupra. KALKASHEND. apud Hyde, ubi ſupra, p. 125. EBN AL ATHIR apud Pocockium, p. 138, 139.

(Q) We find no religion, except the *Sabian*, *Jewiſh*, and *Chriſtian*, tolerated by the *Koran*. The eaſtern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the firſt ſect; though thoſe here mentioned ſeem to be atteſted by the beſt of them. The *Sabians* produce many ſtrong arguments for the unity of GOD, and addreſs themſelves to HIM in the following terms: *I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O GOD! I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice,* O GOD! THOU *haſt no companion, except thy companion, of whom* THOU *art abſolute maſter, and of whatever is his.* From whence it appears, that they ſuppoſe idols not to be *ſui juris*, though they offer ſacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to GOD, *who was alſo formerly often put off with the leaſt portion*, as *Mohammed* upbraids them. The reaſon aſſigned by them for this was, that *the idol wanted what was* GOD'S, but GOD HIMSELF *wanted nothing*. A ſort of baptiſm they admit, and profeſs a great veneration for St. *John Baptiſt*, ſtiling themſelves, in their language, which is compoſed of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Mendai Jahia*, i. e. *Diſciples of St. John*; and by this name they go amongſt the Chriſtians of the *Levant*. Beſides the book of *Pſalms*, the only true Scripture they read, they have another ſuppoſed to have been written by *Adam*. The language of theſe books, which they regard as their Bible, almoſt intirely agrees with the *Chaldee*; but the characters differ from thoſe of all other nations. *Ebn Shonah* makes them the deſcendents of the moſt antient people in the world, and intimates, that, beſides the books juſt mentioned, they have others eſteemed equally ſacred, particularly one full of moral diſcourſes, denominated by them *the book* of *Seth* and *Enoch*, or, as they call him, *Edris*. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, ſeven times a day. The firſt prayer begins half an hour, or leſs, before ſun-riſing; and is ſo ordered, that they may, juſt as the ſun riſes, finiſh eight adorations, each containing three proſtrations: the ſecond prayer they end at noon, when the ſun begins to decline, in ſaying of which they perform five ſuch adorations as the former: and the ſame they do the third time, concluding juſt as the ſun ſets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They faſt three times a year, the firſt time thirty days, the next nine, and the laſt ſeven. They offer many ſacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abſtain from beans, garlick, and

ſome

Allat. ALLAT, whom some of the *Arabs* called *Allah*, was the idol of the tribe of *Thakif*, who dwelt at *Tayef*, and had a temple

some other pulse and vegetables. As to the *Sabian Kebla*, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one affirming it to be the north, another the south, a third *Mecca*, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions. They have a great respect for the temple of *Mecca*, as also the pyramids, in the third of which they believe *Sabi* or *Sabius*, the founder of their sect, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to *Harran*, either out of regard to the memory of *Abraham*, or of *Sabi Ebn Mari*, who lived in *Abraham*'s time, and is looked upon by some as the first propagator of their religion. *Ebn Hazem* asserts *Sabianism* to have been the universal religion till the age of *Abraham*, from whence all the succeeding sects were derived. According to *Al-Shareſtani*, the *Sabians* say, that the difference betwixt them and the *Mohammedans* consists in this, that, among creatures, they give the preference to spirits, angels, or intelligences moving the celestial orbs; whereas the *Mohammedans* choose to pay the greatest honour to *body* and *matter*, i. e. *men*; as patriarchs, *&c.* *Houssain Vaez*, in his *Persic* commentary on the *Koran*, says, that they were a sort of *Sadducees*, not believing a future state. We must not omit observing, that, at the pyramids, they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incense. *Ebn Khalecan*, in his life of *Ibrahim al Sabi*, affirms, that the *Sabians* are as antient as the *Magians*, but different from them; however, that both of them pretended to deduce their origin from *Abraham*, whom they confounded with *Zerdusht*. The same author relates, that the word *Sabi* in the *Arabic* tongue denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reason the *Koreish*, by way of reproach, called *Mohammed Sabi*, or *Sabian*. The eastern Christians scruple not to affirm, that *Constantine the Great* himself professed *Sabianism* before he became a convert to Christianity. *Shareſtani* divides the *Sabians* into two sects, those that worship the stars, and those that worship images. The first maintain, that GOD created the world; but has commanded his servants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents animating them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters *Aries*, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from *Noah* himself. The *Sabians*

temple conſecrated to her in a place called *Nakhlah*. We ſhall ſee more of this deity hereafter, when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Arabia*, eſpecially that part of it which relates to the tranſactions wherein *Mohammed* was more immediately concerned [b].

Al Uzza.

Al-Uzza, or *Al-Ozza*, was the idol of the tribes of *Koreiſh* and *Kenanah*, and part of the tribe of *Salim*, as ſome affirm. But others make it to have been a tree called the *Egyptian* thorn, or *Acacia*, worſhiped by the tribe of *Ghatfan*, and firſt conſecrated by one *Dhâlem*, who built a chapel over it named *Boſs*, ſo contrived, as to give a ſound when any one entered. When *Khâled Ebn Walid*, by *Mohammed*'s order, had demoliſhed the chapel, cut down the image, or tree, and ſlain the prieſteſs of *Al Uzza*, *Mohammed*, alluding to the death of the prieſteſs, ſaid, ſhe was *Al-Uzza*, who therefore will never hereafter be worſhiped. The name *Uzza* is derived from the root *azza*, and ſignifies *the moſt mighty* [c].

Manah.

Manah was the object of worſhip of the tribes of *Hodhail* and *Khozâah*, poſſibly the *Caſſanitæ* of *Ptolemy*, who dwelt between *Mecca* and *Medina*, and, as ſome ſay, of the tribes of *Aws*, *Khazraj*, and *Thakîf* alſo. Dr. *Pocock* renders it highly probable, that the *Manah* of the *Arabs* was the *Meni* of the prophet *Iſaiah*. This idol was a large ſtone, demoliſhed by one *Saad* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, ſo fatal to the idols of *Arabia*. The name ſeems derived from *mana*, to *flow*, from the *flowing* of the blood of the victims ſacrificed to the deity or intelligence it repreſented. Hence the valley

[b] Abulfarag. p. 160. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 90. [c] Al-Jauhar. Al-Shahrestan. & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocock. ibid.

bians of mount *Lebanon* ſeem to pay a greater regard to *Seth*, than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they ſwear by the former, but frequently break it when they ſwear by the latter. They likewiſe maintain, that once in 36425 years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themſelves in the four intellectual virtues; God they call God of gods, and Lord of lords; but thoſe intelligences ſuppoſed to actuate the ſtars gods and lords. This ſect ſay, they took the name of *Sabians* from the above-mentioned *Sabi*, though it ſeems rather to be derived from צבא *Saba*, or *Tſaba*, the *hoſt* of *heaven*, which they worſhip. Before the growth of *Chriſtianity* and *Mohammedaniſm*, the greateſt part of the world profeſſed the *Sabian* religion. The other particulars, relating to this ſect, our readers will find, either in a former part of this work, or in the authors here referred to (4).

(4) *D'Herbel. Prid. Poc. Gol. Hyd. Hotting. aliique auctor. hic laudat.*

of

of *Mina*, near *Mecca*, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices. Some take *Meni*, or *Manah*, to be the name of a constellation; which notion is favoured by the most obvious signification of the word *Manah* in the *Arabic* tongue [d].

Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yäûk, *and* Nasr.

BESIDES these, we find five antediluvian idols taken notice of by the *Arabian* writers; to wit, *Wadd*, *Sawâ*, *Yaghûth*, *Yäûk*, and *Nasr*. These are said to have been men of great repute and piety in their time, whose statues the *Arabs* at first reverenced with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship [e].

Wadd.

WADD was supposed to represent the heaven, and was worshiped under the form of a man by the tribe of *Calb*, in *Dawmat al Jandal*. For a further account of him, we must refer our readers to the authors here cited [f].

Sawâ.

SAWÂ was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of *Hamadan*, or, as others write, of *Hodhail* in *Rohat*. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, as the *Arab* writers assert, discovered by the devil, and worshiped by those of *Hodhail*, who instituted pilgrimages to it [g].

Yaghuth.

YAGHÛTH was an idol in the shape of a lion, and received divine honours from the tribe of *Madhaj*, and others, who dwelt in *Yaman*. Its name seems to be derived from *ghatha*, which signifies to *help* [h].

Yäûk.

YÄÛK the tribe of *Morâd* esteemed as their proper object of worship, or, according to others, that of *Hamadan*, under the figure of an horse. The name *Yäûk* probably comes from their verb *âka*, to *prevent*, or *avert* [i] (R).

[d] AL-JAUHAR, AL-BEIDAWI, AL-SHAHREST. ABULFED. AL-ZAMAKHSHARIUS, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. Isai. c. lxv. ver. 11. Vide etiam Poc. spec. p. 90, 91, 92. [e] Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 71. Comment. Persic. in Al-Kor. Vide etiam HYD. de rel. vet. Pers. p. 133. [f] AL-JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS & SAFIODDIN. ibid. [g] Idem apud Pocock. p. 93. [h] AL-SHAHRESTAN. ibid. [i] AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, AL-JAUHAR. EBN KHALICÂN in vit. Al-Battan. Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 101. 338. 389, 390.

(R) It is said *Yäûk* was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted: whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in an human form, and, undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others, of extraordinary merit, had the same honours shewn them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest (5).

(5) *Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 94.*

Nasr seems to have been the proper deity of the tribe of *Hamyar*, whom we may consider either as the *Homeritæ* or *Hamiræi* of *Pliny*. He is said to have been adored at *Dhû'l Khalaah* in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies [k].

Nasr.

The four deities *Sâkia*, *Hâfedha*, *Râzeka*, and *Salema*, were peculiar to the tribe of *Ad*. The first supplied them with rain, the second preserved them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their sustenance, and the fourth restored them to health when afflicted with sickness; according to the signification of their several names. To these may be added *Al-Daizan*, or *Saturn*, a most antient *Arab* idol, *Hbehar*, *Al Auf*, &c. mentioned by *Al Jauharius*, *Al Firauzabadius*, and others [l].

Sakia, Hafedha, Razeka, *and* Salema.

As image-worship in some measure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of some signal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or else greatly famed for their conquests, it is no wonder the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, should fall into it. Sir *Isaac Newton* takes hero-worship, or the worship of deified dead men, to have been no older than the age of *Sesac*, the great *Egyptian* conqueror so often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he conquered, and amongst the rest some of the *Arabians* at least, to pay divine honours to his father *Ammon*, under the name of *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Ammon*. This therefore was the great hero god of the *Arabs*, as well as of the *Egyptians*, *Garamantes*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, &c. and his son and successor, *Sesac*, who injoined this worship, the *Bacchus*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, of the antients, little inferior to him. The *Arabs*, it is probable, set up oracles to *Ammon*, who reduced part of their country, as well as the *Libyans* and *Egyptians*. And *Sesac*, on account of his having coasted *Arabia Felix*, sailed to the *Persian* gulph, penetrated afterwards into *India*, where he erected two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the *Ganges*, and another at *Dirè*, a promontory of *Ethiopia*, was esteemed as his father's collegue in *Arabia*, as well as the other regions subjugated by him. This, considering the authorities on which it is founded, is a much stronger proof in favour of the *Arabs* really worshiping *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, or *Ammon* and *Sesac*, than what Mr. *Sale* has offered, from the supposed vanity and ignorance of the *Greeks*, is to evince the *Arab* worship of those deities to be purely imaginary. Nay, we may venture to add, that,

Jupiter Ammon *and* Bacchus *worshiped by the* Arabs.

[k] Al-Jauhar. Shahrestan. & Pocock. ubi sup. p. 93. [l] Abulfed. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in art. *Houd*.

could he have produced a whole volume of *Arab* traditions, ſtuffed as they are with fables and abſurdities, in ſupport of his opinion, it would not have mended the matter; eſpecially as he gives up the main point, by allowing *Bacchus* to have been educated in *Arabia*. For this conceſſion, though the thing granted is falſe, muſt be deemed a ſufficient reaſon, on his part, for the *Arabs* to have paid divine honours to ſo celebrated a perſonage as *Bacchus*, as well as his father *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Uranius* [m] (S).

Arabs call their children after the names of their idols.

We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the antient *Arabs*, in order to ſhew the high veneration in which they had their idols, reckoned it glorious to be accounted their ſervants and votaries; which they demonſtrated by the names given to their children; to wit, *Abd Wadd*, *Abd Yaghûth*, *Abd Manah*, *Abdol Uzza*, &c. i. e. *the ſervant of Wadd*, *the ſervant of Yaghûth*, *the ſervant of Manah*, *the ſervant of Uzzah*, &c [n].

Have a great variety of idols.

Beſides the idols already mentioned, the *Arabs* worſhiped many others, the chief of whom was *Hobal*, brought from *Belka* in *Syria* to *Arabia* by *Amra Ebn Lohai*, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to *Safioddin*, *Hobal* was placed without the *Caaba*, under the figure of a man. His ſtatue was made of red agate, which having, by ſome accident, loſt an hand, the *Koreiſh* repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand ſeven arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the *Arabs* uſed in divination. This idol is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the image of *Abraham*, found and deſtroyed by *Mohammed* in the *Caaba*, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, when he took *Mecca*. That image was ſurrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as ſome ſay, was *Iſhmael*, with divining arrows in his hand. *Hobal*, according to *Al Jannabius*, was the chief of three hundred and ſixty idols, a freſh one of which the *Arabs* might, if they thought proper, worſhip every day in the year. We are told, that, among the idols in the *Caaba*, there was a wooden pigeon, as likewiſe another above, to deſtroy which, *Mohammed* lifted *Ali* upon his ſhoulders. *Aſaf*

[m] Newt. chronol. paſſ. Herodot. l. iii. Diod. Sic. l. i. Dionys. perieg. v. 623. Pocock. not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 106, 107. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 15, 16. [n] Al-Kor. Mohammed. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 95.

(S) The *Arabs* alſo worſhiped *Mars*, according to *Suidas* (8).

(8) *Suid. in voc.* Ἄρης.

and *Nayelah*, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with *Hobal* from *Syria*, and placed the one on mount *Safa*, and the other on mount *Merwa*. They tell us, *Asaf* was the son of *Amru*, and *Nayelah* the daughter of *Sahal*, both of the tribe of *Jorham*, who, committing whoredom together in the *Caaba*, were by God converted into stone, and afterwards worshiped by the *Koreish*, and so much reverenced by them, that though this superstition was condemned by *Mohammed*, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of the divine justice. We are told, that these idols were first fixed on the mounts *Safa* and *Merwa* by one *Amru* in the reign of *Sapor* or *Sabur* surnamed *Dil Ectaf*, king of *Persia*; but this notion has been overthrown by *Abulfeda*. As for the idols *Saad*, an oblong stone on the shore near *Giodda*, *Soair* or *Sair* worshiped by the tribe of *Anza*, *Aud* adored by the tribe of *Becr Wayel*, *Nasb* or *Nosb*, *Al Sharek*, and *Dar*, from whence the *Arab* names *Abdol Sharek* and *Abdol Dar* were derived, they merit little regard. Nor of *Madan*, *Yalil*, *Awal* peculiar to the tribes of *Becr* and *Taglab*, *Dul Caffain* the deity of the tribe of *Daus*, *Bajar* or *Bajer* that of the tribe of *Azd*, *Al Okaisar* worshiped in the eastern part of *Syria*, *Bag* or *Bagh*, from whence *Abulfeda* deduces the name of the city *Baghdad*, *Al Chalasah*, *Dushshara*, the *Dysares* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, &c. have we much to say. Besides these, according to the *Oriental* authors, every housekeeper had his housshold-god, which he last took leave of, and first saluted, at his going abroad, and returning home [o].

Some of these idols stones.

Several of the *Arab* idols, besides *Saad* above-mentioned, and *Manah* in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of *Ishmael* first introduced, according to *Al Jannabius*. To us it seems most probable, that these great stones were the first public places of divine worship amongst the *Arabs*, on which they poured wine and oil, as *Jacob* did upon the stones that served him for a pillow, when he saw his vision. Afterwards they might worship these stones themselves, as the *Phœnicians*, in all probability, did; but this has already been touched upon. Some authors relate, that, when the territory of *Mecca* grew too streight for the *Ishmaelites*, so that great numbers of them found themselves obliged to look out for new habitations, those that departed

[o] Abulfed. Al-Shahrestan. Safioddin. Al-Mostatraf. Vid. etiam Pocock. ubi sup. p. 95. 97, 98. Ebn al Athir. Al-Jannabius. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. ii. Mohammed. Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocock. p. 97. Al-Jauhar. Suid. in voc, Δυσάρης. Poc. p. 98——106.

from *Mecca* took with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land; and at first only compassed them out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the *Caaba*. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the said *Ishmaelites* forgetting the religion, left them by their father, so far, as to pay divine honours to any fine stone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of *Hanifa*, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never presumed to eat, till they were compelled to it by famine[p].

Magian *religion in* Arabia.

THE *Persians*, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourse with, the *Arabians*, introduced the *Magian* religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of *Tamim*, a long time before *Mohammed*, who was so far from being unacquainted with it, that from it he borrowed many of his own institutions. The professors of this religion acknowleged the world to have been created by GOD, as their successors do at this day: but, being at a loss otherwise to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles, a good one and an evil one. The first they supposed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be represented by light and darkness, as their truest symbols, and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good principle or GOD they named *Yezad* or *Yezdan*, and *Ormozd* or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil dæmon they called *Ahariman* or *Ahriman*, and the *Greeks Arimanius*. Though one sect of the *Magi* asserted, as the *Manichæans* and other heretics did, both those principles to have existed from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or GOD only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from *Zoroastres*'s description of the Supreme BEING. Amongst other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter instigating them to all kinds of wickedness. They also believed, that the wicked angels, after they had drawn men out of the paths of virtue, became the instruments of their punishment; and that these angels were continually meditating the ruin and destruction of mankind. As for *Zoroastres*, or *Zerdusht*, as the *Persians* called him, he made no alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental points of the *Magian* religion, but only abolished some superstitious rites and practices, that had crept in amongst the professors of it.

[p] AL-JAUHAR. AL-BEIDAWI, & AL-ZAMAKHSHARIUS. Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 287. AL-MOSTATRAF. AL-JAUHARIUS apud Pocock. p. 110.

These,

Theſe, according to Dr. *Hyde*, conſtantly adhered to the worſhip of the true GOD, as they received it from their great anceſtors *Shem* and *Elam*. But, as ſo ample an account has already been given of the *Magi*, and their ſyſtem of religion, we ſhall expatiate no farther on this head here. However, our readers will permit us to obſerve, that, whether we conſider the *Arabs* as *Sabians*, or followers of *Zerduſht*, it muſt be allowed, that they held the exiſtence of *Dæmons*, *Genii*, or middle intelligences, influencing the affairs of the world: a truth indeed near as extenſive as the belief of a GOD, and acknowleged by the antient heathen of almoſt all denominations q.

The notions ſome of the Arabs *had of a future ſtate.*

HOWEVER, ſome of the pagan *Arabs* believed neither a creation paſt, nor a reſurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their diſſolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were thoſe, who, when they died, had their camel tied by their ſepulcre, and ſo left without meat or drink to periſh, and accompany them to the other world, leſt they ſhould be obliged, at the reſurrection, to go on foot; which was reckoned very ſcandalous. Some believed a *metempſychoſis*; and that of the blood near the dead perſon's brain, was formed a bird named *Hamah*, which once in an hundred years viſited the ſepulcre; though others ſay, this bird is animated by the ſoul of him that is unjuſtly ſlain, and continually cries *Oſcûni*, *Oſcûni*, i. e. *Give me to drink*, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. Some of the antient *Arabs* ſeem to have been addicted to augury, ſince they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended ſomething bad. The camel above-mentioned furniſhed the *Arabs* with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miſerable end. Thoſe who expected a future judgment, adored idols, as they pretended, that the heroes or deities they repreſented might be hereby induced to intercede for them with GOD hereafter. It appears probable from ſome paſſages of the *Koran*, and the commentators on thoſe paſſages, that the antient *Arabs*, under the word *Jin* or *Genii*, comprehended angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate ſpecies of rational inviſible beings going among the preſent *Orientals* by the ſame name. From the

q AL-MOSTATRAF. LORD's account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 5. DIOG. LAERT. in proœm. p. 6. PLUT. de Iſid & in Do. Lib. *Sad-der* apud Hyd. hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. DAMASCIUS, PLUTARCH & SHAHRESTANI. apud Hyd. ubi ſup. c. 22. PRIDEAUX in connect. p. i. v. iii. Univ. hiſt. vol i. p. 65, 66, & alib. Vid. etiam POCOCKIUM in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 146——150.

ſame paſſages and commentators we may likewiſe infer, that moſt of the *Arabians* before *Mohammed*'s time, in conformity to the *Sabian* ſcheme, paid religious honours to theſe *Genii*. The *Mohammedans* call the evil principle of the *Magi* the *Satan* of the Scripture, and *Sammael* of the *Jews*, *Eblis*, which ſeems to be a corruption of the Διάβολος or *Diabolus* of the *New Teſtament* [r].

The Jewiſh *religion embraced by ſome of the* Arab *tribes.*

ABU CARB ASAD king of *Yaman*, about ſeven hundred years before *Mohammed*, is ſaid to have introduced *Judaiſm* among the idolatrous *Hamyarites*. The *Jews* likewiſe, who fled in great numbers into *Arabia* after the deſtruction of their country by the *Romans*, made proſelytes of ſeveral tribes, thoſe of *Kenanah*, *Al Hareth Ebn Caaba*, and *Kendah*, in particular. In time, therefore, they became very powerful, and poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes. At laſt one *Yuſef*, ſurnamed *Dhu Nowas*, king of *Yaman*, having raiſed a terrible perſecution againſt all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, tae moſt common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the *Arabs* gave him the opprobrious title of *the lord of the pit*, *Caleb* or *Eleſbaan* king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge the maſſacre of the Chriſtians at *Najran*, put an end to *Judaiſm*, and the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, in *Yaman*, at the ſame time. This happened in the reign of the emperor *Juſtin*, as has been already related in the hiſtory of the *Ethiopians*, and will be more fully ſet forth in the following ſection [s].

And likewiſe Chriſtianity.

WHETHER St. *Paul* preached in any part of *Arabia*, properly ſo called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the Chriſtian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a diſpute. The *Arabians* we find ranked amongſt thoſe nations, ſome of whoſe members firſt had the happineſs of being made converts to Chriſtianity, ſeveral of them being preſent when the HOLY GHOST deſcended upon the apoſtles. When the eaſtern church, ſoon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly haraſſed by diſorders and perſecutions, vaſt numbers of Chriſtians ſought for ſhelter in *Arabia*; who being for the moſt part of the *Jacobite* commu-

[r] AL-SHAHRESTANI. AL-JAUHARI. EBN AL ATHIR. AL-DAMIRIUS. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM, ubi ſupra, p. 134——136. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 6, 7. 72, & alib. [s] Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 50, & 85. BARONII annal. ad ſec. 6. SIMEON epiſc. BETH-ARSAMENS. apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 363——385. METAPHRASTES apud Surium, tom. v. p. 936, & alib. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xviii. c. 6. Vid. etiam ABULFED. SHAHRESTANI, & SAFIODDIN, apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 137, 138.

nion,

nion, that ſect generally prevailed among the *Arabs*. The principal tribes that embraced Chriſtianity were *Hamyar*, *Ghaſſan*, *Rabia*, *Tagblab*, *Bahra*, *Tonuch*, part of thoſe of *Tay* and *Kodaa*, the inhabitants of *Najran*, and the *Arabs* of *Hira*. The people of *Najran* became converts to Chriſtianity in the time of *Dhu Nowas* above-mentioned, and thoſe of *Hira* received a great acceſſion by ſeveral tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the perſecution of that prince. How *Al-Nooman*, ſurnamed *Abu-Kabus*, king of *Hira*, who was ſlain a few months before *Mohammed*'s birth, came to profeſs himſelf a Chriſtian, and brought off with him from paganiſm the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to *Abulfeda*, his grandfather *Mondar* embraced Chriſtianity, and built ſeveral churches for the Chriſtians in *Hira*. *Safioddin* ſays, that *Najran* was a biſhop's ſee, and remarkable for having a Chriſtian church in early times. From *Shahreſtani* we learn, that *Mondar* king of the *Arabs* declared war againſt the emperor *Juſtinian*, becauſe he had treated ill thoſe who aſſerted only one nature in Chriſt, ſince the *Arab* Chriſtians at that time were of the *Jacobite* perſuaſion. This is a ſufficient proof, that Chriſtianity had got footing in *Arabia* before the reign of that prince. The *Jacobites* give out, and M. *Aſſeman* thinks it probable, that the *Syrian* biſhop *Jacobus Baradæus*, who, according to *Abul-Farajius*, viſited all the regions adjacent to *Syria*, and ordained there biſhops, preſbyters, *&c.* of the *Jacobite* ſect, firſt infected the *Arabian* Chriſtians with *Monophyſiſm*. How our Saviour appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, to the *Jews* of *Hamyar*, who had challenged ſome neighbouring Chriſtians to a public diſputation about *Dhu Nowas*'s time, our readers will be informed when we come towards the cloſe of this hiſtory [t].

Biſhopricks in Arabia.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that, as the Chriſtians were ſo numerous in *Arabia* before the age of *Mohammed*, they had ſeveral biſhops there, when that impoſtor firſt began to form a new ſyſtem of religion. Accordingly we find, that the *Jacobites* had two biſhops of the *Arabs* ſubject to their *Mafrian*, or *metropolitan of the eaſt*. One of theſe was ſtiled ab-

[t] Gal. c. i. ver. 17. Act. c. ii. ver. 11. ABUL-FARAJ. p. 93. 149. ASSEMAN. diſſert. de Monophyſitis, & bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166. 167. AL-MOSTATRAF. ABULFED. SHAHRESTAN. & SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra. AL-JANNABIUS, ibid. p. 63. EBN KHALICAN in vit. ABULOL. poet. GREGENT. diſput. cum Heiban. Jud. in biblioth. patr. Pariſienſ. tom. i. PAGIUS ad an. 523. a num. 10. Vid. etiam Cl. LAMBECIUM, l. v. p. 131. & ASSEMAN. not. ad Simeon. Beth-Arſamenſ. epiſc. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 383.

ſolutely

ſolutely *the biſhop of the Arabs*, whoſe ſeat was for the moſt part at *Akula*, which ſome authors make the ſame with *Cufa*, others a different town near *Baghdad*. The other had the title of *the biſhop of the Scenite Arabs*, of the tribe of *Thaalab* in *Hira* or *Hirta*, as the *Syrians* call it, and ſeated in that city. *Gregentius*, who held a famous diſpute *ſub dio* for three days with *Herbanus* the *Jew*, before the king of *Hamyar*, was biſhop or archbiſhop of *Dhafar* or *Tephra*, as it is called by the *Greek* authors, in the century preceding *Mohammed*; and that *Najran* alſo was a biſhop's ſee at the ſame time, has been already obſerved from *Safioddin*. We find likewiſe a prelate of this country ſtiled the biſhop of the *Tayites*, though the extent and limits of his dioceſe cannot ſo eaſily be defined. The *Neſtorians* had but one biſhop, who preſided over both the dioceſes of *Hira* and *Akula*, and was immediately ſubject to their patriarch. *Arabia* was in the earlieſt ages famous for hereſies, which Mr. *Sale* ſays might in ſome meaſure be attributed to the liberty and independency of its tribes. The ſpecification of theſe hereſies will more properly fall under our province in the modern hiſtory of the *Arabs*, when we ſhall enumerate the principal cauſes that concurred to favour the propagation of the *Mohammedan* religion [u].

Other ſects in Arabia *different from thoſe already mentioned.*

BEFORE we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions, of the antient *Arabs*, we muſt obſerve, that ſome of them attributed a power to the fixed ſtars ſuperior to what even the *Sabians* themſelves allowed; inſomuch that they would not take the leaſt ſtep without receiving a favourable omen from them. Several of them alſo not only worſhiped *Dæmons* or *Genii*, but likewiſe aſſerted them to be the daughters of GOD. The *Koreiſh* were infected with *Zendiciſm*, an error nearly related to that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*. We are told, that ſeveral of this tribe worſhiped one GOD, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of *Mohammed* [w].

Language.

As the *Arabs* are one of the moſt antient nations in the world, having inhabited the country they at preſent poſſeſs

[u] SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. ABUL-FARAJ. in chron. Syriac. MS. ABULFEDA in deſcript. Iracæ. GREGENT. diſput. cum H-rban. ubi ſupra. SOCRAT. lib. iii. c. 27. ASSEMAN. bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii. in diſſert. de Monophyſi. & p. 459. LAMBECIUS ubi ſupra. SALE's prelimin. diſcour. ſect. 2. p. 34, 35.

[w] SHAHRESTANI. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. vi. AL-MOSTATRAF. apud Pocockium, p. 136. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 270. & MILLIUS de Mohammediſmo ante Mohammed. p. 311. SALE's prelim. diſc. ſect. 1. p. 24.

almoſt

almoſt from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being ſubjugated by any foreign power, their language muſt have been formed ſoon after, if not at, the confuſion of *Babel*. The two principal dialects of it were that ſpoken by the *Hamyarites* and other genuine *Arabs*, and that of the *Koreiſh*, in which *Mohammed* wrote the *Koran*. The firſt is ſtiled by the *Oriental* writers the *Arabic* of *Hamyar*, and the other *the pure* or *defecated*. As *Yarab*, grandfather to *Hamyar*, is ſuppoſed by the *Oriental* writers to have been the firſt whoſe tongue deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*, the *Hamyaritic* dialect, according to them, muſt have approached nearer to the purity of the *Syriac*, and conſequently have been more remote from the true genius of the *Arabic*, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the *Koreiſh*, termed by the *Koran the perſpicuous and clear Arabic*, is referred to *Iſhmael* as its author, who, ſay the above-mentioned writers, firſt ſpoke it, and, as Dr. *Pocock* believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of *Jorham* by marriage, formed it of their language and the original *Hebrew*. As therefore the *Hamyaritic* dialect partook principally of the *Syriac*, ſo that of the *Koreiſh* was ſuppoſed to conſiſt chiefly of the *Hebrew*. But, according to *Jallalo'ddin*, the politeneſs and elegance of the dialect of the *Koreiſh* ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remoteſt antiquity, the cuſtody of the *Caaba*, and dwelling in *Mecca* the centre of *Arabia*. For by this ſituation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourſe with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewiſe frequented by the *Arabs* of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the compoſing of their differences, from whoſe diſcourſe and verſes they took whatever words or phraſes they judged moſt pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfuſed into this dialect. The *Arabs* are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expreſſive, and, as they ſay, ſo immenſely copious, that no man uninſpired can be a perfect maſter of it, in its utmoſt extent. How much in this laſt article it is ſuperior to the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, in ſome meaſure appears from hence, that ſometimes a bare enumeration of the *Arabic* names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a conſiderable volume. Thus we are told, that *Ebn Khalawih*, one of the moſt learned of the *Arab* grammarians, wrote a whole treatiſe, which conſiſted intirely of an interpretation of five hundred words ſignifying a *lion*; and another whoſe only ſubject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a *ſerpent*. *Mohammedes Al Firauzabadius*, author of the great *Arabic* lexicon called

Kamus,

Kamus, or *the Ocean*, relates, that he compoſed a piece, containing a deſcription of the nature and advantages of *honey*, together with an explication of eighty different terms expreſſive of it; and yet that it had ſeveral other names. He likewiſe mentions another of his books, wherein he had enumerated above a thouſand words denoting only a *ſword*. Notwithſtanding which, the *Arabs* believe the greateſt part of their language to be loſt; which will not ſeem improbable, when we conſider how late the art of writing became generally practiſed among them. For though it was known to *Job*, their countryman, to the *Edomites*, as well as the other *Arabian* nations bordering upon *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, and to the *Hamyarites* many centuries before *Mohammed*, as appears from ſome antient monuments, ſaid to be remaining in their character; yet the other *Arabs*, and thoſe of *Mecca* in particular, unleſs ſuch of them as were either *Jews* or *Chriſtians*, were to the time of *Moramer* perfectly ignorant of it. It was the antient *Arabic* language preceding the reign of *Juſtinian* which ſo nearly reſembled the *Ethiopic*; for ſince that time, and eſpecially ſince the age of *Mohammed*, all the *Arabic* dialects have been not a little corrupted. This is now the learned language of the *Mohammedans*, who ſtudy it as the *European Chriſtians* do the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*[x].

A great affinity between the antient and modern Arabic.

A VERY great affinity between the antient and modern *Arabic* muſt, however, be allowed; ſo great an affinity, that in ſubſtance we may pronounce them the ſame. Many conſiderable advantages flow from a knowlege of the *Arabic* tongue, all which may be conſidered as ſo many inducements to the ſtudy of it: but amongſt theſe, the chief ſeems to be, an inveſtigation of the true meaning of many *Hebrew* words, whoſe *radices* cannot be diſcovered in the *Hebrew* original of the *Old Teſtament*, though they are ſtill preſerved in the *Arabic*. This we might prove by an induction of particulars, did not the diſcuſſion of ſuch a point more properly belong to the modern hiſtory of *Arabia*. For a complete hiſtory of the language we are now upon, as well as a full diſplay of the elegancy, beauties, and utility of it, we muſt refer our readers to a curious and learned piece publiſhed by the Reverend Dr. *Hunt*, profeſſor of *Hebrew* and *Arabic* in the Univerſity of

[x] POCOCK. ubi ſupra, p. 150——154. JALLALO'DDIN. in lib. *Mezhar*, c. 1. p. 9. 22. 27. AL-JAUHARIUS & MOHAM. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra. JOB, c. xix. ver. 23, 24. JOB LUDOLF. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1. n. 19. p. 60. Cl. HUNT, in orat. Oxon. habit. de ant. elegant. utilit. ling. Arab. p. 4——7, &c. edit. Oxon. 1739.

Oxford,

Oxford, a gentleman as well verſed in the whole circle of *Oriental* literature as any of the preſent age *y*.

Letters.

We have juſt obſerved, that the *Hamyarites* were not ſtrangers to the art of writing. The character uſed by them, the moſt antient of any peculiar to the *Arabs*, wherein the letters were not diſtinctly ſeparate, went by the appellation of *Al Moſnad*, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor ſuffered to be uſed, without permiſſion firſt obtained. Could we depend upon what *Al Firauzabadius* relates from *Ebn Haſhem*, this character muſt have been of a very high antiquity; ſince an inſcription in it, according to the laſt author, was found in *Yaman*, as old as the time of *Joſeph*. Be that as it will, *Moramer Ebn Morra* of *Anbar*, a city of *Irak*, who lived not many years before *Mohammed*, was the inventor of the preſent *Arabic* character, which *Baſhar* the *Kendian*, who married the ſiſter of *Abu Sofian*, is ſaid to have learned from thoſe of *Anbar*, and to have introduced at *Mecca*, but a little while before the inſtitution of *Mohammediſm*. *Moramer*'s alphabet the *Oriental* authors agree to have been very different from the antient one of the *Hamyarites*, ſince they diſtinguiſh the *Hamyaritic* and *Arabic pens*. In *Mohammed*'s time the *Morameric* alphabet had made ſo ſmall a progreſs, that no one in *Yaman* could either write or read it; nay, *Mohammed* himſelf was incapable of doing either; for which reaſon he was called the *illiterate prophet*. The letters of this alphabet were very rude, being either the ſame with, or very much like the *Cufic*; which character is ſtill found in inſcriptions, and the titles of antient books; nay, for many years it was the only one uſed by the *Arabs*, the *Koran* itſelf being at firſt written therein. According to *Khalican*, the preſent *Arabic* character was firſt formed from the *Cufic* by *Ebn Moklah*, *Wazir*, or *Viſir*, to *Al Moktader*, *Al Kaher*, and *Al Radi*, khalîfs of *Baghdad*, who lived about three hundred years after *Mohammed*; and brought to great perfection by *Ali Ebn Bowah*, who flouriſhed in the following century, and whoſe name is yet famous among them on that account. Others, however, attribute the honour of the invention of this character to *Ebn Moklah*'s brother, *Abdallah al Haſan*; and the perfecting of it to *Ebn Amid al Kateb*, after it had been reduced to near the preſent form by *Abd' Alhamid*. But the beſt authors contradict the laſt of theſe notions, as well as the former, by affirming, that *Yakut al Moſtaſemi*, the laſt of the khalîfs of the family of *Abbas*, gave the finiſhing hand to it;

y Hunt, ubi ſupra, p. 48, & ſeq. Vide etiam auctor. ibid. laudat.

for

for which reaſon he was ſurnamed *Al Khattat*, or the *ſcribe*. In order to perpetuate the memory of *Moramer*'s invention, ſome authors call the *Arabic* letters *al Moramer*, i. e. *the progeny of Moramer*. The moſt remarkable ſpecimens of the *Cufic* character, ſo denominated from *Cufa*, a city of *Irak*, where ſome of the firſt copies of the *Koran* were written, are the following: Part of that book in it on vellum, brought from *Egypt* by Mr. *Greaves*; ſome other fragments of the ſame book in it publiſhed by Sir *John Chardin*; certain paſſages of a MS. in the *Bodleian* library; the legends on ſeveral *Saracenic* coins dug up about twenty years ago on the coaſt of the *Baltic*, not far from *Dantzick*; and, according to Mr. Profeſſor *Hunt*, thoſe noble remains of it that are, or were lately, to be ſeen in Mr. *Joſeph Ames*'s valuable collection of antique curioſities. As to the true origin of the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, we muſt own ourſelves pretty much in the dark. However, that very learned and profound *Orientaliſt* Mr. *Schultens* ſeems not very remote from truth, when he deduces the letters, of which they conſiſt, from the moſt antient *Hebrew* or *Aſſyrian* [z].

Antient and modern alphabets, as likewiſe thoſe of the African Saracens *and* Perſians.

In order to give our readers a clearer idea of what that learned gentleman has advanced on this head, we ſhall here inſert both the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, together with that of the *African Saracens* publiſhed by *Kircher*, which ſeems to be the old *Hamyaritic* character mentioned by *Al Firauzabadius*, *Al Jannabius*, *Ebn Khalican*, and *Georgius Ebn Amid*, under the title of *Al Moſnad*. As the *Perſians* were neighbours to the *Arabs*, and of the ſame religion with part of them, before the time of *Mohammed*, we have thought proper here likewiſe to give them the old *Perſic* alphabet (S), which, we doubt not, they will look upon as a very agreeable curioſity [a].

[z] Ebn Khalican. Ebn Hashem. Al-Firauzabadius. Al-Jannabius. Georg. Ern Amid. Job, c. xix. v. 23, 24. Prideaux's life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. Chardin's travels, vol. iii. p. 119. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. p. 590. 108. & 194. Gravius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 158. Hunt, ubi ſupra, p. 12. Vide & Monarch. Aſiatico-Siracen. a M. Geor. Jacob. Kehr *Sleuſinga-Franco* Oriental. edit. Lipſiæ, 1724. Alb. Schult. inſtitut. ad fundament. ling. Hebr. p. 20. ed. Lugd. Batav. 1737.

[a] Loesca, de cauſ. ling. Hebr. p. 224. ed. Francof. & Lipſiæ, 1706. Schult. ubi ſupra. Athan. Kirch. in prod. Copt. p. 199, 200. Romæ, 1636. Al-Firauzabad. Al-Jannab. Ebn Khalican, & Georg. Ebn Amid. Vid. etiam Pocock in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 154, 155.

(S) For this we are obliged to the Reverend Mr. *Coſtard*, Fellow of *Wadham* college, *Oxford*, a gentleman of great erudition, and particularly eminent for his ſkill in the *Oriental* tongues.

The modern *Arabic* alphabet.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
1	A or E.	Elif.	ـا	ا	ا	ا
2	B.	Be.	بـ	بـ	ب	ب
3	T.	Te.	تـ	تـ	ت	ت
4	T, blæſe, or liſping.	Thſe.	ثـ	ثـ	ث	ث
5	G.	Gjim.	جـ	جـ	ج	ج
6	Hh.	Hha.	حـ	حـ	ح	ح
7	Ch.	Cha.	خـ	خـ	خ	خ
8	D.	Dal.	د	د	د	د
9	D, blæſe, or liſping.	Dhſal.	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
10	R.	Re.	ر	ر	ر	ر
11	Z.	Ze.	ز	ز	ز	ز
12	S.	Sin.	سـ	سـ	س	س
13	Sj.	Sjin.	شـ	شـ	ش	ش
14	S.	Sad.	صـ	صـ	ص	ص
15	D.	Dad.	ضـ	ضـ	ض	ض
16	T.	Ta.	طـ	طـ	ط	ط
17	D.	Da.	ظـ	ظـ	ظ	ظ
18	The *Hebrew* y.	Ain.	عـ	عـ	ع	ع
19	G *Latin.*	Gain.	غـ	غـ	غ	غ
20	F.	Fe.	فـ	فـ	ف	ف
21	K.	Kaf.	قـ	قـ	ق	ق
22	C.	Kef.	كـ	كـ	ك	ك
23	L.	Lam.	لـ	لـ	ل	ل
24	M.	Mim.	مـ	مـ	م	م
25	N.	Nun.	نـ	نـ	ن	ن
26	W.	Waw.	و	و	و	و
27	H.	He.	هـ	هـ	ه	ه
28	I.	Ie.	يـ	يـ	ي	ي

The

The old *Arabic* Alphabet.

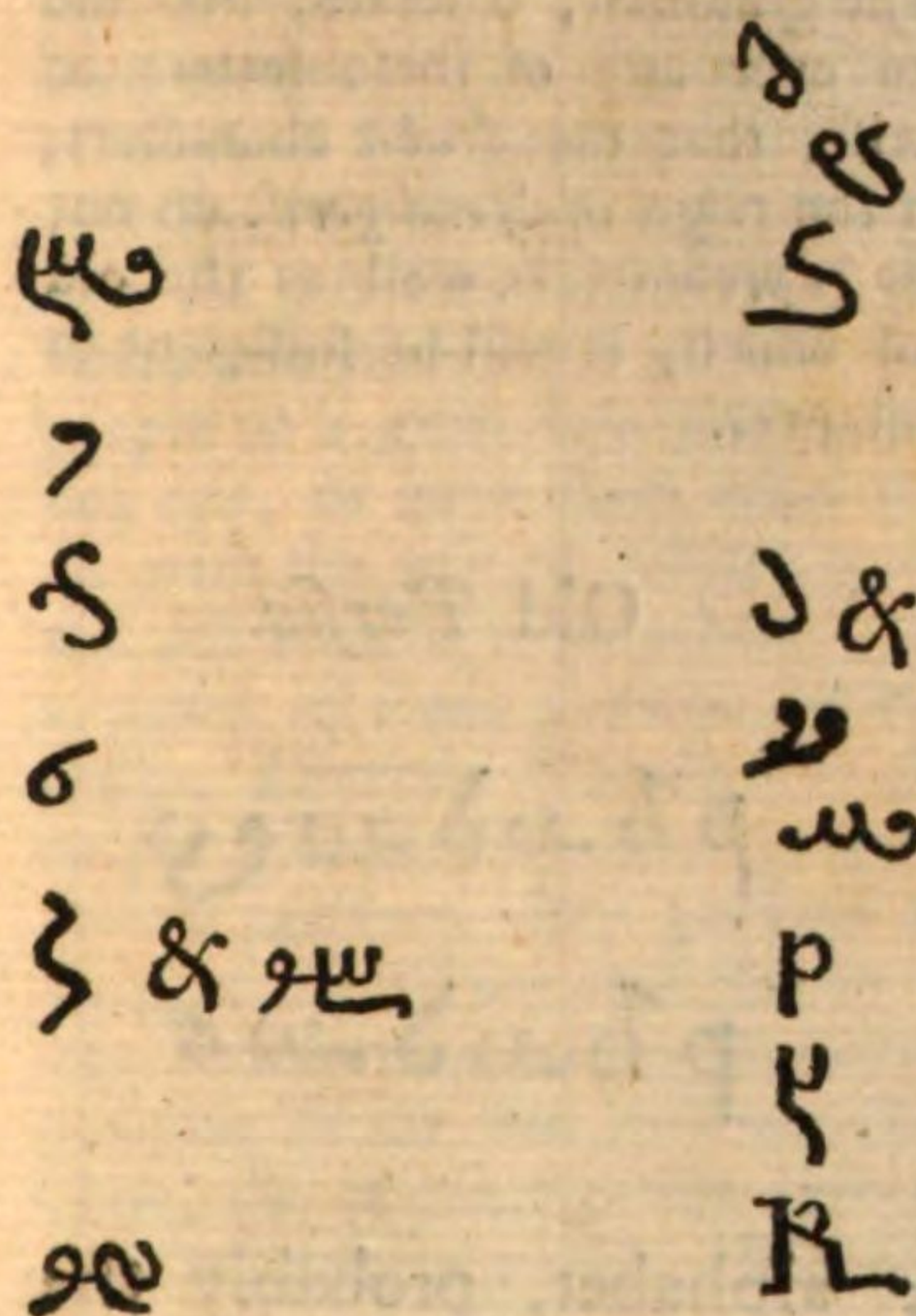
ا	ا	Elif.	ل	ل	Lam.
ب	ب	Be.	م	م	Mem.
غ	غ	Gain.	ن	ن	Nun.
د	د	Dal.	ص	ص	Sad.
ذ	ذ	Dfal.	ع	ع	Ain.
ه	ه	He.	ف	ف	Fe.
و	و	Waw.	ز	ز	Ze.
ج	ج	Gim.	ق	ق	Kaf.
ح	ح	Hha.	ر	ر	Re.
ط	ط	Ta.	س	س	Sin.
ي	ي	Ye.	ش	ش	Shin.
ك	ك	Caf.	ت	ت	Te.

The old *Perfic* alphabet.

ۏ	Like the *Engliſh* U.
ۋ	Like the *Engliſh* V, and at the end of a word ۏ.
ڤ	
ڢ	
ڣ	
ڥ	
ڧ	
ڨ	
ڪ	
ګ	
ڬ	
ڭ	
ڮ	
ڰ	
ڱ	
ڲ	
ڳ	

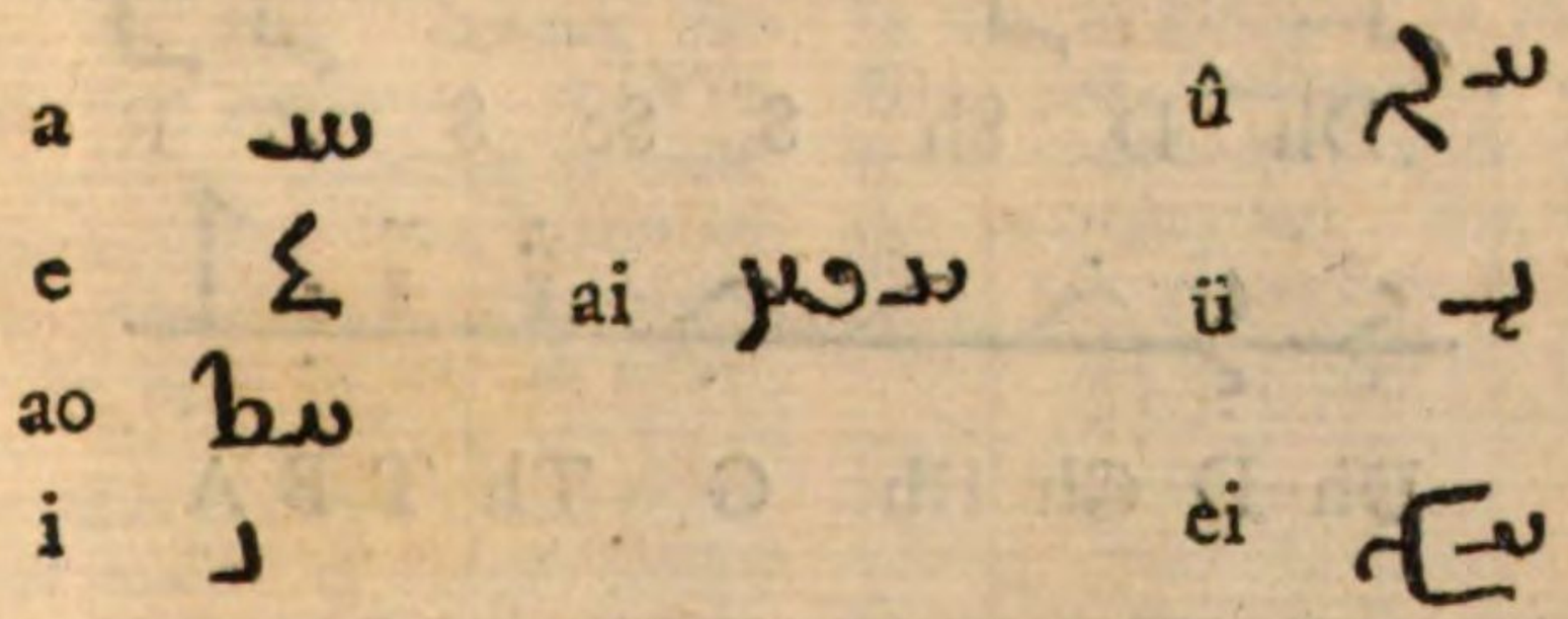
The

The old *Perſic* alphabet continued.



Like the *Engliſh* F.
Like the *Engliſh* P.
at the end of a word.
Tch.
Td.

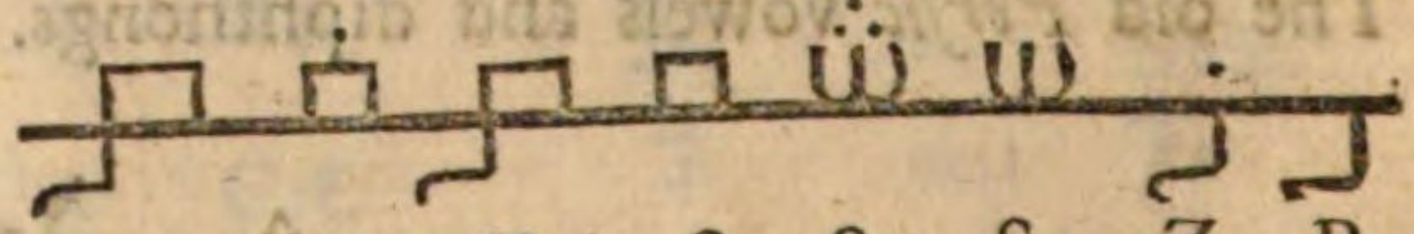
The old *Perſic* vowels and diphthongs.



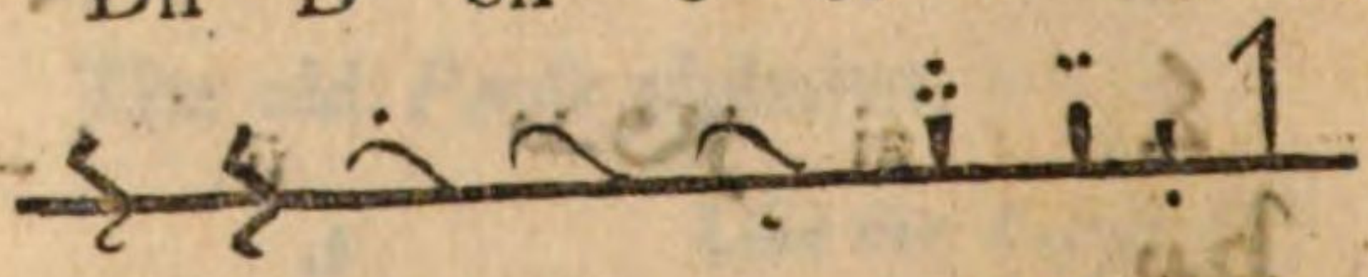
It appears, from comparing the old *Perſic* and modern *Arabic* alphabets, that the following letters of the latter are wanting in the former, to wit, ث ش خ ص ض ط ظ ع غ ق. Now *Ludovicus de Dieu*, in his *Perſic* grammar, obſerves, that the true *Perſic* words have ſcarce ever any of theſe letters in them. It is obſervable likewiſe, that the *Arabic* characters, which the *Perſians* adopted in the reign of *Jezdegerd*, do not always anſwer the ſounds they repreſent, as well as the old *Perſic* letters did. In proof of which, it will be ſufficient to produce the two following inſtances.

Arab.	Old *Perſic.*
ھروف	p b د د س ی
ھروف	p b د د س ہ

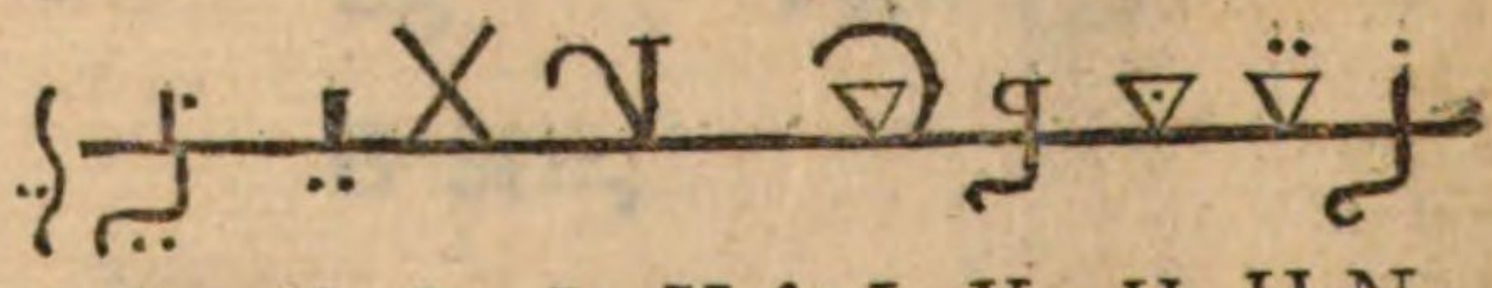
The *African Saracenic* alphabet, probably the ſame as the antient *Hamyaritic*, given us by *Kircher*.



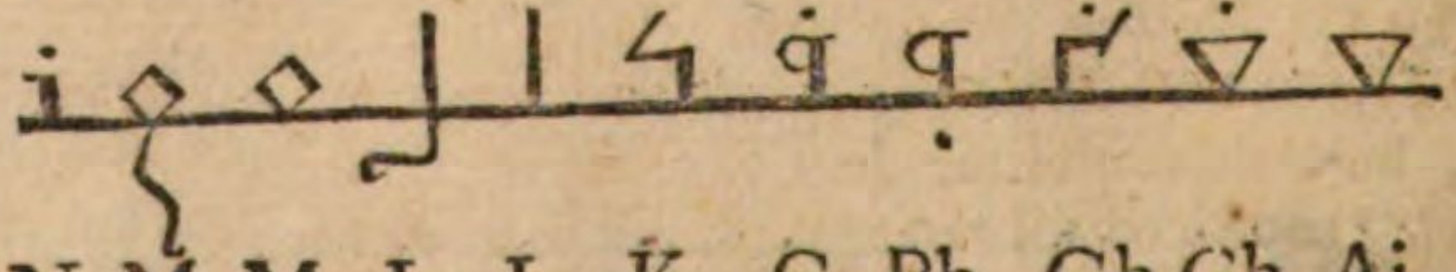
Dh D Sh S Sc S Z R



Dh D Ch Hh G Th T B A



I I I L L H & L V H H N



N M M L L K C Ph Gh Gh Ai

THOUGH

THOUGH by far the greateſt part of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed* could neither read nor write, every one of which went under the denomination of *Al Ommio*; yet ſeveral of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect ſkill in their own tongue. Herein they exerciſed themſelves by compoſing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two ſorts, metrical and proſaic, the one being compared to pearls ſtrung, and the other to looſe ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able in an aſſembly to perſuade the people to a great enterprize, or diſſuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholſome advice, was honoured with the title of *Khateb* or *orator*, which is now given to the *Mohammedan* preachers. They called an oration giving a detail of ſome glorious atchievements, delivered from the roſtra, *Khotbah*, according to *Al-Barezi*, a word of the ſame origin with *Khateb* above-mentioned. From what we find in ſeveral authors, they purſued a method very different from that of the *Greek* and *Roman* orators; their ſentences being like looſe gems, without connexion; ſo that this ſort of compoſition ſtruck the andience chiefly by the fulneſs of the periods, the elegance of the expreſſion, and the acuteneſs of the proverbial ſayings (T). So perſuaded were they of their excelling

The learning, &c. of the antient Arabs.

(T) Now we are ſpeaking of the *Arab* literature, our readers will expect ſome account of the fabuliſt *Lokman*, ſo famous all over the Eaſt. *Lokman*, ſurnamed *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the Wiſe*, or *the Sage*, according to *Saddi*, *Akramas*, and *Schaav*, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by ſucceſſion, he having been the ſon or grandſon of a ſiſter or aunt of *Job*. The author of *Taiaſſir* makes him the ſon of *Baura*, or *Béor*, the ſon of *Nahor*, the ſon of *Terah*, and conſequently related to *Abraham*. *Abouleits* gives *Lokman* the ſurname of *Abou Anam*, i. e. *the father of* Anam; tho' others call his ſon *Mathan*. The author of the book intituled *Ain al mâni* ſays, he was born in the time of *David*, and lived till the age of *Jonah*; but this exceeds all belief. According to the deſcription of his perſon by the *Arab* writers, he muſt have been deformed enough; for they ſay he was an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian* ſlave, and conſequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and ſplay feet. But, in return, he received from GOD wiſdom and eloquence in a great degree, which ſome pretend were given him in a viſion, on his making choice of wiſdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the *Mohammedans*, therefore, hold him to have been no prophet, but only a ſage or wiſe man. Others relate, that when GOD, in order to reward his tranſcendent piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on earth, he choſe rather to remain in the condition of a ſlave, though

celling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to underſtand the art of ſpeaking in public, except themſelves

though with an intire reſignation to the divine will, begging that God would enable him to execute all His orders, in caſe He thought proper to fix him in ſo ſublime a poſt. This, continue the ſame authors, ſo exceedingly pleaſed God, that he made him ſuperior to all other men in wiſdom; inſomuch that he wrote ten thouſand proverbs and fables for the inſtruction of mankind. From ſeveral authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, and that by nation he was an *Ethiopian*, ſold to the *Iſraelites*, but by religion a *Jew*. The author of *Tarikh Montakhab* affirms, that the ſepulcre of *Lokman* was to be ſeen in his time at *Ramlah* or *Ramah*, near *Jeruſalem*; and that he was interred near ſeventy prophets, who had been ſtarved by the *Jews*, and all died in one day. He is ſaid to have obtained his liberty on the following occaſion: His maſter having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him ſuch exact obedience as to eat it all; at which his maſter being ſurpriſed, aſked him, How he could eat ſo nauſeous a fruit? To which he replied, It was no wonder, that he ſhould for once accept a bitter fruit from the ſame hand, from which he had received ſo many favours. Our readers will naturally obſerve, that *Lokman*, who lived in the time of the prophet *Hud*, or *Heber*, could not be the ſame perſon with the fabuliſt here mentioned.

As moſt of the particulars relating to the perſon of *Lokman* here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the *Koran*, agree ſo well with what *Maximus Planudes* has written of *Æſop*, theſe two ſages are generally thought to have been the ſame perſon. The great reſemblance the fables of *Lokman* bear to thoſe of *Æſop* is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that *Planudes* borrowed great part of his life of *Æſop* from the traditions he met with in the Eaſt concerning *Lokman*, and concluded theſe two perſons to have been the ſame from the circumſtances above-mentioned. That the fables attributed to *Æſop* were of *Oriental* extraction, cannot well be denied, ſince they ſavour much more of the genius of the *Orientals* than of that of the *Greeks*. Fable or apologue was of a very high antiquity in the Eaſt, and even the countries bordering on *Arabia*, if not in *Arabia* itſelf; as may be learned from the noble example of this form of inſtruction in the ſpeech of *Jotham* to the men of *Shechem*, which was made near two hundred years before the time of *Lokman*, ſuppoſing him to have been cotemporary with *David*. In fine, we are diſpoſed to think, that the *Arab* traditions concerning the wiſdom of *Lokman* were only corruptions of ſome paſſages of Scripture relating to *Solomon* king of *Iſrael*, eſpecially if we admit the queen of *Sheba* to have been a *Nubian* or *Ethiopian*. This will appear at leaſt probable,

ſelves and the *Perſians*; which laſt were reckoned much inferior in that reſpect to the *Arabians*. Two of the antient *Arabs*, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were *Koſs* and *Sabban*, of the tribe of *Wayel*. Hence came the proverbs, *More expert in the art of ſpeaking than* Koss, and *More eloquent than* SABBAN. To their poetry they ſeem to have been chiefly indebted, for the poliſhing, and even preſervation, of their language, before the uſe of letters was introduced amongſt them; for which reaſon their authors generally conſider this and the ſtudy of their language together. In their poems, likewiſe, were preſerved the diſtinction of deſcents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe; ſo that as ſoon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publicly to congratulate them on the occaſion, and themſelves made entertainments, at which the women aſſiſted, dreſſed in their nuptial ornaments, ſinging, to the ſound of timbrels, the happineſs of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preſerve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to tranſmit their actions to poſterity. For all this was performed by their poems, to which they were ſolely obliged for their knowlege, and inſtructions, moral and œconomical, and to which they had recourſe, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences. No wonder, then, that poetry was in ſuch eſteem among them, that they looked

ble, from 1 *Kings* c. iii. ver. 9—13. c. iv. ver. 30—34. compared with what has been already obſerved of *Lokman* from the eaſtern writers. The generality of theſe writers make *Lokman* cotemporary with *David* and *Solomon*, and of the ſame religion with thoſe princes; which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. As for the deformity of his perſon, that might have been introduced by them, in order to ſet off to the greater advantage, by ſuch a contraſt, the excellency of his wiſdom. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the thirty-firſt chapter of the *Koran*, from whence ſeveral hints relating to our ſage may be drawn, is intituled LOKMAN; nor that ſome fables going under his name have been publiſhed by *Golius*, at the end of his edition of *Erpenius's Arabic* grammar. What is here advanced will meet with a better reception from our readers, when they have conſulted Mr. *D'Herbelot* in the article *Lokman* (5).

(5) *Al Zamakhſh. Al Beidawi, &c. Al Kor. Mohammed. c. 31. Jud. c. ix. ver. 7. Maraccius in Alc. p. 547. ed. Patavii, 1698. Saddi, Akramas, Schaab, &c. Maxim. Planud. in vit. Æſop. Vaheb. in comment. Turcic. ad Al-Korân. Mohammed. Poc. in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 36. La vie d'Eſope, par M. de Meziriac, Boyle in dict. hiſt. art. Eſope. Var. auctor. apud D'Herbel. in art. Lokman. Vide etiam Lokmanni fab. in calce gram. Arab. Thom. Erpenii, a Golio, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1656.*

upon it as a great accompliſhment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to expreſs one's ſelf in verſe with eaſe and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; nor that even in their common diſcourſe they made frequent applications of celebrated paſſages of their famous poets. As the *Arabs* conſidered an elegant and inſtructive poem as the ſummit of human performances, a ſpirit of emulation was kept up among their poets; in order to which, the tribes had once a year a general aſſembly at *Ocadh*, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our *Sunday*. This annual meeting laſted a whole month, during which time they employed themſelves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compoſitions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is ſaid, took its name. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treaſuries, as were the ſeven celebrated poems, thence called *Al Moallakat*, rather than from their being hung up on the *Caaba*, which honour they alſo had by public order, being written on *Egyptian* ſilk, and in letters of gold. On this account they had alſo the name of *Al Modhahabat*, or the *golden verſes*. It is worthy obſervation, that ſuch a public congratulation as has been already mentioned was made only on the birth of a boy, the riſe of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they reckoned three points of felicity. Though poetry was of ſo high an antiquity among the *Arabs*, they did not at firſt uſe to write poems of any juſt length, but only expreſſed in verſe occaſionally; nor was their proſody digeſted into rules, till ſome time after *Mohammed*. For this was done, as it is ſaid, by *Al Khalil Ahmed al Farahidi*, who lived in the reign of the khalif *Harun al Raſhid*. The firſt author of a poem that conſiſted of thirty verſes, or *Al-Kaſidah*, was *Mohalhel*. According to *Al-Khalil*, there are fifteen different kinds of *Arabic* verſe; *Zamakhſharius* makes them ſixteen, and others only eleven or twelve. *Mohammed* ſuppreſſed the fair and aſſembly at *Ocadh*, which occaſioned poetry to decline in his time, and for ſome years after, the *Arabs* being then employed in extending their conqueſts; which having done, upon the return of peace this ſtudy was revived, and almoſt all ſorts of learning encouraged, and not a little improved by them. However, this interruption occaſioned the loſs of moſt of their antient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preſerved by memory. The *Arabian* poetry agrees with the *Greek* and *Roman* in this, that it conſiſts of *Ajzac*, *parts* correſponding with their *feet*; and theſe differ, according to the different number and quantity of ſyllables, as the *Greek* and *Roman*

feet

feet did. The whole art of the *Arab* verſification conſiſts in the due poſition of letters called *moveable* and *quieſcent*. A *moveable* letter has its proper vowel; a *quieſcent* letter one that has no vowel of its own, but is joined to the preceding letter, and with it makes one ſyllable. Thus, for inſtance, in ﻪ (*H*) has its vowel (*a*), and therefore is *moveable*; but ﺮ (*R*) is deſtitute of one, and there joined to the preceding ﻬ (*H*), with which it forms but one ſyllable. We muſt not here omit taking notice of the quick tranſitions from ſubject to ſubject in the *Arab* poetry, nor of the moſt celebrated antient *Arab* poets, whoſe works were hung up in the *Caaba*, adorned in the above-mentioned manner; to wit, 1. *Amriol Kais*. 2. *Tarafah*. 3. *Zohair*. 4. *Labid*. 5. *Antarah*. 6. *Al-Hareth*. 7. *Amru Ebn Kalthum*. Some authors, in the room of *Antarah* and *Al-Hareth*, ſubſtitute *Al-Aaſha* and *Al-Nabega*. The title affixed to every copy of verſes in the *Caaba* was *Modhahhabato Fohlan*, i. e. *the golden verſes* of a *certain poet*, *which are the beſt he ever wrote* [b].

Some particulars relating to the chronology of the antient Arabs.

BEFORE we diſmiſs our preſent ſubject, it will be proper to take notice of ſome few particulars relating to the chronology of the *Arabs*. They divided the year into twelve months, whoſe antient names were, 1. *Mutemer*. 2. *Nagir*. 3. *Chavan*. 4. *Savan*. 5. *Ritma*. 6. *Ida*. 7. *Aſam*. 8. *Adil*. 9. *Natil*. 10. *Vail*. 11. *Varna*. 12. *Burec*. But *Kelab*, the ſon of *Morrah*, from whom *Mohammed* was lineally deſcended, having, from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old ones in his time began to grow obſolete amongſt the *Koreiſh*; and afterwards, by the authority of *Mohammed*, when he had brought all the reſt of the *Arab* tribes under his power, were totally aboliſhed in every part of *Arabia*. As *Mohammed* made the uſe of the modern names one of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of his followers, it is no wonder they ſhould ſtill prevail among the *Mohammedans*. The firſt day of *Mutemer*, or

[b] AL-MOTAREZZI, in lib. *Mogreb*. EBN AL ATHIR. JALLALO'DDIN. in lib. *Mezhar*, c. 29, & alib. MOHAMMED. EBN SALAIN, AL-JAUHAR. & AL-FIRAUZABAD. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 159—162. ut & ipſe POCOCKIUS ibid. IBRAHIM AL BAREZI in ſchol. ad ſermon. Nobatii. Poc. orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 10, 11. & not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 162, 348. EBEN. RASHIK apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 160, 381. AL-KHALIL & AL-ZAMAKHSHAR. Vide etiam JALLALO'DDIN AL SOYÛTI, ibid. & p. 159. Geogr. Nubienſ. POCOCK. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 233. & SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 27, 28.

Muharram, being the firſt day of the year, was celebrated by the antient kings of *Yaman* with great feſtivity and munificence, as it was likewiſe by the *Perſians*, and other eaſtern nations. The nation we are now upon antiently divided the year alſo into ſix ſeaſons: 1. The ſeaſon of herbs, flowers, *&c.* 2. Summer. 3. The hot ſeaſon. 4. The ſeaſon of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. That the antient *Arab* year was luniſolar, has been already obſerved; but the cuſtom of intercalating months, in order to make the courſe of the moon to agree with that of the ſun, was aboliſhed by *Mohammed*. The *Arabs*, like the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, &c. antiently computed their time by weeks, or periods of ſeven days, as we learn from a very antient *Arab* poet, who died many ages before the publication of the *Koran*. The old names of theſe days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. *Euvel*. 2. *Bahun*. 3. *Gebar*. 4. *Debar*. 5. *Munis*. 6. *Aruba*. 7. *Xijar*. We have already delivered our ſentiments concerning the origin of this manner of computing time, and may poſſibly ſay ſomething farther of it, when we come to the hiſtory of the *Indians* [b].

The ſciences they chiefly cultivated.

THE ſciences chiefly cultivated by the antient *Arabians* were three; that of their hiſtory and genealogies, ſuch a knowlege of the ſtars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themſelves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and ſo many diſputes happened on that occaſion, that it is no wonder, if they took great pains in ſettling their deſcents. Their knowlege of the ſtars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular ſtudy, or aſtronomical rules. The *Arabians* and *Indians*, as has been already hinted, applied themſelves to obſerve the fixed ſtars, contrary to other nations, whoſe obſervations were almoſt confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. The ſtars or aſteriſms they moſt uſually foretold the weather by, were thoſe they call *Anwâ*, or the houſes of the moon. Theſe are 28 in number, and divide the *zodiac* into as many parts, through one of which the moon paſſes every night. As ſome of them ſet in the morning, others riſe oppoſite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their riſing and ſetting, the *Arabs*, by long experience, obſerved what

[b] GOL. not. ad Alfraganum, p. 3—16. AL JAUHAR. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân. MOHAMMED. paſſ. MESUD. & NOVEIR. apud Golium, ubi ſup. Philoſ. Xirafit. Poet. antiquiſſ. apud Golium, ubi ſup. Vide etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 269—272 (R). 322, 323.

changes

changes happened in the air; and at length came to aſcribe divine power to them, ſaying, that their rain was from ſuch or ſuch a ſtar. This expreſſion *Mohammed* abſolutely forbad them to uſe in the old ſenſe, unleſs qualified in ſuch a manner as to make the Supreme Being the director and manager of them. We find *Al-Rayeſh*, one of the kings of *Yaman*, ſurnamed *the Philoſopher*, not ſo much on account of his learning, as of his great prudence, and intellectual endowments. That the *Arabs* underſtood ſomething of phyſic before the time of *Mohammed*, appears from hence, that the famous *Arabian* phyſician *Al Harith Ebn Khalda*, ſo celebrated amongſt his countrymen, was older than that impoſtor. They ſeem to have made no farther progreſs in aſtronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs and applauſe, than to obſerve the influence of the ſtars upon the weather, and to give them names; which it was obvious for them to do, by reaſon of their paſtoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they impoſed on the ſtars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were ſo nice in diſtinguiſhing them, that no language has ſo many names of ſtars and aſteriſms as the *Arabic*. For though they have ſince borrowed the names of ſeveral conſtellations from the *Greeks*, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more antient; particularly thoſe of the more conſpicuous ſtars, diſperſed in ſeveral conſtellations, and thoſe of the leſſer conſtellations, which are contained within the greater, and were not obſerved or named by the *Greeks*. Some of the chief of theſe are *Auwa* in *Virgo*, *Benat Al Naſh* in *Urſa major*, *Aiyûk* and *Al Gjedyan* in *Auriga*, *Ma'laph* and *Al Himarein* in *Cancer*, &c. To wave all other arguments in favour of the high antiquity of the names of ſeveral ſtars and aſteriſms among the *Arabs*, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that ſome of theſe names were prior to the time of *Job*. Nay, they were, in all probability, coeval with the firſt peopling of *Arabia*, ſince from the beginning the *Arabs* led a paſtoral life, lying altogether in the open air, and continually viewing their flocks, and the ſtars; from whence it came to paſs, that the firſt appellations, given to ſome of the latter, alluded to the former. Neither can we abſolutely reject what has been hinted by *Ricciolus*, to wit, that ſome degree of attention is due to thoſe who believe aſtronomy to be as antient as *Adam*, and conſequently that ſeveral names of ſtars and conſtellations now in uſe among the *Arabs* may be ſuppoſed to precede even the deluge itſelf. *Onirocritic*, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the *Egyptians*, *Chaldæans*, &c. as likewiſe divi-

nation by arrows, and, as is probable, ſomething of genethliacal aſtrology [c].

They had ſome knowlege of the mechanical arts, &c.

THAT ſome of the *Arabs* had a good degree of knowlege in ſeveral mechanical arts, appears from *Strabo*, who informs us, that the people of *Tamna* and the adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houſes, built in the *Egyptian* taſte. The ſame author likewiſe relates, that in *Arabia Felix*, beſides the huſbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongſt others, thoſe who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much uſed by the *Arabs*. As for the exerciſe of arms and horſemanſhip, they looked upon this as one of their principal accompliſhments, being obliged to practiſe and encourage it by reaſon of the independency of their tribes, whoſe frequent jarring made wars almoſt continual amongſt them, which for the moſt part ended in field battles. Hence it became an uſual ſaying amongſt them, that GOD had beſtowed four peculiar things on the *Arabs*, to wit, turbans inſtead of diadems, tents inſtead of walls and houſes, ſwords inſtead of intrenchments, and poems inſtead of written laws. The principal arms uſed by the antient *Arabs* were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad ſwords or cymeters. The bows and arrows were the moſt antient of theſe, being uſed by *Iſhmael* himſelf, according to Scripture. It is probable alſo, that ſome of them were acquainted with every branch of the military art cultivated by their neighbours, the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians* [d].

The diſpoſition of the antient Arabs.

WITH regard to the diſpoſition of the antient *Arabs*, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other nations. Hoſpitality was ſo habitual to them, that in this they ſeem to have exceeded all their neighbours. *Agatharchides* repreſents them as the moſt hoſpitable people in the world to all nations, but particularly ſome of the *Greeks*. *Hatem* of the tribe of *Tay*, and *Haſn* of that of *Fezarah*, were principally famous on this account: the latter of theſe, we are told, fell into as great a tranſport of joy, when he conferred any ſignal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they re-

[c] AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in orat. ubi ſupra, p. 9. & not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 164. AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. & EBN AL ATHIR, ibid. p. 163, 164. GREG. ABUL-PHARAJ. p. 161. HYDE in not. ad tabulas ſtellar. fixar. Ulugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. RICCIOLUS apud Hyde, ibid. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 31, 32. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20. [d] STRABO, l. xvi. POCOCK. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 234. SEPHADIUS in comment. ad carmen Tograi, apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 161. SALE, ubi ſupra, p. 29.

ceived

ceived ſuch a favour. Nay, the contrary vice was ſo much in contempt among the *Arabs*, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of *Waſet*, as with the greateſt reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hoſpitable diſpoſition, the *Arabs* uſed to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travelers to their tents, and aſſured them of a kind reception. Every one of theſe fires they called *the fire of hoſpitality*, and the larger and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the perſon or perſons concerned in lighting it. The higheſt compliment that could be paid a man was to paſs an encomium upon his munificence; as that moſt acceptable to a woman was, to celebrate her parſimony, and her beauty. The antients likewiſe commend the *Arabs* for being exact to their words, and reſpectful to their kindred; and they have always been celebrated for their quickneſs of apprehenſion and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit; eſpecially thoſe of the deſert [e].

ON the other hand, that the *Arabs* had a natural inclination to war, bloodſhed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowleged by their own writers. They had always been ſo much addicted to bear malice, that they ſcarce ever forgot an old grudge; which vindictive temper, ſome phyſicians ſay, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camels fleſh, that creature being moſt malicious, and tenacious of anger. And at this day the *Arabs* of the deſert, who eat little elſe, are obſerved to be moſt inclined to theſe vices; which account, according to Mr. *Sale*, ſuggeſts a good reaſon for a diſtinction of meats [f].

Scenite Arabs *lived chiefly upon plunder.*

THAT the antient *Scenite Arabs*, *Iſhmaelites*, or *Nabathæans*, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, haraſſing their neighbours by continual robberies and excurſions, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*. That author obſerves, that it was in a manner impoſſible either to ſubdue or attack this nation of robbers; becauſe they had wells digged at proper diſtances in their dry and barren country, known only to themſelves: ſo that if any body of foreigners ever purſued or invaded them, they for the moſt part either died of thirſt, or were conſumed by the fatigues they found themſelves

[e] GENTIUS in not. ad Guliſtan Sheik Sadi, p. 486, &c. Poet. Arab. apud Poc. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 48. ABU ISHAC & EBNO'L HOBAR. poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipſe POCOCK. ibid. & p. 111—113. Vide etiam HERODOT. l. iii. c. 8. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Photium, p. 1369, 1370. STRAB. l. xvi. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 121. & SALE, ubi ſupra, p. 29, 30.

[f] POC. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 87, 88. BOCHART. Hierozoic. l. ii. c. 1. SALE, ubi ſup. p. 30.

ſelves

ſelves obliged to ſuſtain. Neither are their poſterity leſs infamous at preſent, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travelers. This they are ſenſible of, and endeavour to excuſe themſelves, by alleging the hard uſage of their father *Iſhmael*, who, being turned out of doors by *Abraham*, had the open plains and deſerts given him by GOD for his patrimony, with permiſſion to take whatever he could find there. This therefore they think authorizes them to indemnify themſelves, as well as they can, not only on the poſterity of *Iſaac*, but alſo on every body elſe; always ſuppoſing a ſort of kindred between themſelves and thoſe they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it ſufficient to change the expreſſion, and, inſtead of, *I robbed a man of ſuch or ſuch a thing*, to ſay, *I gained it*. We muſt not, however, imagine, that they are the leſs honeſt for this among themſelves, or towards thoſe whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the ſtricteſt probity is obſerved in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be ſtollen. The *Iſhmaelites* alſo employed themſelves in paſturage, as well as pillaging of paſſengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and fleſh of camels, as above-mentioned. However, ſome of them uſed horſes fleſh, as well as that of camels, according to the *Arab* poet *Tograi*. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of paſture for their cattle, invited them, ſtaying in a place no longer than that laſted, and then removing in ſearch of another. They generally wintered in *Irak*, and the confines of *Syria*. Before the *Romans* ſubdued *Syria*, the *Scenite Arabs* made dreadful incurſions into that country, where they committed great depredations, as we learn from *Strabo* [g].

The more civilized Arabs *dwelt in towns*, &c.

BESIDES theſe free-booters, we find a more civilized kind of *Arabs*, who dwelt in cities and towns. Theſe lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exerciſe of all ſorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of *Jacob*. The tribe of *Koreiſh* were much addicted to commerce, and *Mohammed*, in his younger years, was brought up to the ſame buſineſs; it being cuſtomary for the *Arabians* to exerciſe the ſame trade that their parents did, according to *Strabo*. Neither ought it to appear ſurpriſing, that the *Arabs* ſhould have had ſuch a genius for traffick, if

[g] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. p. 92. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 12. Voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 220, &c. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 6. & alib. SALE, ubi ſup. p. 25, 30, 31. TOGRAI, ver. 24. AGATHARCHID. CNID. & STRABO, ubi ſupra.

their

their country produced ſuch immenſe quantities of the moſt precious commodities, as ſome authors ſuggeſt. Balſam, cinnamon, and *caſſia*, the *Happy Arabia* abounded with, as likewiſe myrrh, frankincenſe, and all the moſt noble ſpices and perfumes. Cattle likewiſe its inhabitants had ſufficient to ſupply all their neighbours with, and even many of the remoter nations. But, above all, the gold, which was the proper produce of this country, has been repreſented by *Agatharchides* and *Strabo* to be ſo copious as to exceed all belief. According to them, the *Alilæi* and *Caſſandrini*, in the ſouthern parts of *Arabia*, had gold in that plenty amongſt them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for braſs, and ten times its weight for ſilver. In digging the earth they found ſome pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as big as olive-ſtones, others as big as medlers, and laſtly others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to paſs, that all the furniture of their houſes, even their chairs, beds, cups, and veſſels of all kinds, conſiſted of gold and ſilver. Nay, according to *Agatharchides*, they alone enriched *Syria* to a great degree under the *Ptolemies*, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the *Phœnicians*. Contiguous to the *Alilæi* and *Caſſandrini* were the *Dedebæ* or *Debæ*, through whoſe country paſſed a river ſo abounding with ſmall gobbets of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it ſeemed to conſiſt intirely of that metal. *Diodorus* relates, that this gold was of ſo bright and glorious a colour, that it added an exceeding luſtre and beauty to the moſt valuable gems ſet in it. In ſhort, continues the laſt author, *Arabia Felix*, at leaſt the region of the *Sabæi*, was ſo immenſly rich, that all the treaſures of the world ſeemed to centre there; all the commodities of *Aſia* and *Europe* being brought thither, as to an univerſal mart. But, notwithſtanding the happineſs of its climate, its fertility and riches, *Strabo* intimates, that *Arabia* was aggrandized ſolely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the antients imagined were the produce of *Arabia*, came from the *Indies*, and the coaſts of *Africa*. For the *Egyptians*, who had engroſſed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the *Red Sea*, to themſelves, induſtriouſly concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports ſhut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into thoſe countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution of theirs on the one ſide, and the deſerts, unpaſſable to ſtrangers, on the other, were the reaſon why *Arabia* was ſo little known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Among other veſſels the *Arabs* uſed on the *Red Sea*, to carry on their commerce with *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, were ſome made of leather,

ther, the invention of which the reflux of that ſea ſuggeſted to them [h].

AMONG the principal cuſtoms of the antient *Arabs*, beſides thoſe couched under ſome of the former general heads, may be ranked the following:

Cuſtoms of the antient Arabs.

1. THE antient *Arabs* uſed circumciſion, either on the eighth day, according to *Philoſtorgius*, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age, when *Iſhmael* was circumciſed, as *Joſephus* aſſerts. *Al Gazalius* intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumciſion when all their teeth were completely formed, and *Ebn al Athir* betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which ſeems to correſpond pretty well with what we find advanced by *Joſephus*. The *Arab* writers affirm *Mohammed* to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce. 2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings, which conſiſted of the inteſtines of camels filled with their blood, which they called *moſwadd*. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one of them ſet out upon a journey, he obſerved the firſt bird he met with; and, if it flew to the right, he purſued his journey; but, if to the left, he returned home. Some of them paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a perſon, diſtruſting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together ſome of the boughs of a tree called *Al-Ratam*; and if, upon his return, he found them in the ſame poſition, he judged ſhe had been faithful to him, otherwiſe not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. *Pocock*'s *ſpecimen hiſtoriæ Arabum*. All the ſpecies of augury and divination were forbid by *Mohammed*; as likewiſe the plays of cheſs, dice, cards, &c. which in the *Koran* are comprehended under the name *Al Maiſer*. 4. When a ſhe-camel or ew had brought forth twins ten times, ſhe had an ear cut off, and was afterwards ſent to graze at liberty; but women were never permitted to taſte of her fleſh. 5. According to ſome authors, many of the idolatrous *Koreiſh* buried their daughters alive as ſoon as they were born, upon a mountain near *Mecca*, called *Abu Dalamah*. 6. It was not uncommon for the *Arabs* to marry their father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldeſt ſon, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren; but this the moſt virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and ſhocking crime, and ſtiled the perſon guilty of it *Al Daizan*. 7. Some of them married two ſiſters; which *Shahreſtani* looks upon as one of the worſt things they

[h] AGATHARCHID. CNID. DIODOR. SIC. STRAB. ubi ſupra. Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. LA ROQUE, voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 109, & alib. Vide etiam SALE, ubi ſup. p. 25.

were

were guilty of. 8. Moſt of them went a pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, obſerving ſome particular ceremonies, which our readers will find deſcribed by *Abulfeda*. 9. The *Caaba*, their great temple or place of religious worſhip from the remoteſt antiquity, was their *Kebla*, or place towards which they turned themſelves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their years conſiſting of lunar months, as already obſerved. 11. They frequently waſhed their mouth and noſtrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other uſages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right hand. 13. They addreſſed themſelves to their kings in theſe terms, *May you avert all malediction!* or, according to Dr. *Pocock*, in order to ſhew their profound reſpect and reverence for, as well as ſubmiſſion to, his perſon, *He hath averted all malediction*; i. e. *May* God *be propitious to you!* or, *May* God *prolong your life!* This form of ſalutation was firſt uſed to *Yarab* the ſon of *Kahtan*, whoſe memory is held in great veneration by the *Arabs* to this day. 14. In *Arabia Petræa* a prince of one family, called the royal family, always governed, and was attended and ſerved by a perſon ſtiled the king's brother. 15. In *Arabia Felix* the king's brothers preceded his ſons, and had greater reſpect ſhewn them, as being more advanced in years. 16. The *Troglodytes*, in the neighbourhood of *Arabia*, lived a paſtoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by ſeveral tyrants, who had wives, whom none of their ſubjects muſt lie with, under the penalty of a ſheep. The women hung a fiſh-ſhell about their necks, which they believed to be a preſervative againſt all kinds of faſcination. 17. *Strabo* ſeems to intimate, that there was but one wife in a family, amongſt ſome tribes of the *Arabs*, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilſt one was engaged with her, a ſtaff, which all of them walked with, was erected before the door of the tent, as a ſignal to prevent another's approach. But the ſenior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they puniſhed with death; but eſteemed him only guilty of it, who had to do with a woman of another tribe. 18. The *Nabathæans* were good œconomiſts, and therefore inflicted puniſhment publicly on ſuch as ſquandered away their ſubſtance; but paid great reſpect to ſuch as increaſed it. 19. As they had very few ſlaves among them, relations either ſerved at meals, and on other occaſions, or they aſſiſted one another, or, laſtly, ſerved themſelves; which uſage likewiſe extended to their phylarchs. 20. At their feaſts they generally admitted only thirteen perſons; and had always two

muſicians to perform during the whole entertainment. 21. Their phylarchs had ſo little power, that they were almoſt upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inſpected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in perſon to a public aſſembly of their reſpective tribes. 22. Their cities were not walled round, ſcarce any foreign invader ever attempting to diſturb them. 23. It was a common practice amongſt the *Saracens* or *Scenite Arabs* to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter much altered ſince the admiſſion of divorces; on the contrary, amongſt many of them it is in all reſpects the ſame. 24. According to ſome authors, the antient *Arabs* circumciſed their daughters, as well as their ſons. 25. When the *Sabæans* found themſelves near overcome by the ſtrong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourſe to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard, ſet on fire under the noſe of the patient, which recovered them. 26. They reaped twice a year, having two harveſts, as well as the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. 27. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers ſitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppoſe the enemy both in rear and in front at the ſame time. Several other cuſtoms prevailing among the antient *Arabs*, depending upon the authority of the *Koran*, will be touched upon hereafter occaſionally, when we come to conſider the tenets and doctrines of that book[i].

[i] Agatharchid. Cnid. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. ii. & l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. Philostorg. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. iii. Joseph. antiquit. l. i. c. 23. Al-Gazalius & Ebn al Athir apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 319. Al-Zamakhshar. Al-Beidawi in c. v. Al Koran. Mohammed. Al-Mostatraf. Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius & Al-Damirius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 321, 322, 323, & ſeq. Al-Kor. Mohammed. paſſ. Al-Shariz. Al-Jallalan. & Al-Jauhar. apud Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 324—339. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. Adrian. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 79. 94. 117, 118. Al-Motarezzi apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 55, 56, 57. ut & Al-Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Ebn Al Athir, & ipſe Pocock. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4. & l. xxiii. Ludolf. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. Heideg. hiſt. patriarch. tom. ii. exercit. 7. ſect. 29. p. 241. Adrian. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. l. i. p. 75. Vid. etiam Al-Kor. Mohammed. Abulfed. alioſque ſcript. Orient. paſſ.

CHAP. XXII.

The History of the Arabs, *to the Time of* Mohammed.

JOKTAN the ſon of *Eber*, whom the *Arabs* call *Kahtan*, Joktan had thirteen ſons, who, ſome time after the confuſion of languages at *Babel*, ſettled in *Arabia*, extending themſelves from *Meſha* to *Sephar*, a mountainous diſtrict in the ſouth-eaſtern part of that peninſula. To this diſtrict, in all probability, part of the provinces of *Hadramaut* and *Shihr* correſponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of *Dhafar* or *Saphar*, in which ſome traces of *Moſes*'s *Sephar* ſeem ſtill to be preſerved. The names of theſe thirteen planters were, *Almodad*, *Sheleph*, *Hazarmaveth*, *Jerah*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Diklah*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, *Havilah*, and *Jobab*. As for *Hadramaut*, *Seba*, *Ofir*, and *Kawilah*, the ſons of *Kahtan*, mentioned by M. *D'Herbelot*, they were undoubtedly the ſame with *Hazarmaveth*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewiſe the order in which the three laſt are placed. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, *Kahtan* had thirty-one ſons by the ſame wife, of whom all but two, leaving *Arabia*, went and ſettled in *India*. *Yarab*, the elder of thoſe two, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, giving name, if we will believe the *Arab* writers, both to their country and language, as has been already obſerved: *Jorham*, the younger, founded the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where his poſterity kept the throne till the time of *Iſhmael*. That *Yarab* and *Jorham* are the *Jerah* and *Hadoram* of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from inſiſting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the ſecond king of *Yaman* was called *Jerah* or *Yareah*, not *Yarab*; and conſequently, that the peninſula of *Arabia* (A), and the *Arabic* tongue, could

ſettle in Arabia ſoon after the confuſion of languages.

(A) It is at leaſt equally improbable, that the peninſula of *Arabia* ſhould have been ſo denominated from we know not what mixture of different nations inhabiting it. For the *Arabs* agree, that they had only two principal planters, to wit, *Kahtan* and *Iſhmael*, whoſe families by intermarriages became one and the ſame. And it is generally allowed, that no people in the world have had a leſs mixture with foreigners than the *Arabs*, nor have preſerved their antient cuſtoms and manners more invariably the ſame than they have done. Nor indeed can we conceive an introduction of foreign cuſtoms among them likely to be effected, ſince neither the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, or *Romans*, could ever

could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the *Arabs* pretend. But whether *Yarab* or *Jorham* be the ſame perſons with *Jerah* and *Hadoram*, or not, we cannot infer from the diſagreement betwixt their names, as M. *Gagnier* ſeems to have done, that every thing related by the *Arabs* of the former is a downright fiction. Becauſe, as their language differed gradually more and more from the *Hebrew*, the *Arabs* undoubtedly altered the moſt antient proper names. Of this *Hazarmaveth* and *Hadramaut*, *Joktan* and *Kahtan*, which confeſſedly denote the ſame perſons, are a ſufficient proof. *Elmacinus* ſays, that *Kahtan* was the father of the *Arabs*, and that he begat many children, who choſe for their princes or leaders *Saba*, *Ophir*, and *Gjawilah*, i. e. *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*; which runs counter to what we find advanced by *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, *Abulfeda*, and others. And this diſagreement between the moſt celebrated eaſtern writers, with regard to the firſt kings of *Arabia*, clearly evinces, that none of them, at leaſt in this point, can be intirely depended upon [a].

As does Iſhmael *the ſon of* Abraham.

ISHMAEL, and his mother *Hagar*, having been diſmiſſed by *Abraham* in the manner already related, retired into the wilderneſs of *Paran*, where they were ſupported by the divine favour and aſſiſtance. GOD had aſſured *Hagar* in her diſtreſs, before the birth of *Iſhmael*, that her ſon ſhould be the father of a moſt numerous and potent nation; that he and his deſcendents ſhould be wild, and live in a ſtate of enmity with the reſt of mankind; and yet that they ſhould never be thoroughly ſubjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which moſt ſurpriſing prediction to demonſtration appears, from the manner of life, diſpoſition, power, government, *&c.* of the *Scenite Arabs*, or, as they are frequently now ſtiled,

[a] ABULFED. hiſt. cap. 4. AHMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Gen. c. x. ver. 25—31. SAFIODDIN. in lex. geographic. R. SAADIAS in verſion. Arab. pentat. R. ABRAHAM. ZACHUT. in Sefer Juchaſin. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82, 83. POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 40. 45. 78. 151. D'HERBEL. bibl. Oriental. art. *Saba* & *Hegiaz*. GAGN. in diatrib. ſect. 1, 2. GEORG. 'EBN'OL-'AMID 'ELMACIN in cod. MS. apud Gagn. ibid. Vid. etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 297.

ever ſubdue them. And as for the *Egyptians*, though *Seſac* obliged part of *Arabia* to ſubmit to him, his ſucceſſors could not long keep their footing there. All the other etymons of *Arabia*, except that we have already given, are ſo apparently remote from truth, that not the leaſt regard is due to them (1).

(1) *Gagn. diatrib. ſect.* 1. *Abulfed. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef apud Pocock. &c.*

the

the *wild Arabs*, from the age of *Iſhmael* to this very day. For, from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to omit other antient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travelers, who have viſited the countries they inhabit, they now live in the ſame manner their father *Iſhmael* did, and have always done ſo from his time to the preſent. Their diſpoſition likewiſe is the ſame that it was predicted to be, as it always has been; that is, *their hand has been againſt every man*, and conſequently *every man's hand againſt them*; ſince they always have, and ſtill do, for the moſt part, live by pillaging paſſengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at leaſt for any time continued in, a ſtate of ſervitude, as appears from all the principal antient hiſtorians mentioning them, and their preſent almoſt abſolute independence on the *Turk*; which gives us an idea of their power and government, ſufficient to convince us of the agreement of both with the divine prediction, relating to *Iſhmael*, and his poſterity. The vaſt puiſſance, conqueſts, and diſpoſition of the *Saracens*, the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, likewiſe confirm the authority of Scripture in this particular. But this point our readers will find ſet in a juſt and proper light by two authors, who deſerve well both of literature and religion [b].

Iſhmael *forms an alliance with the* Jorhamites, *by marriage.*

ISHMAEL, as we learn from the ſacred hiſtorian, held his reſidence in the wilderneſs of *Paran*, and married an *Egyptian*. In conformity to the divine prediction to *Abraham*, he had twelve ſons, the heads of ſo many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whoſe names we have already given. The *Arab* writers ſay, that he took to wife the daughter of *Modad* king of *Hejaz*, deſcended lineally from *Jorham* the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it will, he died at an hundred and thirty-ſeven years of age, probably not far from the borders of *Egypt*. As the *Arabs* have always conſidered him, and ſtill do conſider him, as the father of the greateſt part of their nation, and this notion is ſtrongly countenanced by Scripture, we may look upon him and *Joktan* as the principal planters of *Arabia*. This ſeems an additional proof to thoſe already offered, that the (B) *Cuſhites* did not ſettle in

[b] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 14—22. c. xvi. ver. 12. Univ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 257. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ubi ſup. LA ROQUE voyage dans la Paleſtine, p. 213. 220, &c. Dr. JACKSON's works, vol. ii. Lond. 1673. Revelat. examined with cand. diſſert. iv. p. 114—152.

(B) The Scripture ſeems to diſtinguiſh the *Arabs* from the *Cuſhites*, when it makes a branch of the former contiguous to the latter.

in any great numbers here, or at leaſt, that their ſettlement was not of any long continuance, but that they paſſed, either through *Egypt*, or on the eaſtern coaſt of the *Red Sea*, and over the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, into *Ethiopia*. The ſilence of the *Orientals*, with regard to ſuch a ſettlement, ſeems to confirm what is here advanced. We muſt not imagine, that the *Scenite Arabs* were the only deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, though probably they might be the bulk of them; ſince *Moſes* gives us to underſtand, that ſome *Iſhmaelites* had caſtles and towns. For all other particulars relating to *Iſhmael*, our readers may have recourſe to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory [c].

Some particulars relating to the kings of Hamyar.

IN order to render our hiſtory of the antient *Arabs* as complete as poſſible, we ſhall here give our readers catalogues of the kings of *Hamyar*, or *Yaman*, *Hira*, *Ghaſſan*, and *Hejaz*, extracted from the beſt *Oriental* hiſtorians.

As the kings of *Hamyar* were the moſt conſiderable princes in *Arabia*, it will be proper to begin with them. But, before we do this, ſome particulars relating to them muſt be premiſed. The kingdom of *Yaman*, or at leaſt the better part of it, particularly the provinces of *Saba* and *Hadramaut*, was governed by princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, the ſon of *Saba*, the great-grandſon of *Kahtan*, though at length the kingdom was tranſlated to the deſcendents of *Cahlan* his brother, who yet retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. The *Hamyarites* were called *Homerites* by the later *Greek* and *Latin* authors, and *Immirenians* by *Theodorus Lector*; their princes had the general title of *Tobba*, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, as the *Egyptian* kings had that of *Pharaoh*, the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæſar*, and the ſucceſſors of *Mohammed* that of khalîf. Several leſſer princes reigned in other parts of *Yaman*; but they were chiefly, if not intirely, ſubject to the king of *Hamyar*, who was ſtiled *the great king*. But, as hiſtory has recorded nothing of theſe *reguli*, that deſerves the leaſt attention, we ſhall drop them, and immediately proceed to the ſeries of the kings of *Yaman* or *Hamyar* [d].

[c] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20, 21. c. xvii. ver. 20. AL-JANNABIUS. Vid. etiam POCOCK. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 78, 79. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 17. ABULFED. AL-FIRAUZABAD. alioſq; ſcriptor. Arabic. Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 275—278. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 16.

[d] MOHAMMEDES AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, EBN ATHIR, ABULFED. AL-

latter. The paſſage here referred to will give great ſtrength to what has been already advanced, in relation to the firſt ſettlements of the *Cuſhites* (2).

(2) 2 *Chron. c.* xxi. *ver.* 16. *Univ. hiſt. vol.* xviii. *paſſ.*

I. KAHTAN,

1. KAHTAN, or *Joktan*, the ſon of *Eber*, is ſaid to have firſt reigned, and worn a diadem, in *Yaman*; but how long he ſat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no-where learn [e]. Kahtan.

2. YARAB, the ſon of *Kahtan*, was a prince greatly celebrated by the *Arab* hiſtorians; but, as the principal things related of him have already been taken notice of, we ſhall proceed to his ſucceſſor [f]. Yarab.

3. YASHAB, ſon to the preceding prince, has had only his name tranſmitted down to us [g]. Yaſhab.

4. ABD SHEMS, i. e. *the ſervant of the ſun*, ſurnamed *Saba*, the ſon of *Yaſhab*, next aſcended the throne; who, the *Arab* hiſtorians tell us, was ſucceſsful in his expeditions againſt his enemies, carried off great ſpoils, and took many of them priſoners. Hence, they pretend, he derived his ſurname, which to us ſeems by no means probable: it is more likely, that it was uſed before in his family, ſince the Scripture mentions *Sheba*, or *Saba*, one of the ſons of *Joktan*. He is ſaid to have built the city of *Saba* or *Mareb*, as likewiſe that ſtupendous mound or building, which formed the vaſt reſervoir above that city. By means of this reſervoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of *Yaman* did not only ſupply the inhabitants of *Saba*, and their lands, with water, but likewiſe kept the territories they had ſubdued in greater awe; ſince, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly diſtreſs them. *Abd Shems* had many ſons; but the moſt noted of them were *Hamyar*, *Amru*, *Cahlan*, and *Aſhaar* [h]. Abd Shems.

5. HAMYAR, the ſon of *Abd Shems* or *Saba*, according to the *Oriental* authors, was ſo called from the red cloaths he wore. This ſeems a plain indication, that *Hamyar* was only a ſurname. He expelled *Thamud* from *Yaman*, who took refuge in *Hejaz*. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of *Hamyar* deduced its name. Some aſſert, that not *Kahtan*, Hamyar.

AL JAUHAR. Vide etiam POCOCK. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 65, 66. & SALE, ubi ſupra, p. 9, 10. THEODOR. LECT. l. ii. p. 567. Vide etiam ASSEMAN. not. in Sim. epiſc. Beth. Arſamenſ. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. [e] ABULFED. hiſt. c. 4. Scholiaſt. in poem. Ebn Abduni. GEORG. EBNO'L AMID ELMAC. ubi ſup. [f] AL MOTAREZZI in lib. Mogr. AHMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Pocock. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, ſub init. & alib. EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam ABULFED. ubi ſup. [g] POCOCKIUS, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 57. [h] Idem ibid. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. par. 6. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam SALE, ubi ſupra, p. 10.

but *Hamyar*, was the firſt king of *Yaman* that wore a diadem [i].

Wayel. 6. WAYEL, the ſon of *Hamyar*, according to *Abulfeda*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom; but other authors make his brother *Cahlan* his ſucceſſor [k].

Alfacſac. 7. AFTER *Wayel* reigned his ſon *Alſacſac* [l].

Yaafar. 8. YAAFAR, the ſon of *Alſacſac*, next mounted the throne [m].

Dhu Riyaſh. 9. HE was ſucceeded by *Dhu Riyaſh* [n].

Al Nooman. 10. AFTER him *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Yaafar*, ſwayed the ſceptre of *Yaman* [o].

Aſmah. 11. THEN came *Aſmah*, the ſon of *Nooman* [p].

Shaddad. 12. SHADDAD, the ſon of *Ad*, the ſon of *Al Matata*, the ſon of *Saba*, a very potent prince, ſucceeded *Aſmah* [q].

Lokman. 13. LOKMAN, the brother of *Shaddad*, was the next king, according to the moſt received opinion, though ſome authors are of a different ſentiment [r].

Dhu Sadad. 14. THE reins of government next fell into the hands of his brother *Dhu Sadad* [s].

Al Hareth. 15. AL HARETH, the ſon of *Dhu Sadad*, next aſcended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of *Yaman*, and was the firſt, according to ſome, who had the title or ſurname of *Tobba* above-mentioned given him by his ſubjects [t].

Dhu'l Karnain. 16. DHU'L KARNAIN ASSAAB, the next king, was the ſon of *Rayeſh*. This was the *two-horned* prince mentioned in the *Koran*, and not *Alexander the Great*, as we learn from *Ebn Abbas* [u].

Dhu'l Manar. 17. DHU'L MANAR ABRAHAH, the ſon of *Dhu'l Karnain*, ſucceeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign [w].

Africus. 18. AFRICUS, the ſon of *Dhu'l Manar Abrahah*, from whence that part of the world called *Africa* was ſo denominated, according to ſome of the eaſtern writers, next took the reins of government upon him [x].

Dhu'l Adhaar Amru. 19. DHU'L ADHAAR AMRU, the ſon of *Africus*, who reigned after his father, received the name or ſurname of

[i] AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL-JANNABIUS, GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. ubi ſup. POCOCK. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 57. [k] ABULFED. apud Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 58. [l] AL-JAUHAR. [m] POCOCK. ubi ſupra, p. 58. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Poc. ubi ſup. [q] Idem ibid. [r] AL JANNABIUS, AL FIRAUZABADIUS, &c. [s] Poc. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 18. EBN ABBAS. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM, ubi ſup. [w] POCOCK. ubi ſup. [x] AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBN YUSEF, Scholiaſt. in poem. Ebn Abnuni, &c.

Lord

Lord of terrors, from the terror with which his ſubjects were ſtruck at the ſight of certain monſtrous men, or ſatyrs, or apes, as ſome will have it, whom he had taken priſoners in war, and brought into *Yaman* [y].

20. THE *Hamyarites* placed upon the throne *Sharhabil*, of the poſterity of *Alſacſac*, in the room of *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru*, whom for ſome enormity they expelled from thence [z]. Sharhabil.

21. AL HODHAD, the ſon of *Sharhabil*, ſucceeded his father [a]. Al Hodhad.

22. BALKIS, the ſon of *Hodhad*, is ſaid to have reigned twenty years. According to ſome authors, *Al Hodhad* was ſucceeded by a daughter named *Balkis* or *Belkis*, whom they aſſert to be the famous queen of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon* king of *Iſrael* at *Jeruſalem* [b]. Balkis.

23. NASHEROL'NEAM, ſo called from his ſurpriſing magnificence and liberality, was likewiſe ſtiled ſimply *Malec*, or *king*. Having had bad ſucceſs in an expedition, wherein his army was overwhelmed by torrents of ſand, he cauſed a braſen ſtatue to be erected, with this inſcription, in the old *Hamyaritic* character, ingraven upon it; *There is no paſſage behind me*; *no moving farther*; *the ſon of* Sharhabil [c]. Naſherol'neam.

24. SHAMER YARAASH, the ſon of *Naſher*, ſwayed the ſceptre after *Naſherol'neam*. We are told, that he was ſo denominated from the *tremor* that always poſſeſſed him, and that he gave name to the city of *Samarcand*. That *Samarcand* was built by one of the *Hamyaritic* kings, ſurnamed *Tobba*, ſeems to be a point agreed upon by the beſt of the eaſtern writers. To confirm this notion, it is pretended, an inſcription in the old *Hamyaritic* character was found under one of the gates of *Samarcand*; though what this inſcription imported, we are no-where informed. It is poſſible the authors that relate this may miſtake the old *Cufic* character for the *Hamyaritic*, ſince in the time of *Arabſhah* conſiderable quantities of *dirhems*, and a ſmall coin called a *falous*, with *Cufic* letters upon them, were frequently dug up at old *Samarcand*. That the *Hamyaritic*, *Cufic*, and modern *Arabic* alphabets were derived from that of the *Hebrews*, as the excellent *Loeſcher* and *Schultens* with great reaſon ſuppoſe, ſeems farther to appear from hence, that the *Arabs*, in order to help the memory, diſtribute their letters into ſix words, *Abjad*, *Howaz*, *Hotai*, *Colman*, *Saaphas*, and *Karſhat*; wherein the order of the *Hebrew* alphabet is exactly preſerved. This, in Shamer Yaraaſh.

[y] POCOCKIUS, ubi ſupra, p. 59. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 296. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. par. 6. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Balkis*. [c] POCOCKIUS, ubi ſup.

conjunction with others, we take to be no contemptible argument in favour of what *Loeſcher* and *Schultens* have advanced [d].

Abu Malec. 25. ABU MALEC, the ſon of *Shamer*, after his father's death, took poſſeſſion of the throne [e].

Amran. 26. AMRAN, the ſon of *Amer*, a deſcendent of *Cahlan*, the brother of *Hamyar*, to whoſe family the kingdom of *Hamyar* was now tranſlated, was inveſted with the regal power upon the deceaſe of *Abu Malec*. The *Orientals* repreſent this prince as a wiſe man, or ſoothſayer [f].

Amru. 27. AMRU, the ſon of *Amer*, ſurnamed *Mazikia*, or *Dilacerator*, becauſe every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, ſucceeded the former king [g].

Al Alkran. 28. AL ALKRAN, the ſon of *Abimalec*, governed *Yaman* after *Amru* [i].

Dhu Habſhan. 29. DHU HABSHAN, the ſon of *Akran*, upon the laſt prince's demiſe, took poſſeſſion of the government. This prince put to death *Taſm* and *Jadis* [k].

Tobba. 30. TOBBA, or *Tobbaa*, the ſon of *Alkran*, ſucceeded *Dhu Habſhan* [l].

Colaicarb. 31. COLAICARB, or, according to ſome, *Molaic Yacrab*, aſcended the throne of *Hamyar* after the death of the laſt prince [m].

Abu Carb Aſaad. 32. ABU CARB ASAAD, the ſucceeding king, we find mentioned in the *Koran*. Some ſay, that he lived ſeven hundred years before *Mohammed*; but this is not very probable. He adorned the *Caab* with hangings or tapeſtry, and firſt introduced *Judaiſm* amongſt the *Hamyarites*. The *Oriental* writers ſay, that he was put to death by his ſubjects, probably on the ſcore of religion [n].

Haſſan Tobbai. 33. HASSAN TOBBAI, his ſon, cut off his father's murderers, and was at laſt ſlain by his brother [o].

Amru Tobbai. 34. AMRU TOBBAI, the ſon of *Haſſan Tobbai*, was ſurnamed *Dominus lignorum*, or *Lord of wood*, becauſe through the whole courſe of his reign he was ſo infirm and indiſpoſed, that he was always carried about in a wooden chair [p].

Abd Celal. 35. ABD CELAL, the ſon of *Dul'awad*, entered upon the government after *Amru Tobbai* [q].

[d] POCOCKIUS, ubi ſup. p. 60. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tobba*. ARABSHAH in vit. Timur. Poc. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 4. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Poc. ubi ſup. [g] AL JAUHARIUS, AL FIRAUZABADIUS, &c. [i] Poc. ubi ſup. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, &c. [n] Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 50. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, Scholiaſt. EBN ABDUNI, &c. [o] POCOCK, ubi ſup. p. 61. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid.

36. TOBBA,

36. TOBBA, the ſon of *Haſſan*, the ſon of *Colaicarb*, ſurnamed *Tobba Minor*, ſucceeded *Abd Celal* [r]. Tobba.

37. NEXT came *Al Hareth*, who embraced *Judaiſm* [s]. Al Hareth

38. THE thirty-eighth king of *Yaman* was *Morthed*, ſon of *Celal* [t]. Morthed.

39. WACIAA, the ſon of *Morthed*, was declared king after his father's deceaſe [u]. Waciaa.

40. ABRAHAH, the ſon of *Alſabah*, reigned after *Waciaa* [w]. Abrahah.

41. SABBAN mounted the throne upon *Abrahah*'s death, or, according to ſome of the *Oriental* writers, *Ebn Dakikan*. *Ebn Dakikan* had that famous ſword of *Ebn Maad Cerb* called *Samſana*. This ſword came afterwards into the hands of the khalîf *Raſhid*, who with it cut in two ſeveral noble ſwords, ſent him as a preſent by the *Greek* emperor, in the preſence of that prince's embaſſadors, who brought them, without doing it the leaſt damage. How far this ſtory may be depended upon, we ſhall not take upon us to determine [x]. Sabban.

42. DHU SHANATER, according to *Al Firauzabadius*, had ſix fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the *Hamyarites* for being abandoned to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, and abuſing ſeveral youths of ſome of the nobleſt families amongſt them [y]. Dhu Shanater.

43. YUSEF, ſurnamed *Dhu Nowas*, from his flowing curls, lived about ſeventy years before *Mohammed*. He perſecuted all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was, throwing them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of *the Lord of the pit*. This perſecution we find mentioned in the *Koran* [z]. Yuſef.

44. DHU JADAN, i. e. *the perſon with a ſweet voice*, ſucceeded *Dhu Nowas*, and was the laſt of the *Hamyaritic* monarchs, according to *Abulfeda*; but *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* and *Al Jannabius* make *Dhu Nowas* the laſt prince of the true *Hamyaritic* line, reigning in a continual ſucceſſion. He was a bigoted *Jew*, as juſt obſerved, and treated his Chriſtian ſubjects with ſuch barbarity, that *Eleſbaas*, or *Eleſbaan*, king of *Ethiopia*, ſent over forces to aſſiſt them. *Dhu Nowas*, not being able to make head againſt the *Ethiopians*, was at Dhu Jadan.

[r] ABULFED. apud POCOCKIUM, ubi ſup. [s] POCOCK. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] POCOCK. ubi ſup. [x] ABULFEDA, AL JANNABIUS. [y] AL FIRAUZABADIUS. Vide etiam POCOCK. ubi ſupra, p. 62. [z] BARONIUS in annal. ad ſec. 6. THEOPHAN. NICEPH. CALLIST. SIM. METAPHRAST. PAG. &c. Vide etiam ASSEMAN. biblioth. Orient. vol. i. p. 359—385.

laſt driven to that extremity, that he forced his horſe into the ſea, and loſt both his crown and life together. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* above-mentioned, he reigned ſixty-ſix years, which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by *Al Jannabius*. The *Najaſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, after this, eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian religion in *Yaman*, and fixed upon the throne there,

Aryat.

45. ARYAT, an *Ethiopian* [a].

Abraha al Aſhram.

46. ABRAHA EBN AL SABAH, ſurnamed *Al Aſhram*, i. e. *the Slit-noſed*, from a ſlaſh in the face, where he had formerly received a wound, was the ſecond *Ethiopian* king, or rather viceroy to the *Najaſhi*, in *Yaman*. He was ſtiled *the Lord of the elephant*; the reaſon of which appellation appears from the following ſtory, handed down to us by the commentators upon the *Koran*. *Abraha* built a magnificent church for the Chriſtians in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, with a deſign to draw the *Arabs* to go in pilgrimage thither, inſtead of viſiting *Mecca*, as they before had done; which he imagined would greatly contribute towards their converſion to Chriſtianity. For he doubted not aboliſhing paganiſm, could he deſtroy the veneration of the *Arabs* for the *Caaba*, by bringing them to a place more ſumptuous and grand, and which would more ſtrongly attract their curioſity, and gradually excite their devotion. This had ſoon ſuch an effect, that the devotion and concourſe of the pilgrims at the *Caaba* began conſiderably to diminiſh; which being obſerved by the *Koreiſh*, who were ſuperſtitiouſly fond of that place, they ſent one *Nofail*, as he is named by ſome, of the tribe of *Kenanah*, to offer an indignity to the Chriſtian church at *Sanaa*, in order to leſſen that religious regard, which the *Arabs* began to have for it. *Nofail* therefore, getting into it by night, upon a ſolemn feſtival, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements; and, making his eſcape by favour of the night, publiſhed every-where what he had done. At this profanation *Abraha*, being highly incenſed, vowed the deſtruction of the *Caaba*, and to that end aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, wherein were ſeveral elephants, which he had obtained of the king of *Ethiopia*, their number being, as ſome ſay, thirteen; though others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards *Mecca*. The *Meccans*, unable to defend their temple and city, and terrified at *Abraha*'s approach, particularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been ſeen in *Arabia*, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they intrenched themſelves.

[a] ABULFEDA, AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL JANNABIUS. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 61.

ſelves. But GOD HIMSELF, at this juncture, interpoſed in an extraordinary manner. For, when the *Ethiopian* drew near to *Mecca*, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, being a large one, and named *Mahmud*, refuſed to advance any nearer to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would riſe, and march briſkly enough, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both by reaſon of his ſize and whiteneſs, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, ſo that *Abraha* could not ſo much as reconnoitre the town. The *Meccans*, obſerving this from their retrenchment, were at a loſs to what to attribute ſo unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were going to return home. In the mean time, whilſt matters were in this ſituation, a large flock of birds, called *Ababil*, like ſwallows, came flying on a ſudden from the ſea-coaſt, every one of which carried three ſtones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle ſize betwixt a ſmall lentil and a vetch, but ſo ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even, according to ſome, the elephants likewiſe, which they threw down upon *Abraha*'s ſoldiers, certainly killing every one they ſtruck. Then GOD ſent a flood, which ſwept the dead bodies, and ſome of them, who had not been ſtruck by the ſtones, into the ſea: the reſt fled towards *Yaman*, but periſhed by the way, none of them reaching *Sanaa*, except only *Abraha* himſelf, who died ſoon after his arrival there, being ſtruck with a ſort of plague, or putrefaction, ſo that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is ſaid, that one of *Abraha*'s army, named *Abu Yacſum*, or, according to others, *Abraha* himſelf, eſcaped over the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical ſtory. Upon which, that prince aſked him what ſort of birds they were, that had occaſioned ſuch a deſtruction; in anſwer to which queſtion he pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no ſooner done, than the bird let fall the ſtone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers ſay, that the names of all the perſons to be deſtroyed were inſcribed on the ſtones that deſtroyed them; that this flock of birds conſiſted of two ſorts, one whoſe feathers were black, and bill white; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their ſtones at once upon the *Ethiopians*. This memorable event, according to the *Mohammedans*, is ſaid to have happened in the time of *Abd al Motalleb*, the

grandfather of *Mohammed*, and the very year in which that impoſtor was born [b].

THAT this piece of hiſtory has all the air of one of thoſe fictions, with which the *Arab* writings in general, and the *Koran* in particular, abound, will be readily acknowleged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. *Prideaux*, rather take the fact therein aſſerted to be a creature of *Mohammed*'s brain, than a feat of evil ſpirits, as is ſuggeſted by *Marracci*; and yet, ſuppoſing it a real fact, we ſee no abſurdity in this laſt notion. The very learned Mr. *Sale*, to our no ſmall ſurprize, is of opinion, that this ridiculous ſtory (for ſo we cannot help terming it) is not without ſome foundation, ſince "it ſeems to him, that there was ſomething "extraordinary in the matter." The reaſons he alleges in ſupport of this opinion, are the two following: 1. The event is ſaid to have happened not above fifty-four years before the pretended revelation mentioning it was made; and therefore, had it been a fiction, ſeveral living witneſſes could have diſproved it; which we find was never done, and conſequently may preſume, that the reality of this remarkable action could not be denied. 2. *Mohammed* had no occaſion to coin a miracle to gain the temple of *Mecca* any greater veneration, the people of *Mecca* being already ſo religiouſly attached to it, that he was obliged, contrary to his original plan, to make it the chief place of his new-invented worſhip. In anſwer to the firſt reaſon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that, according to Mr. *Sale* himſelf, after *Abu Becr* had vouched for *Mohammed*'s veracity, in the twelfth year of his miſſion, which falls within the time mentioned, his diſciples were ready to ſwallow whatever he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them; that the ſtory, as told in the *Koran*, is ſuppoſed a revelation, and therefore might only deſcribe the ſupernatural unknown cauſe of a noted defeat; that Mr. *Sale* himſelf allows the thing might be worked up into a miracle, at which, it muſt be owned, none of the preceding *Arabs* had ſo excellent a knack as *Mohammed*; and, laſtly, that the ſame turn and genius appear in this, as in the moſt extravagant abſurdities of that impoſtor. To the ſecond reaſon it

[b] Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 105. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALAN. AL CESHAF, ABULFED. hiſt. Gen. AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, EBNO'L ATHIR apud Abulfed. AL GJUZIUS, in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. c. 78. KHONDEMIR, HOUSSAIN VAEZ com. in Al-Kor. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Abraha*. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM, ubi ſupra, p. 64.

may

may be replied, that we are under no neceſſity to allow, tho' Dr. *Prideaux* ſuppoſes it, that the gaining a veneration to the *Caaba* amongſt the pagan *Arabs* was the motive to the forging ſuch a ſtory. On the contrary, that could not poſſibly have been the motive, becauſe, as Mr. *Sale* rightly obſerves, the *Meccans*, or pagan *Arabs*, held their temple in the higheſt veneration at the time this pretended revelation happened. But, notwithſtanding this, *Mohammed* might coin a miracle, either to draw the Chriſtian *Arabs* to *Mecca*, and make them converts to his religion, or to render them odious to all the other *Arabs*; which, from the whole tenor of the ſtory, appears to have been his deſign. But, as what Mr. *Sale* has offered on this occaſion ſeems rather to proceed from a deſire of ſhewing ſome diſreſpect to Dr. *Prideaux*, on account of his attachment to religion in general, than a full perſuaſion of the truth of what he ſeems to advance, we ſhall offer nothing farther on this head, but immediately reſume the thread of our hiſtory [c].

47. YACSUM, the ſon of *Abraha*, ſucceeded him; but we find nothing remarkable related of him by any antient hiſtorians [d]. *Yacſum.*

48. MASRUK, another ſon of *Abraha*, and the laſt of the *Ethiopian* princes in *Yaman*, came to the throne after *Yacſum*. The *Ethiopians*, according to ſome eaſtern writers, occupied the kingdom of *Hamyar* about ſeventy-two years [e]. *Maſruk.*

49. SEIF EBN DHU YAZAN, of the old royal family of *Hamyar*, having obtained ſuccours of *Khoſru Anuſhirwan*, king of *Perſia*, which had been denied him by the emperor *Heraclius*, recovered the throne, and drove out the *Ethiopians*; but was himſelf ſlain by ſome of them, who were left behind. The *Perſians* appointed the ſucceeding princes, *Wahzar*, *Marzaban*, *Sihan*, *Jorjis* or *Georgius*, and *Bazan*, till *Yaman* fell into the hands of *Mohammed*, to whom *Bazan*, or rather *Badhan*, the laſt of them, ſubmitted, and embraced his new religion. This induced *Mohammed* to give *Shahr*, the ſon of *Bazan*, part of his father's dominions [f]. *Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan.*

THUS ſtands the ſeries of the kings of *Hamyar*, which we wiſh was more perfect. The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of *Hamyar*, were ſtiled *Al Kail*, and the governors of provinces *Al Makawel*. According to *Abulfeda*, this monarchy continued 2020 years, or above 3000, if we will believe *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, and *Al Jannabius*. The length *Duration of the kingdom of* Hamyar.

[c] SALE's tranſlation of the *Koran*, c. cv. p. 501, 502. & not. PRID. ubi ſupra, & ſeq. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS, in refut. Alcoran. p. 823. Patavii, 1698. [d] POCOCK. ubi ſup. [e] AL JANNABIUS. [f] POCOCK. ubi ſupra, p. 64, 65. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid.

of

of the reign of each prince must be allowed to be very uncertain. The history of the kings of *Hamyar*, surnamed *Tobba* or *Tobbai*, which the *Arabs* pronounce *Tababêah*, and *Tabbaïah*, has been written by *Shahabeddin Ahmed Ebn Abdalvahab*, *Al Bekri*, *Al Teimi*, *Al Kendi*, surnamed *Nouairi*, author of an universal history, which he dedicated to *Nasser Mohammed Ebn Calaoun*, Sultan of the *Mamalukes*. For an account of this work, we must refer our readers to M. *D'Herbelot*. *Nouairi* died in the year of the *Hejra* 732 g.

The inundation of Al Arem.

It has been already observed, that *Saba* made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a bason or reservoir, to supply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it constantly received from the mountains, as also to keep the country his predecessors had subdued in greater awe, by rendering him master of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by the *Sabæans* esteemed so strong, that they were under no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of them had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly displeased at their pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is stiled in the *Koran the inundation of* Al Arem, and occasioned so terrible a destruction, that from thence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that *they were gone and scattered like* Saba. *Al Beidawi* supposes the aforesaid mound to have been the work of queen *Balkis*, and that the above-mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of Jesus Christ. But both these notions run counter to the most received opinion, which attributes the building of Al Arem to *Saba*, and fixes its destruction about the time of *Alexander the Great*. Be that as it will, no less than eight tribes, to wit, those of *Anmar*, *Jodham*, *Al Azd*, *Tay*, *Khozaab*, *Banu Amela*, &c. were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occa-

g Al Jauharius, Abulfeda, Al Firauzabadius. Vide etiam Ahmed Ebn Yusef, & Al Jannabium, apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 62, 63. D'Herbel. in voc. Nouaïri, p. 674, 675. & voc. Tobba, p. 889.

sion,

sion, some of which gave rise to the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghassan* [h] (C).

THE kingdom of *Hira* was founded by *Malec*, a descend- *Founda-*
ent of *Cahlan*, in *Chaldæa* or *Irak*; but after three descents *tion of the*
the throne came by marriage to the *Lakhmians*. These princes, *kingdom*
whose general name was *Mondar*, preserved their dominion, *of* Hira.
notwithstanding some small interruption by the *Persians*, till the khalifat of *Abubecr*, when *Al Mondar Maghrur*, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walîd*. The kingdom of the *Mondars*, supposed to be the descendents of *Nadar Ebn Rabia*, continued, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, six hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of *Persia*, whose lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irak*, as the kings of *Ghassan* were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*. The *Lakhmians* were descended from *Lakhm* the son of *Amru*, the son of *Saba*. If the kingdom of the *Lakhmians* or *Mondars* was not of any longer duration than six hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, *Al Beidawi* seems not to be much mistaken, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of Christ, notwithstanding the authority of those who carry it above three centuries higher. This space was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the best *Oriental* historians [i].

1. MALEC, who, say some of the eastern writers, flourished Malec.
in the time of *the kings of the provinces*, that is, of the governors *Alexander the Great* appointed to preside over the provinces of *Persia* [k].

2. AMRU, *Malec*'s brother [l]. Amru.

3. JODAIMAH, the son of *Malec*, surnamed *Al Abrash*, Jodaimah.
who first used among the *Arabs* that military engine called a *balista*. He defeated *Amru*, an *Arab* prince of the tribe of

[h] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 87. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 6. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 34. AL BEIDAWI. JALLAL. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42. 45. 66. [i] Poc. ubi supra, p. 66. 74. PROCOP. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BEIDAWI, &c. [k] Poc. ubi supra, p. 66. [l] Idem ibid.

(C) At this time likewise probably happened the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into *Mesopotamia* by three different chiefs, *Becr*, *Modar*, and *Rabîa*; from whence the three provinces of that country are still named *Diyar Becr*, *Diyar Modar*, and *Diyar Rabia* (3).

(3) *Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 232.*

Amalek,

Amalek, who reigned in *Mesopotamia*, and put him to the sword; but was afterwards himself assassinated, by the contrivance of *Zoba*, *Amru*'s daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured [m].

Amru. 4. AMRU, the son of *Ad* and *Rakash* the sister of *Jodaimah*, by the assistance of one *Kosair*, who had been servant to *Jodaimah*, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following stratagem: *Kosair*, at his own desire, had his ears cut off, and was whipped in a most cruel manner, by *Amru*'s order; after which he fled to *Zoba*, making the heaviest complaints of the inhuman treatment he had met with. By this means he soon became a confident of *Zoba*, who permitted him to convey into her castle some large chests, full, as was given out, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately dispatched her. The memory of *Amru* is still preserved amongst the *Arabs* by several proverbs, which particularly allude to him [n].

Amrio'l Kais. 5. AMRIO'L KAIS, the son of *Amru*, surnamed *Albada*, succeeded his father [o].

Amru. 6. AMRU, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, flourished in the time of *Sabur*, or *Sapor*, *Dil Actaf*, king of *Persia*. This *Persian* monarch, whose surname imports as much, according to *Abulfeda*, cut off the shoulders of all the *Arabs* he took prisoners, in a war he had with that nation. His mother's name was *Mary*, whose ear-rings occasioned a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. If this piece of history may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what *Al Beidawi* has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of AL AREM happened [p].

Aus. 7. AUS, the son of *Kalam*, an *Amalekite* [q].

An anonymous king. 8. ANOTHER *Amalekite* prince, whose name is not known, succeeded *Aus*; after whose decease the crown reverted to the family of the *Lakhmians*, after an interruption of two descents [r].

Amrio'l Kais. 9. AMRIO'L KAIS, the son of *Amru*, next ascended the throne. He was surnamed *Almohrek*, or *the Burner*, because he first tortured criminals with fire [s].

Al Nooman. 10. AL NOOMAN, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, surnamed *Alawar*, or *the Blinkard*, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, saying, *What signifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end? Al Nooman* built those castles or towers called *Khaou-*

[m] MOHAMMEDES AL FIRAUZABADIUS, AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBN YUSEF. [n] POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 67, 68. [o] Idem ibid. [p] ABULFEDA. AL BEIDAWI. [q] POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 68. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

arnak

arnak and *Al Sadir*, ſo celebrated by the *Arab* poets and proverbs. *Senemmar*, the builder of *Khaouarnak*, was thrown headlong from thence by *Al Nooman*'s order; which gave occaſion to the proverb, *The reward of* Senemmar. We are told, that *Al Nooman* became a convert to the Chriſtian religion, and, in conſequence thereof, thought fit to reſign the reins of government to his ſon *Hendu*, as juſt hinted. *Jezdegerd*, king of *Perſia*, committed the care of his ſon's education, and the eſtabliſhment of his conſtitution, to *Al Nooman*, who was afterwards very inſtrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his anceſtors. The cauſe of *Senemmar*'s tragical end, and all the other remarkable particulars relating to the reign of the prince we are now upon, our readers will find an ample account of in the hiſtory of the *Perſians* [t].

11. AL MONDAR EBN NOOMAH, the *Hendu* of the *Perſian* hiſtorians, attended *Baharam*, the ſon of *Jezdegerd*, into *Perſia*, with an army of 40000 men, to enable him to dethrone one *Kerſa*, an uſurper whom the *Magi* had elected king. The ſucceſs and particulars of this expedition have been already related at large in that part of this work to which they moſt properly belong [u]. Al Mondar Ebn Noomah.

12. AL ASWAD, ſon to *Al Mondar*, overthrew the king of *Ghaſſan*, and took many of his relations priſoners, according to ſome of the *Oriental* hiſtorians; but *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* relates, that the king of *Ghaſſan* prevailed againſt him, and ſlew him, after a ſhort reign [w]. Al Aſwad.

13. HE was ſucceeded by his brother *Al Mondar*, whoſe true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilſt this prince ſat on the throne, ſince the eaſtern writers ſay little of him [x]. *An anonymous king.*

14. AL KAMAH, ſucceſſor to the laſt king, was ſtiled *Al Damyali*, from the family of *Damyal*, of which he was a member. All the tranſactions that happened during his reign, are likewiſe buried in obivion [y]. Al Kamah.

15. AMRIO'L KAIS, the ſon of *Nooman*, the ſon of *Amrio'l Kais al Mohrek*, next ſwayed the ſceptre of *Hira*. *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* aſſerts, that it was he who threw *Senemmar* headlong from the top of the caſtle of *Khaouarnak*, with whom agree herein *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius* [z]. Amrio'l Kais, *the ſon of* Nooman.

[t] AL FIRAUZABADIUS, SAFIODDIN. AL MEIDAN. LEBTARIKH. MIRKHOND. KHONDEMIR. &c. Vide etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. xi. p. 162, 163. [u] LEBTARIKH. MIRKH. KHONDEM. ubi ſupra. Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra. [w] AHMED EBN YUSEF. [x] Pocockius, ubi ſupra, p. 69. [y] Idem ibid. [z] AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFEDA, & AL JANNABIUS.

16. AL

Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

16. AL MONDAR, the ſon of the laſt king, and *Mawiah* the daughter of *Aus*, a lady of ſuch tranſcendent beauty, that ſhe was called *Maiſſamai*, i. e. *water of heaven*, governed after his father in *Hira*. From his mother he and his poſterity were likewiſe ſurnamed *Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai*; which appellation they had in common with the kings of *Ghaſſan*, according to *Al Jauharius*. For theſe laſt princes were ſo denominated from *Abu Amer*, of the tribe of *Azd*, the father of *Amru Mazikia*, who, by his ſurpriſing liberality and beneficence, ſupplied the want of rain, furniſhing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it ſo dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was depoſed by *Khoſru Kobad*, king of *Perſia* [a].

Al Hareth.

17. AL HARETH EBN AMRU, of the tribe of *Kenda*, was placed on the throne of *Hira* by *Khoſru Kobad*, in the room of *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais*, whom he had depoſed. However, *Kobad*'s ſon and ſucceſſor *Anuſhirwan*, ſurnamed *the Juſt*, in whoſe reign *Mohammed* was born, reſtored the lawful king to his dominions, and drove away the uſurper *Al Hareth Ebn Amru*. *Kobad* embraced the tenets of an impoſtor called *Mazdak*, who pretended himſelf a prophet ſent from GOD to preach a community of women and poſſeſſions, ſince all men were deſcended from the ſame common parents; and in moſt points agreed with *Manes*. By rendering wealth and women common, he propoſed taking away the luſt of both; from whence, he inſinuated, generally aroſe the feuds, quarrels, and animoſities, that diſturbed the repoſe and tranquillity of mankind. Such a doctrine well ſuiting the diſpoſition of *Kobad*, he not only profeſſed himſelf a convert to *Mazdak*'s religion, but likewiſe obliged all his dependents to do the ſame; and therefore, when *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais* refuſed this, he ſtripped him of his dominions, and appointed *Al Hareth*, who had declared himſelf a zealous follower of *Mazdak*, to preſide over them in his ſtead. But *Anuſhirwan*, called *Nouſchirvan* by the *Perſian* hiſtorians, in conſequence of a vow he had made before his acceſſion, reſtored the *Mondar* family to the throne of *Hira*, put *Mazdak* to death, and aboliſhed the profeſſion of his impious opinions. It is ſaid, when *Mazdak* knew his fate, he told *Anuſhirwan*, *that* GOD *had raiſed him to the throne of* Perſia *to protect his ſubjects, and not to deſtroy them.* To which that monarch anſwered, *True, abandoned villain; but doſt thou not remember, that with the utmoſt difficulty, even by kiſſing thy loathſome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent requeſt, had given thee a permiſſion ſo*

[a] AL JAUHARIUS.

to do? Yes, replied *Mazdak*. Upon which, the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and eſtabliſhed once more amongſt his ſubjects the antient *Magian* religion [b].

18. AL MONDAR EBN AMRIO'L KAIS was ſucceeded by his ſon *Al Mondar*, ſtiled, according to *Al Jauharius*, *Modret ol' Hajarah*, from his ſurpriſing ſtrength, and unparalleled bravery. Other authors, from his mother *Henda*, give him the ſurname of *Ebn Henda*. In the eighth year of his reign the falſe prophet *Mohammed* was born [c]. Al Mondar, Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

19. KABUS, the brother of *Amru*, comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eaſtern writers [d]. Kabus.

20. AL MONDAR, brother to the former prince, ſucceeded him [e]. *His brother*, Al Mondar.

21. AL NOOMAN, ſurnamed *Abu Kabus*, was the twenty-firſt king of *Hira*, and became a convert to Chriſtianity on the following occaſion: In a drunken fit he had ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen aſleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himſelf, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raiſed a monument to the memory of his friends, but ſet apart two days, one of which he called the *day of ſorrow* or *mourning*, and the other the *day of mirth* or *gladneſs*. Then he made it a perpetual rule to himſelf, that whoever met him on the former day, ſhould be ſlain, and his blood ſprinkled on the monument; but that he, who met him on the other day, ſhould be diſmiſſed in ſafety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the *unfortunate* days, there came before him accidentally an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Tay*, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and ſeparated from his attendants. The king, who could neither diſcharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, againſt the laws of hoſpitality, which the *Arabs* religiouſly obſerve, propoſed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's reſpite, and to ſend him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loſs they were to ſuſtain, on condition that he found a ſurety for his returning at the year's end, to ſuffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compaſſion, offered himſelf as his ſurety, and the *Arab* was diſcharged. When the laſt day of the term came, and no news of the *Arab*, the king, not at Al Nooman Abu Kabus.

[b] ABULFED. in vit. Anuſhirwân. SHAREST AN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 70. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid. p. 71. MIRKH. KHOND. & Univ. hiſt. vol. xi. p. 176, 177. [c] AL JAUHARIUS. [d] POCOCKIUS, ubi ſupra, p. 72. [e] Idem ibid.

all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to be brought out to execution. Those who were by, represented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse the *Arab* appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing. To which he answered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and, *Al Nooman* demanding what religion that was, he replied, The Christian. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, together with all his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom. This prince, however, was not the first king of *Hira* who professed himself a convert to the Christian religion: *Al Mondar*, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, his grandfather, declared himself a Christian, and built large churches in his capital. As *Al Nooman* took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit them to grow in all gardens, the *Arabs*, from him, call them *the variegated flowers of* Al Nooman. After a reign of twenty-two years, *Al Nooman* was slain by *Khosru Parwiz*, by whom the kingdom of *Hira* was translated from the family of the *Lakhmians* to *Ayas* the *Tayite* [f].

Ayas. 22. MOHAMMED's mission commenced in the sixth month of *Ayas*'s reign [g].

Zadawaih 23. ZADAWAIH, the son of *Mahan* of *Hamadan*, succeeded *Ayas* [h].

Al Mondar. Ebn Nooman. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Maissamai. Al Maghrur. 24. AL MONDAR, *Ebn Nooman*, *Ebn Mondar*, *Ebn Mondar*, *Ebn Maissamai*, surnamed *Al Maghrur*, governed *Hira*, from the death of *Zadawaih* to the conquest of the kingdom of *Hira* by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walîd*. The four royal families of *Persia*, governing that kingdom before this period, were the *Pishdadian*, the *Caianian*, the *Ashganian*, and that of *Khosrû*; which, as *Hira* was a state dependent on the *Persians*, we thought not improper to be observed [i].

THE kingdom of *Ghassan*, as well as that of *Hira*, owed its origin to the inundation of *Al Arem*. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of *Azd*, who, according to some, settling in *Syria Damascena*, near a water called *Ghassan*,

[f] AL MEIDANI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFED. &c. Vide etiam SALE, ubi supra, p. 23, 24. [g] POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 73, 74. [h] Idem ibid. [i] PROCOP. de bell. Pers. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNAB. ABULFED. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, & POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 74, 75.

hence took their name; though others make them to have gone under this appellation before they left *Yaman*. Having driven out the *Dajaamian Arabs*, of the tribe of *Salih*, who before poſſeſſed the country, they made themſelves maſters of a very conſiderable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years; as others ſay, ſix hundred; or, as *Abulfeda* more exactly computes, ſix hundred and ſixteen. If *Ghaſſan* was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the *Caſſanitæ* of *Ptolemy*. Be that as it will, five of the kings of *Ghaſſan* were named *Hareth*, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* wrote *Aretas*; and one of them it was, whoſe governor ordered the gates of *Damaſcus* to be watched to take St. *Paul*. Dr. *Pocock* gives us the following liſt of the kings of *Ghaſſan*, extracted from the *Oriental* hiſtorians [k]. *The kingdom of Ghaſſan.*

1. JAFNAH EBN AMRU, *Ebn Thaalibah, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mazikia*, to whom, after the exciſion of the royal family of *Salih*, the *Kodaenſian Arabs*, and the *Greeks* in *Syria Damaſcena*, ſubmitted themſelves. Jafnah.

2. AMRU, the ſon of *Jafnah*, who is ſaid to have built many monaſteries in *Syria*. Amru.

3. AMRU, the ſon of *Thaalibah*. Amru.

4. AL HARETH, or *Aretas*, the ſon of *Thaalibah*. Al Hareth

5. JABALAH, the ſon of *Al Hareth*. Jabalah.

6. AL HARETH, the ſon of *Jabalah*. Al Hareth

7. AL MONDAR AL ACBAR, that is, *the Great*, the ſon of *Al Hareth*. Al Mondar.

8. AL NOOMAN, the brother of *Al Mondar*. Al Nooman.

9. JABALAH, the brother of *Al Nooman*. Jabalah.

10. AL AYHAM, brother to the laſt two princes. Al Ayham

11. AMRU, who was brother to his three laſt predeceſſors. Amru.

12. JAFNAH, ſurnamed *Al Aſgar*, the ſon of *Mondar Al Acbar*, who ſet the city of *Hira* on fire; whence his poſterity were ſaid to be of the family of *the Incendiary*. Jafnah Al Aſgar.

13. AL NOOMAN AL ASGAR, brother to *Jafnah*. Al Nooman.

14. AL NOOMAN, *Ebn Amru, Ebn Mondar*. Al Nooman.

15. JABALAH, *Ebn Nooman*, who waged war with *Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai*. Jabalah.

16. AL NOOMAN, the ſon of *Al Ayham*. Al Nooman,

17. AL HARETH, brother to *Al Nooman Ebn al Ayham*. Al Hareth

18. AL NOOMAN, the ſon of *Al Hareth*. Al Nooman.

19. AL MONDAR, the ſon of *Al Nooman*. Al Mondar.

20. AMRU, *Al Mondar*'s brother. Amru.

21. HAJAR, brother to *Al Mondar* and *Amru*. Hajar.

22. AL HARETH, the ſon of *Hajar*. Al Hareth

[k] AL BEIDAWI. POCK. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 42. 45. 66. 75, 76, 77.

Jabalah. 23. JABALAH, the ſon of *Al Hareth.*

AlHareth 24. AL HARETH, the ſon of *Jabalah.*

Al Nooman. 25. AL NOOMAN, the ſon of *Al Hareth*, who is called by ſome eaſtern writers *Abu Carb*, and *Kotam.*

AlAyham 26. AL AYHAM, the ſon of *Jabalah*, who was likewiſe lord of *Tadmor.*

Al Mondar. 27. AL MONDAR, brother to *Al Ayham.*

Sharahil. 28. SHARAHIL, brother to the two laſt princes.

Amru. 29. AMRU, another of their brothers.

Jabalah. 30. JABALAH, *Ebn al Hareth, Ebn Jabalah.*

Jabalah. 31. JABALAH, the ſon of *Al Ayham*, and the laſt of the kings of *Ghaſſan*, who, on the great ſucceſſes of the *Arabs* in *Syria*, under the khalîf *Omar*, profeſſed *Mohammediſm*; but, receiving afterwards a diſguſt from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to *Conſtantinople.* As in the regal line of *Hamyar*, *Hejaz*, and *Kenda*, we find the name of *Hareth*, or *Al Hareth*, we think *Scaliger* had ſome colour of reaſon, when he aſſerted this to be a general name amongſt the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs, though Dr. *Pocock* is of another opinion. The ſcholiaſt on the poem of *Ebn Abduni* differs ſomething from *Abulfeda* in his account of the kings of *Hira.* For he tells us, that *Al Hareth Ebn Amru, Ebn Amer, Ebn Hareth, Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Mazen, Ebn Al Azd*, ſurnamed *Ebn Abi Shamer*, was the firſt king; and that the whole ſeries of theſe princes contained thirty-ſeven kings, the laſt of which was *Jabalah*, who embraced Chriſtianity in the khalifat of *Omar.* If we admit this, and that St. *Paul* was at *Damaſcus A. C.* 34. as *Calviſius* will have it, the *Aretas* mentioned by that apoſtle was in all likelihood one of the moſt antient kings of *Ghaſſan* (D), and probably the firſt of them. From whence it will follow, that *Al Beidawi* has proba-

(D) In oppoſition to this it may be urged, that we find ſeveral princes called *Aretas*, kings of the *Arabs*, ſeated in *Syria*, or, at leaſt, near the frontiers of that country, mentioned in the *Maccabees*, as likewiſe in *Joſephus*, before the period here hinted at. But to this it may be replied, that theſe princes might preſide over the *Dajaamian Arabs*, expelled by thoſe of the tribe of *Azd* above-mentioned, or reign in *Arabia Petræa* and *Deſerta*, eſpecially if we admit *Hareth* to have been a general name amongſt the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs. And, in ſupport of the laſt notion, it may be obſerved, that *Petra* was the metropolis of the *Aretan* princes mentioned by *Joſephus.* But we leave our readers to determine for themſelves, in relation to the commencement of the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghaſſan.* The tranſactions ſpecified in the paſſages here referred to, in which the

Arabs

probability on his ſide, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of Chriſt; ſince the kingdom of *Ghaſſan* commenced immediately after that inundation. And ſome ſort of ſanction is given to this notion even by *Abulfeda* himſelf, when he intimates, that *Amru* the ſon of *Jafnah*, the ſecond king of *Hira*, founded many monaſteries in *Syria*. Be that as it will, had the *Arab* hiſtorians not been ſo defective in point of chronology, their works would have been much more valuable, and deſerved a much greater degree of credit, than at preſent the learned are willing to allow them [l].

It has been already obſerved, that *Jorham*, the ſon of *Kahtan*, founded the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where princes of his line reigned till the time of *Iſhmael*, who married the daughter of *Modad*, one of thoſe princes. Some authors relate, that *Kidar*, one of *Iſhmael*'s ſons, had the crown reſigned to him by his uncles the *Jorhamites*; but, according to others, the deſcendents of *Iſhmael* expelled that tribe, who, retiring to *Johainah*, were, after various fortune, at laſt all deſtroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of *Hejaz*, taken from Dr. *Pocock*, is the beſt that has been hitherto exhibited to the public [m].

The kingdom of Hejaz.

1. JORHAM, the brother of *Yaarab*.	Jorham.
2. ABD YALIL, the ſon of *Jorham*.	Abd Yalil.
3. JORSHAM, the ſon of *Abd Yalil*.	Jorſham.
4. ABDO'L MADAN, the ſon of *Jorſham*.	Abdo'l Madan.
5. NOGAILAH, the ſon of *Abdo'l Madan*.	Nogailah.
6. ABDO'L MASIH, the ſon of *Nogailah*.	Abdo'l Maſih
7. MODAD, the ſon of *Abdo'l Maſih*.	Modad.
8. AMRU, the ſon of *Modad*.	Amru.
9. AL HARETH, brother to *Amru*.	Al Hareth
10. AMRU, the ſon of *Al Hareth*.	Amru.
11. BASHER, brother to *Amru*.	Baſher.
12. MODAD, the ſon of *Amru*, the ſon of *Modad*.	Modad.
13. ——— *Anonym.*	Anonym.

[l] SCALIG. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 77. ut & ipſe POCOCK. ibid. & p. 78. ABULFED. ſcholiaſt. in poem. Ebn Abduni. 2 Cor. c. xi. ver. 32. SETH. CALVIS. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 78. AL BEIDAWI. See alſo SALE's notes on the *Koran*, p. 354. & OCKLEY's hiſt. of the *Saracens*, vol. i. p. 174. [m] AL-JANNABIUS. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 38. 78, 79. Vide etiam SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 11, 12.

Arabs were concerned, our readers will find an account of in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, to which they properly belong (4).

(4) 1 *Maccab. c.* v. *ver.* 39. *c.* xi. *ver.* 16, 37. *c.* xii. *ver.* 31. 2 *Maccab. c.* v. *ver.* 8. *c.* xii. *ver.* 10, *&c. Joſeph. antiq. Jud. l.* xiv. *c.* 2. *l.* xvi. *c.* 9, 10. *l.* xvii. *c.* 3. *de bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 7. *& alib. Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* x. *p.* 354. 365. 367. 536 (O), *& alib.*

14. KIDAR,

Kidar.

14. KIDAR, the ſon of *Iſhmael*, whoſe mother, according to the *Oriental* hiſtorians, was of the houſe of *Jorham*.

Form of government in Hejaz.

AFTER the expulſion of the *Jorhamites*, the government of *Hejaz* ſeems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almoſt in the ſame manner as the *Arabs* of the deſert are governed at this day. The tribe of *Khozaah*, deſcended from *Cahlan*, the ſon of *Saba*, after the inundation of *Al Arem*, fled into the kingdom of *Hejaz*, and ſettled themſelves in a valley called *Marri*, near *Mecca*; in which territory they founded an ariſtocracy, aſſuming to themſelves both the government of the city of *Mecca*, and the cuſtody of the *Caaba* or temple there. Their name they derived from their being *cut off*, or *ſeparated from*, the other tribes of *Yaman* by the accident above-mentioned. They continued maſters of the city and territory of *Mecca*, as well as preſidents of the *Caaba*, for ſeveral ages; till at length one *Koſa* (E), of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, circumvented *Abu Gabſhan*, a weak and ſilly man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and cuſtody of the *Caaba*, for a bottle of wine. But when *Abu Gabſhan* grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he ſufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the *Arabs*: *More vexed with late repentance than* Abu Gabſhan; *More fooliſh than* Abu Gabſhan: which are applied to thoſe perſons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards ſorry for what they have done. The tribe of *Khozaah* endeavoured afterwards to give ſome diſturbance to the *Koreiſh* in the poſſeſſion of what *Koſa* had purchaſed; which

(E) *Koſa* was the ſon of *Kelab*, who firſt gave the months of the year thoſe names by which the *Arabs* ever ſince have called them, even to this day. The antient names were *Mutemer*, *Nagir*, *Chavan*, *Savan*, *Ritma*, *Ida*, *Aſam*, *Adil*, *Natil*, *Vaïl*, *Varna*, and *Burec*. The preſent names *Kelab* derived from ſome contingencies that happened in the months to which they are applied; which names, receiving a ſanction from *Mohammed*'s authority, who made them one of the diſtinguiſhing marks of his followers, have been continued ever ſince they were firſt impoſed. The *Arabs* had antiently four ſacred *months*, in which they could not carry on any war, eſpecially among themſelves. Something of this kind was obſerved among the *Greeks*; ſince, according to *Pauſanias*, they had always a reſpite from war, during the time of the celebration of the *Olympic* games. Some authors intimate, that the antient *Arabs* abſtained from war only in that month which is at preſent called *Muharrem* or *Moharrem* (5).

(5) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p.* 3, 4, 5. *Cazvinius in lib. de admirandis creatar. rer. Alkodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p.* 272, 273, 274. *Jaubar. in theſaur. ling. Arab. Pauſan. p.* 293. *Vid. etiam Meſudem & Nowairium, apud Gol. ubi ſup.*

furniſhed

furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of diveſting the former of the civil government of *Mecca*. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, it is not certain, whether the tribe of *Khozaah* were the deſcendents of *Iſhmael* or *Joktan*. We find *Amru*, one of their kings, a deſcendent of *Cahlan*, frequently mentioned by the *Arab* hiſtorians; but, as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his ſon *Caab*, we ſhall take no further notice of them. After the *Koreiſh* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Mecca*, they kept up there the ſame form of government that before had prevailed [n].

BESIDES the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were ſome other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed ſtates of leſſer note. The tribe of *Kenda* in particular had ſeveral kings, of which the three following were the principal [o]:

1. HOJR, ſurnamed *Acelo'l Morar*, i. e. *the eater of* Mo rar, a fruit of a bitter taſte, on which camels feed. That ſurname was given him by his wife, who had an averſion to him, becauſe his lips were ſo contracted, that they did not cover his teeth; which made him reſemble a camel, when brouzing upon the aforeſaid ſhrub. *Kenda*, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was alſo called *Thaur*. *Abulfeda* aſſerts, that before the time of *Hojr* the people of *Kenda* were without any kind of government, from whence many inconveniences enſued; which induced them to chooſe him for their king [p]. Hojr.

2. AMRU, the ſon of *Hojr*, ſurnamed *Al Makſur*, i. e. *contracted* or *confined*, becauſe he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father [q]. Amru.

3. AL HARETH, the ſon of *Amru*, was by *Khoſru Kobad* elevated to the throne of *Hira*, and depoſed by *Anuſhirwan*, for the reaſons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to *Diyar Calb*, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. *Al Hareth* placed his ſon *Hojr* over the *Bani Aſad*, and his other ſons over other tribes. *Hojr* was the father of *Amrio'l Kais*, a celebrated poet. The *Bani Aſad* endeavouring to take off *Hojr* by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and ſeverity; which occaſioned his meeting with a violent death. *Amrio'l Kais*, being appriſed of this, aſſembled a body of forces out of the tribes of *Becr* and *Taglab*, with which he defeated the *Bani Aſad*. But afterwards, his troops being diſperſed through the fear of *Al Mondar*, he found himſelf obliged to fly to the *Romans*, Al Hareth.

[n] POCOCKIUS, ubi ſupra, p. 42. 50. 342. ECCHELENS. hiſt. Arab. p. i. c. 3. Fortal. Fidei, lib. iv. conſid. 1. ABULFEDA. Vide etiam PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4. [o] POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 79, 80. [p] ABULFEDA. AL-JAUHARIUS. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. [q] POCOCKIUS, ubi ſupra, p. 79.

in

in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home near *Ancyra*. Some authors say, that *Cæsar* gave him a poisoned garment, which was the cause of his death; but *Abulfeda* looks upon this as a downright fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of *Kenda* here mentioned we find one *Ebn Ommil' Kotam* added by *Al Firauzabadius* [r].

THE following princes also deserve a place here:

Zohair. 1. ZOHAIR, EBNOL HABAB, who presided over the tribe of *Kelab*, and, by reason of his wonderful sagacity, was surnamed *the Wise*. He attained to a very old age, and died at last covered with glory. He invaded the *Bani Gatfan* with a powerful army, because they pretended to build a temple in opposition to the *Caaba*, and entered into an alliance with *Abrahah al Ashram*, stiled *Master of the elephant*. Notwithstanding what has been said of him here, some authors intimate, that he came to his end by excessive drinking [s].

Colaib. 2. COLAIB EBN RABIAH governed the *Bani Maad*, the *Saraceni Maadeni* of *Procopius*; and was so proud, that he would not suffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himself used. He was at last slain by one *Jassas*, for shooting a camel named *Sarab*, that he found grazing on a prohibited spot of ground. This camel belonged to an *Arab*, who had been entertained by *Basus*, a near relation of *Jassas*. The murder of *Ebn Rabiah* occasioned a forty years war; whence came the *Arab* proverbs: *A worse omen than* Sarab; *More ominous than* Basus. It may not be improper here to observe, that the kings and chiefs of the *Arabs* generally forbad others to bring their flocks upon those places and pastures which they chose for themselves. In order to ascertain the limits of these pastures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they caused a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard, they appropriated to themselves [t] (F).

[r] ABULFEDA in vit. Anushirwân, & alib. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 80. ut & ipse POCOCK. ibid. [s] POC. ubi supra, p. 81. [t] PROCOP. de bell. Pers. c. 19, 20. AL-JAUHAR. AL-FIRAUZABAD. EBNO'L ATHIR. POCOCKIUS in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 80. & ubi sup. p. 82.

(F) Though the flocks and herds of inferior people were absolutely prohibited coming into that spot of ground which was looked upon as the property of the prince, yet his flocks and herds might go into any of their pastures. *Mohammed* abolished this custom, and did not permit a spot of ground to be confined to the use of any particular animals, except horses that had served in wars carried on for the propagation of his religion, or camels consecrated to, and set apart for, sacred uses (6).

(6) *Poc. not. in carmen Tograi, p.* 81. *& not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p.* 333.

3. Mo-

3. MOHALHEL EBN RABIAH, brother to *Colaib*, formed an army out of the families of *Taglab*, with which he carried on a long and bloody war, as hinted above, with thoſe of *Becr*, in order to revenge his brother's death [u]. Mohalhel.

4. ZOHAIR EBN JODAIMAH, who received a certain toll or tribute from the *Arabs* that frequented the celebrated fair of *Ocadh* above-mentioned, was aſſaſſinated by one *Khaled*, who afterwards fled to *Al Nooman* king of *Hira*. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately murdered by one *Al Hareth*, who had purſued him, which occaſioned long and bloody broils [w]. Zohair.

5. KAIS, the ſon of *Zohair Ebn Johaimah*, had two famous horſes called *Dahes* and *Gabrah*, which ran with two others, upon a challenge, belonging to one *Hadifa*, for a prize of an hundred camels. This event gave riſe to that bloody war called by the *Arab* hiſtorians the war of *Dahes* and *Gabrah*, which continued, without intermiſſion, forty years. King *Kais*, in order to atone for ſo great an effuſion of blood, is ſaid to have embraced the Chriſtian religion, and even entered upon the monaſtic ſtate [x]. Kais.

THUS have we gone through the hiſtory of the antient *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, as far as it can be collected from the moſt noted of the *Arab* hiſtorians. But, in order to render that branch of this work we are now upon the more complete, we ſhall give a brief account of the principal tranſactions the antient *Arabs* were concerned in with the *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, extracted from the moſt approved writers of the two laſt nations.

ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Seſoſtris*, that is, as *Joſephus* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* will have it, *Seſac*, in his father's life-time, ſubdued *Arabia*. However, that the *Arabs* were never thoroughly ſubjugated, nor even long paid any ſort of homage to the kings of *Egypt*, appears from hence, that, according to the ſame author, *Seſac* himſelf was obliged to draw a line from *Heliopolis* to *Peluſium*, in order to ſecure *Egypt* from the excurſions of the *Arabs* and *Syrians*. The *Scenite Arabs* contiguous to *Palæſtine* and *Syria*, therefore, at leaſt, muſt have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from *Diodorus*, that he ever traverſed *Arabia Felix*, though he had a fleet of four hundred ſail upon the *Red Sea*; but only coaſted it, or at fartheſt ſeized upon ſome of its maritim provinces in his voyage to *India*. As the word *Arabia* ſometimes denotes only *Arabia Deſerta*, at other times *Arabia Petræa*, and ſometimes *Arabia Felix*, or a part of that country, in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninſula of the *Arabs* ever was, at leaſt for any conſi- *The* Arabs *never, at leaſt for any long time, ſubject to the* Egyptians.

[u] Poc. ubi ſup. p. 82. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. p. 83.

derable time, in a ſtate of ſervitude to the *Egyptians*. But the contrary ſeems to appear, even from *Diodorus Siculus* himſelf, who gives us the moſt pompous account of the conqueſts of *Seſoſtris* and *Seſac* [y].

Neither the Medes, Perſians, *nor* Aſſyrians, *could ever get any conſiderable footing among them.*

We learn from the ſame author, that neither the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, nor *Perſians*, could ever get any conſiderable footing among them. The *Perſian* monarchs indeed, were their friends, and ſo far reſpected by them, as to have an annual preſent of frankincenſe: yet they could never make them tributary, and were ſo far from being their maſters, that *Cambyſes*, on his expedition againſt *Egypt*, was obliged to aſk their leave to paſs through their territories. This we learn from *Herodotus*; nor does any other antient author, that we know of, contradict him herein [z].

They were not afraid of Alexander.

When *Alexander the Great* had ſubdued the *Perſian* empire, notwithſtanding his exorbitant power, the *Arabians* had ſo little apprehenſion of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, ſent no embaſſadors to him, either firſt or laſt; which, with a deſire of poſſeſſing ſo rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a deſign againſt them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might poſſibly have convinced him, that he was not invincible. The happineſs of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conqueſt of *Arabia*, in order to fix there his royal ſeat, after his return from his *Indian* expedition. But, according to *Strabo*, he had another motive likewiſe to this hazardous undertaking: for, being informed, that the *Arabs* had only two divinities, *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, whom they worſhiped, becauſe they ſupplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewiſe deſirous, that they ſhould eſteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deſerve this, he propoſed firſt to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full poſſeſſion of their antient liberty and independency; which he believed would merit divine honours as much as the greateſt benefaction. Full, therefore, of this ſcheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, compoſed of ſhips built in *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Babylonia*, to favour the operations of the land-forces. But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince [a].

The Arabs *cut in pieces a body of*

Antigonus, after the reduction of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, advanced into that part of *Arabia* bordering upon thoſe countries, having entertained a notion, that the *Arabs* were not favourably diſpoſed towards him. However, he did not for-

[y] Diod. Sic. l. i. Joseph. in antiquit. Newt. in chronol. aliique ſcript. plurim. paſſ. [z] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 131. Herodot. lib. iii. c. 91. 97. [a] Strab. l. xvi. Arrian. 161.

mally invade them, but detached *Athenæus*, one of his captains, with a body of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, to ravage and lay waste the territories of the *Nabathæans*. That general marched to *Petra* without opposition, which finding in no posture of defence, the *Nabathæans*, then under no apprehension of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, sick, and aged, in *Petra*, with an inconsiderable garison, he seized upon it, put to the sword, or took prisoners, all the soldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of silver, together with a vast quantity of frankincense and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and surprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traversed two thousand two hundred stadia in thrice twenty-four hours, and they not being apprised of his design; so that no dispositions could possibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the *Arabs*, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and, having assembled a considerable body of troops, pursued the *Greeks* with great celerity. They found them asleep about two hundred stadia from *Petra*, without any guards posted to apprise them of any impending danger, not imagining it possible for the *Arabs* to come up with them so soon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and destroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horse, that made their escape to *Antigonus*, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received [b].

troops sent against them by Antigonus.

HOWEVER, the *Nabathæans*, dreading the resentment of *Antigonus*, sent a letter to him written in the *Syriac* character, to complain of *Athenæus*, and to excuse what had happened. That prince, finding it impossible to deal with men inhabiting a desert by pure force, dissembled his resentment, and disowned the orders he had given *Athenæus*, telling their embassadors, that he was well served for his unjust invasion of their country. This gave great satisfaction to the *Arabs*, though, in order to secure themselves against any unforeseen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any sudden incursion. *Antigonus*, finding them upon their guard, for some time continued in a state of friendship with them; but at last imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late disgrace offered, he sent his son *Demetrius*, with a choice detachment of four thousand foot, and as many horse, to chastize them for it. But the watch-towers above-

Demetrius *undertakes a second expedition against them without success.*

[b] DIOD. SIC. l. xix.

mentioned

mentioned giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a ſufficient gariſon into *Petra*, and made all the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. However, *Demetrius* arrived before *Petra*, and immediately attacked it with great fury; but was repulſed, and obliged to draw off; and, having received ſuch preſents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hoſtages for their future good behaviour, raiſed the ſiege, and marched with his army to the lake *Aſphaltites*, where he encamped. *Plutarch* relates, that *Demetrius*'s ſurpriſing intrepidity in the moſt imminent dangers ſo aſtoniſhed the *Arabs*, that they not only ſuffered him to retire quietly out of their territories, but alſo to carry off with him an immenſe booty, and, among other things, ſeven hundred camels [c].

They did not ſuffer Antigonus *to collect bitumen on the lake* Aſphaltites.

ANTIGONUS was greatly diſſatisfied with the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, imagining that the *Arabs* would grow more inſolent upon it. But he appeared highly pleaſed with his ſon *Demetrius*, for diſcovering the lake *Aſphaltites*, which, it ſeems, till that time, had been unknown to the *Greeks*, eſpecially as he imagined his revenue would be much increaſed by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, *Hieronymus Cardianus* the hiſtorian his treaſurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ſhips, and collect all the bitumen that could be got from off the lake. But the *Arabs*, being appriſed of this, drew together a body of ſix thouſand men, with which they attacked the people *Hieronymus* employed, and cut them almoſt all off; which obliged *Antigonus* to lay aſide the project he had formed. Mr. *Sale* ſays, he does not find any of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, either in *Aſia* or *Egypt*, ever to have made any attempts upon the *Arabs*, which we own ourſelves aſtoniſhed at. As greatly are we ſurpriſed to find, that the paſſage he quotes on this occaſion makes directly againſt him [d].

Pompey made an Arab *tribe tributary to the* Romans.

As for the *Romans*, they never conquered any part of *Arabia* properly ſo called; though that the *Arabs* ſubmitted to *Lucullus*, is aſſerted by *Plutarch*. The moſt they did was to make ſome tribes tributary to them, as *Pompey* did one commanded by *Sampſiceramus* or *Shams' alkeram*, who reigned at *Hems* or *Emeſa*. His people were more civilized, and lived under a better form of government than the other *Arabs*, as we learn from *Strabo* [e].

[c] Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. in Demetr. ubi ſup. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 13, 14. [d] DIOD. SIC. [e] PLUT. in Lucul. STRAB. l. xvi.

THAT

THAT the *Arabs* frequently made dreadful incurſions into *Syria*, whilſt under the *Romans*, we have already obſerved from *Strabo*; and are now farther to obſerve, that theſe incurſions ſometimes brought upon them the *Roman* arms. *Pompey*, as we learn from *Plutarch*, obliged one *Aretas*, an *Arab* prince, whoſe dominions bordered upon *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſubmit to him, and to receive a *Roman* gariſon: and the ſame general likewiſe ſubdued the *Arabs*, who dwelt about mount *Amanus*, by his lieutenant *Afranius*. After which, the king of the *Arabs* reſiding in *Petra*, who, till now, had made no account of the *Romans*, ſubmitted himſelf, by letter, to him; but that *Pompey* ever poſſeſſed himſelf of that ſtronghold, does not appear. *Plutarch* rather ſeems to inſinuate, that he was recalled from thence by the death of *Mithridates*, before he could make full proof of the ſincerity of that prince's ſubmiſſion. And this is the more probable, becauſe *Gabinius*, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the government of *Syria*, made preparations for an expedition againſt the *Arabians*, but was diverted from his deſign, by *Ptolemy*'s ſolicitation to be reſtored to his kingdom [f].

AGBARUS, or, according to others, *Ariamnes*, not far from the time we are now upon, an *Arab* emir or phylarch, miſled and deluded *Craſſus* to his own deſtruction. Not long after which event, the *Arabs* probably defeated the *Palmyrenians*, when *Antony* ſent a detachment of horſe to ravage their city. For *Appian* tells us, that the body of troops defending them conſiſted of archers, *who excelled in that way*; which is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the *Arabs* [g].

Ælius Gallus's expedition.

BUT none of the *Romans* ever penetrated ſo far into *Arabia* as *Ælius Gallus*, or *Ælius Largus*, according to *Dio*, in the reign of the emperor *Auguſtus*. That general, after traverſing vaſt deſerts, came within two days journey of the aromatiferous parts of *Arabia*. Having embarked all his forces, he ſailed for *Leucocome*, a maritim city of the *Nabathæans*, on the coaſt of the *Red Sea*. As this was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves, which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulph, and *Syllæus*, who had undertaken to be his guide, treacherouſly conducted him the worſt way through it, he was fifteen days in his paſſage, and loſt many of his ſhips. Had he marched his army by land, as was at firſt intended, he might have avoided this diſaſter. But *Syllæus* prevented the execution of that ſalutary deſign; informing *Gallus*, that there was no ſafe paſſage by land for his troops through the country of the *Nabathæans*; though nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans, almoſt as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival

[f] PLUT. in Pomp. & alibi. [g] APPIAN. de bell. civil.

at *Leucocome*, a ſtrange diſtemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havock in his army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the ſummer, and the following winter. This diſtemper, according to *Dio*, firſt ſeized the head, where, if it ſettled, it proved mortal; but if the humour occaſioning it retired into the thighs, the patient recovered. Early in the ſpring, *Gallus*, moving out of his winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of *Hira*, where he met with a moſt kind reception from *Al Hareth*, or, as *Strabo* names him, *Aretas*, a near relation of *Abd Wadd*, or *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæans*, his ally. After a ſhort ſtay there, he put himſelf again in motion; and, on his march, defeated a numerous body of *Arabs*, who met him upon the banks of a river, with an intention to diſpute his paſſage. He then made himſelf maſter of ſeveral conſiderable places without oppoſition, and penetrated as far as *Marſyabæ*, a city of the *Rhamanites*, governed by a petty prince named *Ilaſarus*, or *Al Aſar*, which he beſieged ineffectually; being obliged to drop that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various diſtempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the inſalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence purſue his route into *Egypt*. Accordingly he ſet out on his march homeward; and, by the aſſiſtance of more faithful guides, reached the city of *Negra*, one of *Obodas*'s maritim towns, by the road of *Anagrana*, *Chaalla*, *Malotha*, &c. in ſixty days. Here he embarked his troops, and, croſſing the *Arabian* gulph, landed at *Myos Hormus*, on the *Egyptian* ſide; from whence he led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*. The bad ſucceſs *Gallus* met with on this occaſion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of *Syllæus*, whoſe view, in the total deſtruction of the *Roman* army, ſeems to have been the acquiſition of ſome of the *Roman* territories for his maſter *Obodas*. This is the more probable, as that prince concurred with his chief miniſter, by not ſupporting *Gallus*. Be that as it will, the *Roman* general diſcovered the perfidy of *Syllæus* before his return out of *Arabia*; but, for ſome political reaſons, he thought proper then to diſſemble his reſentment. However, after his arrival in *Egypt*, he ſent the traitor to *Rome*, where, for this and other enormous crimes, he had his head ſtruck off by the emperor's order. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Gallus* ſpent two years in this unfortunate expedition [h].

[h] Strab. ubi ſupra. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Dio, l. liii. p. 516, & ſeq. ad ann. U. C. 730. See alſo vol. xiii. p. 496, 497, 498.

FROM this time to the reign of *Trajan*, we hear little of *Arabia*; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, according to *Dio*. *Euſebius* relates, that the inhabitants of *Petra* and *Boſtra* computed their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the *Roman* empire. Nay, *Arrian*, *Eutropius*, *Lucian*, and *Dio*, intimate, that *Trajan* conquered *Arabia Felix*, which ſeems to be confirmed by ſome medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conqueſt of *India*. But all this was groſs flattery, meriting not the leaſt regard, as will appear from the reception the *Hagarenes* gave him, when he marched againſt them about ſix years after the period above-mentioned. This, which happened in the laſt year of *Trajan*, is a convincing proof, that he never was maſter of *Arabia Petræa*, much leſs *Arabia Felix*, notwithſtanding the mean adulation of his coins, orators, and hiſtorians g.

The Roman hiſtorians falſly aſſert Trajan to have conquered Arabia.

TRAJAN, receiving intelligence, that the *Hagarenes* had declared war againſt him, marched from *Cteſiphon* into their territories with a powerful army, and laid ſiege to their capital city. As it was ſituated on the top of an high and ſteep mountain, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, ſeated in a barren country, and defended by a numerous gariſon, *Trajan* could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy diſcovering him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs, and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed an horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning. The apparitions of rainbows likewiſe dazzled and frightened them in an extraordinary meaſure. And at the ſame time they were in a ſtrange manner infeſted in their camp by ſwarms of flies; ſo that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire. The *Romans*, therefore, were never abſolute maſters of even *Arabia Petræa*, whatever homage they might have received from the *Arabs* of that country. Neither are their coins, an evidence of good authority in ſome points, to be relied on in the preſent caſe, as

That emperor is forced to retire out of Arabia.

g DIO, l. lxviii. p. 777. EUSEB. in chron. p. 206. ARRIAN. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8, 46. FRANCISC. MEDIOBARB. BIRAG. p. 116. OCCO. p. 215. FEST. in breviar. p. 551. EUTROP. in Trajan. LUCIAN. philop. See alſo vol. xv. p. 140.

will more fully appear from an obſervation already made towards the cloſe of the hiſtory of the *Ethiopians* [h].

As is Severus, *after he had ineffectually laid ſiege to* Atræ.

ABOUT eighty years after, the emperor *Severus*, being greatly incenſed againſt the *Arabs* bordering on *Syria*, for aſſiſting *Niger*, laid ſiege to *Atræ* their capital, with a formidable army, and a vaſt train of military engines invented by *Priſcus*, the moſt celebrated mechanic of his age. He puſhed on the ſiege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear, that of all nations the *Hagarenes* only ſhould ſtand out ſtill againſt the *Romans*. Being repulſed in the firſt attack with great ſlaughter, he ordered a ſecond to be made. Then he might have carried the place, but choſe rather to ſound a retreat, hoping, by this means, to induce the *Arabs* to ſue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would diſcover their hidden treaſures, ſuppoſed to be conſecrated to the *Sun*. But for a whole day they made not the leaſt overture. In the mean time the ardour of his troops cooled to ſuch a degree, that the *Europeans* refuſed to begin another aſſault, and the *Syrians* were repulſed in one that they made. This ſo chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers repreſented to him, that he would engage to ſtorm the place with five hundred and fifty *European* ſoldiers, he replied, *But where ſhall I find ſo many?* GOD, ſays the hiſtorian, *preſerved the town by the backwardneſs of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next*. He was, therefore, obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire, with great precipitation, into his own dominions [i].

Short account of the Arabs *to the time of* Mohammed.

FROM this time to the birth of *Mohammed*, we find not many particulars of moment related of the *Arabs* in general, or of the *Saracens*, the moſt noted people of them, in particular, by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians. The *Saracens*, however, we are told, ravaged *Meſopotamia* in the time of the emperor *Conſtantius*, and joined the *Perſians* againſt *Julian*. That prince, it ſeems, and ſome of his predeceſſors, had paid the *Saracens* a penſion, that they might have a body of troops always on foot for the ſervice of the *Romans*. But this he took into his head afterwards to diſcontinue; and, when they ſent deputies to complain of this treatment, *Julian* told them, that *a warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold*: which they reſenting, went over to the *Perſian*, and ever after continued faithful to him. *Mavia*, queen of the *Saracens*, ſent a body of her troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Goths*, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, by their vigorous ſallies, forced thoſe barbarians to retire from before *Conſtantinople*,

[h] IDAT. & CASSIODOR. in Faſt. DIO, ubi ſupra, p. 785. & lib. lxxv. p. 854. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528. See alſo vol. xv. p. 142.
[i] DIO, p. 948. HERODIAN. l. iii. EUSEB. chron. SPARTIAN. in Sever. GOLTZ. p. 84. See vol. xv. p. 303.

which

which metropolis they had beſieged. About the year of the Chriſtian æra 411. they committed great diſorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palæſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; but ſoon retired of their own accord. In the reign of *Theodoſius*, *Alamundarus*, or *Al Mondar*, with a numerous army, aſſiſted the *Perſians* againſt that prince; but the greateſt part of his men, being ſeized with an unaccountable panic, threw themſelves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where, to the number of an hundred thouſand, they are ſaid to have periſhed. *A. D.* 452. the *Saracens*, *Nubians*, and *Blemmyes*, broke into the *Roman* empire; but were overthrown by the troops of the emperor *Marcian*, and forced to ſue for peace; which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire. In the beginning of the ſixth century, a prince of the *Mondar* family, who was a renowned warrior, did incredible damage to the *Romans*, as we learn from *Procopius*. He ſo haraſſed them for a great number of years, by ravaging all their territories from the borders of *Egypt* to the confines of *Meſopotamia*, killing vaſt numbers of their ſubjects, and exacting immenſe ſums for the redemption of others taken priſoners, that, to uſe *Procopius*'s expreſſion, he brought them quite down upon their knees. He flew from *Egypt* to *Meſopotamia* like lightning, being ſo quick in his incurſions, that the *Roman* troops ſcarce ever began their march to put a ſtop to his depredations, before he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the *Romans*, when he found himſelf obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole *Roman* corps priſoners, with their general *Demoſtratus*, the brother of *Rufinus*, and *John* the ſon of *Lucas*; for whoſe ranſom he had an immenſe ſum of money paid him. Being at the head of all the *Saracens* bordering upon the *Perſian* dominions, and capable of making an irruption into which of the neighbouring *Roman* provinces he pleaſed, he was one of the moſt formidable enemies the *Romans* had. None of their generals, nor any of the *Arab* phylarchs in their intereſt, could ever make head againſt him. *Juſtinian*, in order to annoy him, veſted an *Arab* prince with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to puſh on the war with greater vigour againſt *Alamundarus*; for ſo *Procopius* calls him. However, *Al Mondar* was victorious in every engagement with *Aretas*, either vanquiſhing him by downright force, or prevailing upon him to betray the *Romans*. In fine, this prince, with *Azarethes* the *Perſian* general, defeated the renowned *Beliſarius*, and ſcattered terror where-ever he came. The diſpute he had with *Aretas*, who pleaded the cauſe of the *Romans*, about a territory called *Strata*, our readers will find related in *Procopius*. But as the rapid conqueſts of the *Saracens*, and the principal tranſactions they were concerned in, happened after

the death of *Mohammed*, we shall reserve what we have to say of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern history of *Arabia* [k].

Arabia famous for heresies after the introduction of Christianity.

ARABIA *famous for heresies after the introduction of Christianity.* THAT *Arabia*, after the introduction of Christianity, was famous for heresies, has been already observed. The *Hamyarites* were infected with the *Arian* heresy, in the reign of the emperor *Constantius*, as we learn from *Theophilus Indus* in *Philostorgius*. Some Christians of this nation believed, that the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day. These *Origen* is said to have convinced. The heresies of *Ebion*, *Beryllus*, the *Nazaræans*, and *Collyridians*, were also broached, or at least propagated, among the *Arabs*. The *Collyridians* were so denominated from a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, which they offered to the virgin *Mary*, whom they worshiped as GOD. Other sects likewise there were within the borders of *Arabia*, who took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; several of whose notions *Mohammed* incorporated with his religion, as will hereafter be shewn [l].

Many Jews converted by a miracle to Christianity.

THE *Jews*, though an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in *Arabia*, whither they fled from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as well as the great havock made amongst them by the emperor *Hadrian*, and brought over several tribes to their religion. The *Jews* of *Hamyar*, we are told, not far from the time of *Dhu Nowâs* above-mentioned, challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* three days, before the king and his nobility, and the people. The disputants were *Gregentius*, bishop of *Tephra*, or *Dhafâr*, for the Christians, and *Herbanus* for the *Jews*. On the third day, *Herbanus*, to end the dispute, demanded, that *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshipers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe on him; the *Jews* crying out, with one voice, *Shew us your* Christ, *alas! and we will become Christians*. Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, *Jesus Christ* appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem

[k] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xiv, xxv, & xxix. SOCRAT. p. 357—360. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. PROCOP. de bell. Pers. lib. i. p. 49, 50, 51—54, 55—88. See vol. xvi. p. 178, 257, 355, 519, 530, 570.

[l] SULPIT. SEVER. in hist. sacr. p. 112, &c. SOZOM. hist. eccles. lib. i. c. 16, 17. EUSEB. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 33, & 37. EPIPHAN. de hæres. lib. i. hæres. 40. ut & lib. iii. hæres. 75, 79. THEOPH. INDUS apud Philostorgium, lib. iii. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 34, 35.

on

on his head; and ſpake theſe words over the heads of the aſſembly: *Behold, I appear to you in your ſight, I, who was crucified by your fathers.* After which the cloud received him from their ſight. The Chriſtians hereupon cried out, *Lord, have mercy upon us!* but the *Jews* were ſtricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized [m].

DHU NOWAS, as has been obſerved, was a *Jew*, and perſecuted all, the Chriſtians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty Chriſtians in the city of *Najrân* only. Not content with this, he ſent an embaſſy to *Al Mondar*, king of *Hira*, offering him large ſums of money, if he would perſecute the Chriſtians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of *Alexandria* preſſing *Eleſbaas* (E) the *Najaſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge ſuch inhuman cruelty, that prince croſſed the ſtreights of *Bab-al-Mandab*, with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three ſail, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he made a deſcent in *Yaman*. With theſe forces he overthrew *Dhu Nowâs*, ſeized upon his kingdom, and made St. *Aretas*'s ſon governor of *Najrân*. The *Abaſſines* kept poſſeſſion of this kingdom, till they were driven out by *Seif* the ſon of *Dhu Yazan*, of the tribe of *Hamyar*, who was, however, himſelf

Conclusion of the hiſtory of the antient Arabs.

[m] GREGENTIUS in diſput. cum Herban. Judæ. & SALE ubi ſup. p. 22, 23.

(E) According to ſome of the *Syriac* writers, *Eleſbaas*, or *Eleſbaan*, whom they call *Aidog*, king of *Ethiopia*, undertook an expedition againſt one *Dimion*, king of the *Hamyarites*, for maſſacring ſome Chriſtian merchants, that were *Romans*, in their paſſage through *Yaman* into *Ethiopia*. The king of *Hamyar*, we are told, maſſacred thoſe merchants, in revenge of the cruelties exerciſed on the *Jews*, of whoſe communion, it ſeems, he was a member, in the dominions of the *Roman* emperor. The aforeſaid writers add, that *Eleſbaas* did not undertake this expedition out of a religious motive, but to revenge the injury his ſubjects might ſuſtain in point of trade on this occaſion. Before the *Arab* and *Ethiopian* armies engaged, *Eleſbaas*, according to the ſame authors, vowed ſolemnly to embrace the Chriſtian religion, in caſe he was victorious. The armies then joining battle, *Dimion* was vanquiſhed and ſlain, and *Eleſbaas*, or *Aidog*, profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian, and placed a Chriſtian prince on the throne of *Hamyar*. Upon the death of this king, the *Jews*, who were ſtill very numerous there, found means to fix *Dhu Nowâs* upon that throne, who, at their inſtigation, proved a bitter enemy to the Chriſtians. The particulars of his cruel behaviour towards them are ſet forth at large by *Metaphraſtes*, *Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis*, and other authors of good repute already mentioned (5).

(5) *Simeon Beth-Arſamenſ. epiſcop. & Joan. Aſiæ epiſc. apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Orient. vol. i. p.* 359—385. *ut & ipſe Aſſeman. ibid.*

ſlain by ſome of them that had been left behind. The war of *the elephant* we have already given our readers an account of; and therefore ſhall conclude our hiſtory of the antient *Arabs*, or *the time of ignorance*, as it is called hy the *Mohammedans*, with the following obſervations: *Abd al Motalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, was prince or chief of the *Koreiſh* at the time the foregoing war happened: *Mohammed* himſelf was born the very year the *Abaſſines* were overthrown in their expedition to *Mecca:* on this year, *A. D.* 578. commenced the æra of *the elephant*, from which the *Arabs* computed their time for twenty years; and another, called the æra of *the unjuſt war* (F), followed this, which was finally ſucceeded by that of the *Hejra* [n] (G).

[n] Abulfed. hiſt. gen. Al-Gjuzius in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. cap. 78. Al Zamakhshar. Al Beidawi, Jallal. D'Herbelot. bibl. Orient. art. Abrahah. Prid. life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. Al Kodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 172, 173. Sim. Metaphrastes in vit. S. Aret. & Socior. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943. Al. Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Al Sharestan. Job. Ludol. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliiq; auctor. ſupra laudat.

(F) This was called the *unjuſt* and *impious war*, becauſe the principal actions of it happened betwixt the *Kais Ailan* and the *Koreiſh*, two powerful *Arabian* tribes, in the ſacred months above-mentioned. Theſe ſacred months were *Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dulkaada*, and *Dulhaga*. In them all acts of hoſtility amongſt the jarring tribes, how violent ſoever their reſentment might be, intirely ceaſed. They then laid aſide all weapons of war, and converſed together in the moſt friendly manner. Nay, if an *Arab* met with the perſon that had killed his father or brother, he could not offer any violence to him. The *Hejra* did not take place, till it was agreed upon in the khalifate of *Omar*, that the *Arabs* ſhould ſuppute their time from thence (6).

(G) Several remarkable events ſupplied the *Arabs* with epochs before the *Hejra*, to wit, the invaſion and reduction of *Yaman* by the *Abaſſines*; the expulſion of the *Amalekites*, by the family of *Jorham*, from the territory of *Mecca*; the battle of *Ebn Wayel*; the wars called *Al Baſus* and *Dabes*; the inundation of *Al Arem*; the fire *Derar*, which appeared in a ſtony diſtrict of the kingdom of *Yaman*, &c. The people of *Yaman*, however, for the moſt part, ſupputed their time according to the reigns of their kings (7).

(6) *Golii not. ad Alfragan. p.* 54. *Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Al Shareſtan. Al Kodaius, & Pocock. ubi ſupra, p* 173, 174. (7) *Al Kodaius apud Pocock. ubi ſupra, p.* 172, 173, 174. *ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. Vide & Ludolf. ubi ſup.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Hiſtory of the Empires of Nice *and* Trapezond, *from their Foundation, the former by* Theodore Laſcaris, *and the latter by the* Comneni, *to their final Abolition, the one by* Michael Palæologus, *the other by* Mohammed the Great.

THESE are the two laſt empires we have left to mention on the other ſide the *Mediterranean*, and before we repaſs into *Europe*. We have given them the laſt place, and have joined them in the ſame chapter, as they were of the moderneſt date, ſmalleſt extent, and ſhorteſt duration, of any of thoſe we have had occaſion to ſpeak of, either in *Aſia* or *Africa*, that are now extinct; and as they were both diſmembered from the *Greek* empire about the ſame time, that is, ſoon after the taking of its great metropolis by the *Latins*, mentioned in a former volume [a]. That of *Nice* was founded by *Theodore Laſcaris*, and that of *Trapezond* by *David* and *Alexius Comnenus*, whilſt *Baldwin* reigned at *Conſtantinople*. As for the *Vandals*, and their kingdom in *Africa*, it made ſo ſmall and ſhort a figure, and we know ſo little of its extent, and other particulars, that it is not worth while making a ſeparate article of it, and will be beſt referred to a ſubſequent volume and chapter. *See hereafter, book* iv. *chap.* 28. *ſect.* 3. A. C. 1204.

The Empire and Emperors of Nice.

1. THEODORE LASCARIS, ſon-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having happily eſcaped out of *Conſtantinople*, and fled into *Bithynia*, was there received with ſuch demonſtrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, from the *Mæander* to the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*. Theſe he erected into an empire, and fixed his imperial reſidence in the famous city of *Nice*, from which this new empire took its name [b]. It was not long, however, before he ſaw himſelf invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law, and *Jathatines* ſultan of *Iconium*, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his aſſiſtance againſt the new emperor. They marched accordingly againſt him, with an army of twenty thouſand men, and laid ſiege to the city of *Antioch*, on the *Mæander*, the then boundary of this new empire on that ſide. *Laſcaris*, though he could then muſter but two thouſand men, was yet Theodore Laſcaris *founds the empire of* Nice.

[a] See vol. xvii. p. 172, & ſeq.

[b] NICET. in Bald. c. 1, & ſeq.

forced

Defeats Angelus, *and the* Turks.

forced to march to the relief of that place, leſt its falling into their hands ſhould open them a way to the heart of his dominions. They were ſurpriſed to find him come ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch an handful of men, againſt them; but ſuch was his valour, and that of his troops, eſpecially of eight hundred of his *Italians*, that he gave the enemy a ſignal overthrow. But his *Greeks* being ſomewhat intimidated at the ſight of the ſuperior enemy, the ſultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the onſet, fell ſuddenly upon them; and, having ſingled *Laſcaris* out, threw him off his horſe at the firſt blow. *Laſcaris* ſoon recovered himſelf, unhorſed his competitor, ſtruck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into ſuch a panic, that they betook themſelves to flight. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken priſoner, and carried in triumph to *Nice*, where he ended his days in a monaſtery, where *Laſcaris* had confined him. The *Turks* were ſoon after glad to accept of ſuch a peace as he was pleaſed to grant to them; and another being concluded between him and *Henry* the brother and ſucceſſor of *Baldwin*, he was then at full leiſure to ſecure his new-founded empire to himſelf and ſucceſſors, which he did with vaſt ſucceſs and bravery, both againſt the *Turks* and *Latins*, during the ſpace of eighteen years [c].

His death and ſucceſſor.

AT his death he left only a ſon, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldeſt of whom, named *Irene*, he had married to the brave *John Ducas*, ſurnamed *Vataces*, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy, tho' he had two brothers; to wit, *Alexius* and *Angelus*, whom it might be expected he would have entruſted with the care of his ſon and empire: but he ſeems to have been more intent on ſtrengthening and inlarging the latter, than to ſecure it to his neareſt kindred; and accordingly named his ſon-in-law his ſucceſſor, as the moſt capable of anſwering his deſign: and ſuch he really proved.

John Ducas *crowned emperor.* A. C. 1222.

2. JOHN DUCAS was accordingly crowned at *Nice* by *Manuel* the great patriarch, and proved no leſs brave and ſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. We have formerly had occaſion to mention his great ſucceſs againſt the *Turks*, and eſpecially the *Latins*, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles, and from whom he took a conſiderable number of places, which we ſhall forbear repeating here [d]. He died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the ſixty-ſecond of his age, after having extended his conqueſts, not only in *Aſia*, but in *Europe*, and even almoſt to the gates of *Conſtantinople*; and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

[c] NICET. in Bald. c. 11. ad fin. See vol. xvii. p. 173, & ſeq.
[d] Ibid. p. 175, & ſeq. Vide & GEOR. ACROP. lib. i. c. 2.

3. THEO-

3. THEODORE LASCARIS, who, during his ſhort reign, was likewiſe very ſucceſsful againſt the *Bulgarians*, and the deſpot of *Epirus*, as we have formerly ſeen [c]. One great overſight this prince was guilty of, was, the recalling the traitor *Michael Palæologus*, who was gone from him over to the *Turks*, and reſtoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his ſon of the empire, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. *Theodore* died in the third year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Theodore Laſcaris *crowned.* A. C. 1225.

4. JOHN LASCARIS, then about nine years of age; for which reaſon his father committed him, and the care of the empire, to *Arſenius* the then patriarch of *Nice*, and to the famed *Muzalo*, a perſon indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deſervedly raiſed to the higheſt poſts in the empire. For this, *Muzalo* incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithſtanding the ſolemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, ruſhed with their ſwords drawn upon that brave miniſter, on the very day and place where the funeral obſequies of the deceaſed monarch were performed; and, in the midſt of the divine ſervice, diſpatched him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for ſanctuary. It is not improbable, that the treacherous *Palæologus* had the greateſt hand in the contriving and conducting of this aſſaſſination, as it was the moſt likely means to open him the way to the ſeizing on the imperial dignity, which he never muſt have ſo much as aimed at, whilſt the young prince was under the care of ſo brave and worthy a guardian. However that be, *Muzalo* was no ſooner diſpatched out of his way, but the traitor cauſed himſelf to be choſen to ſucceed him in the guardianſhip of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the leaſt notice or regard to the patriarch, who, tho' no conſummate ſtateſman, was yet a perſon of ſingular learning and merit. John Laſcaris *crowned.* A. C. 1258. Muzalo *aſſaſſinated.* Palæologus *choſen protector.*

HIS new dignity was ſoon after ſignalized with a complete overthrow, which his brother *John* gave to the deſpot of *Epirus*, who had then invaded the provinces of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The news of this action no ſooner reached *Magneſia*, the place where the new protector then reſided, but he was ſaluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace. For this the worthy patriarch threatened to excommunicate him, and all his adherents; and *Palæologus* found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himſelf under a ſolemn oath to reſign the empire to the young prince, as ſoon as he came to be of age. This having for the preſent ſatisfied the too credulous prelate, he was eaſily perſuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no further con- *His treachery and treaſon.* A. C. 1259.

[c] NICET. in Bald. c. 12, & ſeq. See before, ibid. p. 178, & ſeq.

cerned

cerned with any particulars of that uſurper's reign, than as they relate to the *Nicean* empire, to which he now put an end, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid of them in a former volume[f]; and only add here, that, having ſoon after, that is, in the ſecond year of his reign, taken *Conſtantinople* from the *Latins*, he removed the ſeat of the empire from *Nice* to that antient metropolis, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned afreſh emperor of the Eaſt. The unfortunate young prince fell a ſacrifice to that tyrant's ambition, who cauſed, not long after, his eyes to be put out, and himſelf to be proclaimed the ſole lawful and rightful poſſeſſor of the empire[g]. *Arſenius*, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication againſt him, and all his adherents. But neither this, nor the great oppoſition which he met with from abroad, could wreſt the empire from him, tho' it proved a very troubleſome and thorny one, as we have elſewhere ſhewn[h]. This was the end of the *Nicean* empire, about fifty-ſeven years after its foundation. As for *Nice*, the metropolis of it, though it was in a great meaſure diveſted of its grandeur by the removal of the court to *Conſtantinople*, yet it continued to be ſo conſiderable a city, that it paſſed more than once from the *Greeks* to the *Turks*, and back again, till it was at length taken by *Orchanes* in the manner as has been heretofore related.

A. C. 1261.

The Empire of Trapezond.

The foundation of the empire of Trapezond.

THIS monarchy, which was founded, as we lately hinted, much about the ſame time with that of *Nice*, laſted much longer, and made a much more conſiderable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of *Trapezond* or *Trapezus*, which was now made the imperial ſeat of the *Comneni*, and metropolis of this their new empire (A). *David* and *Alexius*

A. C. 1204.

[f] See before, ibid. p. 179—181. [g] Ibid. p. 183, & ſeq. ex PACHYM. lib. i. & ii. paſſ. [h] Ubi ſupra.

(A) *Trapezus*, or *Trapezond*, called alſo *Trebizond*, and by the *Turks Tarabozan*, was a *Greek* city in *Pontus*, founded by the antient *Sinopians*, and tributary to them, as we learn from *Xenophon*, who marched by it in his famous retreat, ſpoken of in a former volume (1). It is ſituate on the foot of an hill, which makes a kind of peninſula, on the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*, where it begins to turn towards the eaſt. Its port was once large and convenient, and the city itſelf well peopled, and ſurrounded with ſteep mountains (2). It was incompaſſed with a double wall of an oblong ſquare form, from which it had the name of *Trapezus*, which ſig-

(1) *See vol.* vii. *p.* 486. (2) *Stephan. de urb. Baudran. & al. in voc.*

Alexius Comneni (B), grandsons to the tyrant *Andronicus*, who had been lately put to such a cruel, yet deserved death, by *Isaac*

nifies a table. But it suffered greatly in the wars between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*, as likewise from the *Scythian Tartars*, who surprised and took it at a time when the wealthiest persons had refuged themselves in it with their most considerable effects. The *Comneni*, having made it afterwards the metropolis of their new empire, raised it to its pristine glory and strength, which the *Romans* had formerly given it; but the *Turks*, being become masters of it, have suffered it to go to decay.

The city is spacious, and of an oblong square form; the walls of it are high and stout, and adorned with battlements and towers, which, as they do not appear to be very antient, are rightly supposed to have been reared by the *Comneni*, on the foundation, and with the ruins, of the old ones. As to the inside of the city, it is but ill built, and worse peopled, whatever it may have been before it fell into the hands of the *Turks*; and the copses and gardens that are now in it, take up a much larger room than the houses; and these are mostly low and mean, except where they are built or faced with some of the noble fragments of the old buildings (3).

The citadel lies no less neglected, tho' large, and strongly situate on an high mountain, flat on the top, and surrounded with large ditches cut into the solid rock. There is, moreover, a beautiful inscription, in *Greek* capitals, over the gate of that fortress, which is cut on a stone, cased into the wall, importing, that *Justinian* caused this city to be rebuilt and fortified; though this last particular be not taken notice of among the other works which *Procopius* hath carefully recorded of that emperor; but he mentions a noble aqueduct, which he caused to be made to supply the city with water, and gave it the name of *St. Eugene the Martyr*. But this, as well as most of that emperor's works, were either destroyed by the *Turks*, or suffered to go to ruin; and this once noble citadel is in a likely way to follow them.

It was formerly of such consideration, that the emperors of *Constantinople* always kept a deputy there; and, since its being brought under the *Turks*, it is become the residence of a begler-beigh. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had taken it, the *Romans* restored it, as they did most of the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, to its former privileges and liberty, as hath been formerly shewn.

(B) The family of the *Comneni* was very antient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in the author quoted below (4); but it became much more so after its having been honoured with the imperial diadem, in the person of *Isaac Comnenus*, who was raised to that dignity against *Michael Stratonicus*, by the officers of the army, as we have formerly seen (5). *Andronicus*, the grandfather of these *Comneni*, was of that fa-

(3) *Baudran. Tournefort. La Martiniere, & al.* (4) *Du Fresne hist. Byzant. de familiis Comnenor. p.* 100, *& seq. Sienm.* 28. 620, *e.* 622, *e, f.* (5) *See before, vol.* xvii. *p.* 172, *& seq.*

mily,

Isaac Angelus, as we have formerly seen [i], were the first founders of it. These, having the good fortune to escape out of *Constantinople* together, came and seized on the more eastern parts of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and erected them into an empire; and *Trapezond* being then the strongest and most considerable city in their dominions, they made it the seat of their residence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear, that they immediately took upon them the imperial title; much less, that they were soon acknowleged as such [k]. On the contrary, *Vincent de Beauvais* stiles them only lords of *Trapezond*; but it is plain, that they soon arrived at a considerable height of power and interest, since the emperor *Baldwin*, about thirty-four years after their settling at *Trapezond*, sought their alliance and friendship, and was by them assisted in some considerable enterprizes against *Vataces* emperor of *Nice*, who had invaded some of his dominions, as we hinted under the last article, and elsewhere [l]. However, it is not improbable, that neither these of *Trapezond*, nor those of *Nice*, took upon them the title of emperors till some time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as some conjecture [m], not till the usurper *Michael Palæologus* had seized on that of *Nice*, and got himself crowned emperor at *Constantinople*; at which time the *Comneni*, either in contempt to him, or because they could not brook an inferior title to his, did likewise assume the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain, that, after they had once assumed it, their successors maintained it with great success and bravery; and caused themselves to be acknowleged as such by foreign powers, as long as their empire lasted, that is, till it was subdued, and put an end to, by *Mohammed the Great*, who, like an irresistible inundation, drove all before him, as we shall see at the conclusion of this chapter.

A. C. 1239.

It is not easy to guess from the *Byzantine* historians, how far they enlarged the limits of this new empire; nor what

[i] Vol. xvii. p. 161, & seq. [k] Ibid. p. 172, & seq. [l] Ibid. & Acrop. in Vatac. c. 12, & seq. [m] Crusius annotat. in lib. i. Turco-Græc. p. 60, & seq. Baudrand. sub voce *Trapez.* Du Fresne hist. Byzant. p. 166, & seq.

mily, and uncle to *Alexius Comnenus* then upon the throne, but no more than twelve years of age: against him he raised a revolt, in which he caused himself and young *Alexius* to be saluted as copartners, and took him as his collegue to the empire; but soon after caused him to be murdered; for which, and his other tyrannies and cruelties, he was put to a most shameful and dreadful death (6).

(6) *See vol.* xvii. *p.* 162, *& seq.*

number

number of cities they poſſeſſed in the three provinces above-mentioned. It is more likely they were in a kind of fluctuation during their wars with the emperors of *Conſtantinople*; ſo that we ſhall have no farther need to dwell on the topography of it; thoſe provinces, and their chief cities, having been already deſcribed in the courſe of this hiſtory; and its capital, in the foregoing note; to which we ſhall only add an account of its port. It is called *Platana*, and lies eaſt of the city. *Arrian* informs us, that the emperor *Adrian* cauſed it to be repaired; and it appears from ſome antient medals of this city, particularly two mentioned by *Goltzius*, that its port was very much frequented, and carried on a conſiderable traffick; for till that emperor repaired and altered the entrance of it, the ſhips could not come into it, but at ſome certain ſeaſons of the year; but it then became fit to receive and ſhelter a great number of them, and of the largeſt ſize. The *Genoeſe*, who had it once in their poſſeſſion, are ſaid to have improved it with a large mole; but which the *Turks* have ſince ſuffered to go to ruin, they being naturally negligent of ſuch works, and ſeldom minding to keep them in repair; ſo that, at preſent, the port is only fit to receive ſaics, and ſuch other inferior veſſels; and what is ſtill left of it, ſeems to be the old remains of what *Adrian* had formerly done.

The port of Trapezond deſcribed.

Ran to decay.

THE country about *Trapezond* is fertile in variety of plants and fruit-trees, corn, and other products common to all thoſe provinces along the *Euxine*; but is moſt remarkable for the intoxicating and purgative quality of its honey, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak upon another occaſion [n]. *Ariſtotle* makes mention of it, and ſays, it is chiefly gathered off the box-trees that grow on that plain; and that it is almoſt an infallible remedy againſt epilepſies; but adds, that if a perſon in health ventures to eat of it, it bereaves him of his ſenſes [o], as we find it did *Xenophon*'s army for ſome ſhort time. And as this is juſtly eſteemed a ſingular rarity in nature, which the judicious Mr. *Tournefort* attributes to the quality of the flowers peculiar to this territory; ſo this country affords a no leſs remarkable one in art, if we may call by that name a ſtructure which is reared, in ſome meaſure, without any. We mean the famed convent of St. *John*, ſituate in the heart of a large wood, about 25 miles ſouth of *Trapezond*, and ſurrounded with the greateſt variety of trees, moſt of them of a monſtrous ſize and height.

Wonderful effects of its honey.

THIS wonderful edifice, which is all of wood, is built on a very ſteep and craggy rock, and inhabited by monks, who are wholly taken up with their temporal as well as ſpiritual con-

A ſtrange rude monaſtery deſcribed.

[n] Vol. vii. p. 485, & (G).

[o] De mirab. orb. See STEPH. de urb. ſub voce *Trapezus*, & alibi. PAUSAN. in Arcad. & alibi.

cerns,

cerns, and have neither books, learning, politeneſs, nor even ſo much as a kitchen. The aſcent up to it is by a flight of ſteps, if a couple of monſtrous fir-trees (reared up oppoſite to each other againſt the ſteep rock, like the two ſides of a ladder, and ſo coarſly notched with an hatchet, that the experteſt rope-dancer could not go up and down it without danger of breaking his neck) can deſerve that name. However, to prevent accidents of that nature, the cunning architect hath wiſely reared ſome poſts on each ſide for the climbers to take hold by, without which it would be impoſſible to reach half-way up to the top, much more to come down it, without being giddy; the two trees being as high as the maſt of a large ſhip. It is hardly poſſible for the firſt men, had they been even the *mutum & turpe pecus* that *Horace* makes them, to have contrived a more rude and ſimple ſtair-caſe. The reſt of the building is all after the ſame primitive ſtile, and all the avenues to it give the moſt lively idea of the infancy of nature, tho' variegated with the moſt delightful proſpects of ſmall landſkips, rivulets flowing from a great number of clear ſprings, and ſtored with delicious fiſh, and at a diſtance with ſtately woods, which ſhelter it from bad weather, and worſe neighbours, and capable of raiſing and delighting the moſt contemplative minds; but the good monks here, who are about forty in number, are of too coarſe a ſtamp to improve it to ſuch advantages, and only uſe their apartments, as ſo many cells or dens, where they retreat and ſecure themſelves from the inſults of the *Turks*, that they may attend their devotions with greater eaſe and ſafety.

Its income. THEY are nevertheleſs wealthy, being maſters of all the territory round them for above ſix miles, and having ſome conſiderable farms on the adjacent mountains, and even ſome houſes in *Trapezond*. The misfortune is, that the tyranny of the *Turkiſh* government ſuffers them to reap but little comfort or advantage from either, inſomuch that they dare not build themſelves a church, or a better monaſtery, leſt the *Turks* ſhould demand or ſeize on the money that was deſigned for that uſe, as ſoon as either work was begun. On which account they chooſe to live a kind of eremetic life, little ſhort of a wild or ſavage one, in that rude and almoſt inacceſſible retreat.

Other curioſities. THERE are ſeveral antient ruins in the neighbourhood of *Trapezond*, which ſtill preſerve ſo much of their priſtine grandeur, as to make one regret the dreadful havock which the *Turks* have made among them, particularly ſome once ſtately churches; part of which are now turned into moſques, and the reſt gone to ruin. As to the city of *Trapezond*, it ſtill retains the title of archbiſhoprick, though a very poor one, and is the reſidence of a beglerbeigh. It ſtands on the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea, eighteen miles north-eaſt of *Tocat*, and about forty ſouth-weſt

weſt of *Rizza*, in latitude forty-one deg. five min. and eaſt longitude thirty-nine deg. twenty-two min.

THE *Trapezuntines* were of the *Greek* church; and after the foundation of this new empire, had a patriarch of their own, but whether choſen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be darkly gueſſed at. After their becoming ſubject to the *Turks*, the latter ſtill choſe their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the ſultan. This was done every-where, it ſeems, throughout the *Turkiſh* conqueſts, in the ſame manner as it was practiſed under the Chriſtian emperors; that is, without paying any fine to the treaſury. The clergy of *Trapezond* were the firſt who cauſed this dignity to be ſaddled with one of a thouſand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to thoſe of their other conqueſts. The occaſion of it being ſomewhat remarkable, we ſhall give it our reader in the note (C). As for other particulars of their religion, laws,

Their religion, patriarchs, &c.

(C) The *Trapezuntines* were at that time under a patriarch named *Mark*, who was ſo ill beloved by his clergy, and by the nobles and people, that they agreed upon depriving him of his dignity, and to nominate to it one *Simeon*, a countryman of theirs, then a monk or canon at the great church of *Conſtantinople*, a perſon of merit on ſeveral accounts, but eſpecially for his extraordinary hoſpitality. To compaſs their deſign, they fell upon the following ſtrange expedient: they accuſed *Mark* of having introduced a new kind of ſimony, till then unheard of among them; that is, to have agreed to pay one thouſand ducats into the ſultan's treaſury, as ſoon as he was confirmed in his dignity. The innocent patriarch in vain endeavoured to wipe off the foul accuſation by the moſt ſolemn oaths; his enemies had bribed ſo many conſiderable perſons, ſome of them eccleſiaſtics, to ſwear it againſt him, that he was adjudged guilty, and not only *ipſo facto* deprived of his dignity, but alſo puniſhed with excommunication and baniſhment. This being done, they took one thouſand ducats, and went with them to the ſultan, and told him, that ſince *Mark*, a perſon odious to the clergy and laity, had promiſed him that ſum upon his elevation to the patriarchate, they would now pay it to his highneſs, provided they might be permitted to raiſe their favourite monk to it.

The ſultan, who knew nothing of ſuch a promiſe, could not at firſt forbear ſmiling at the propoſal, and heſitated ſome time whether he ſhould accept of it: at length conſidering, that this would ſerve for a good precedent to oblige the future candidates to that dignity, to the payment of the like ſum, owned to them, that *Mark* had indeed promiſed it to him: But, continued he, taking the money at the ſame time, ſince he is ſo obnoxious to you, e'en turn him out, and appoint whom you will in his place. Which was done accordingly (7).

(7) *Du Freſne hiſt. Byzant. ſtemm.* 28. *p.* 169.

customs, &c. there is the less necessity to dwell longer on them, considering that these two empires were only dismembred from the grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change of government, or rather governors. As for *Trade.* their trade, considering the excellent situation of their metropolis, and of some other of their cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the *Pontic* history [o], we need not doubt but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by *Tournefort* [p], as well as the coins mentioned by *Du Fresne* [q], leave us no room to doubt of the trade and opulence, both of their empire, and its metropolis, tho', since their falling into the hands of the *Turks*, they have fared like all the rest of their conquests, and greatly failed of their antient commerce and splendor. It only remains, that we give an account of the *Trapezuntine* monarchs, from *Alexius* their founder to *David* their last emperor, and of their different wars, by which they maintained themselves in their high dignity against so many powerful enemies, such as were some time the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, especially those of the new *Nicean* empire, and at other times the *Turks*, *Saracens*, *Persians*, &c. These would doubtless make a considerable figure in this history, had they been transmitted to us in an uninterrupted series; but the misfortune is, that the *Byzantine* historians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occasionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the *Constantinopolitan* empire; so that we must be content with the series of those eleven emperors, and with such few particulars as we find recorded of them. We shall only add, that the duration of the *Trapezuntine* empire was about two hundred and fifty-seven, or two hundred and fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Christ 1204. and subdued *an.* 1461. or 1462.

Emperors of Trapezond.

Alexius the Great. 1. ALEXIUS COMNENUS, surnamed *the Great*, and his brother *David*, were the sons of *Manuel*, and grandsons of the tyrant *Andronicus Comnenus*. We have already spoken of the usurpation and tyranny, as well as the dismal end, of the latter. As for *Manuel*, he was the eldest son of *Andronicus*; but was so unlike his father in his vices, that he was disinherited and imprisoned by him (D), and his next brother

[o] Vol. ix. p. 533, 534. [p] Voyages au Levant. [q] Hist. Byzant. stemm. 28. p. 168.

(D) Among other things, by which *Manuel* disobliged his father, one was, that he constantly refused to marry *Agnes*, the daughter

ther *John* was appointed his ſucceſſor; but, when he found the whole populace exaſperated at it, he then tried in vain to appeaſe them, by pretending, that he always deſigned the empire for *Manuel*, and promiſing to name him to it. Upon the death of *Andronicus*, and the reſtoration of *Iſaac Angelus*, or rather, ſoon after the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, *Manuel*'s two ſons, *Alexius*, and his brother *David*, fled into *Pontus*, ſeized on *Heraclea*, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of that whole province, together with *Paphlagonia*, *Colchis*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, with ſome others of leſs note; and *Alexius* fixed his imperial ſeat at *Trapezond* [r]. He ſoon after made an alliance with *Baldwin* emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and aſſiſted him againſt *Theodore Laſcaris*, as we have already hinted. It doth not, however, appear, that he then took the imperial title, moſt authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandſon, or great grandſon, that firſt aſſumed it [s]; and that he contented himſelf with that of duke or lord of *Trapezond*, as he is called by an antient author, who mentions him on account of his having obliged himſelf to furniſh the ſultan of *Iconium* with two hundred lances [t]. He was ſucceeded by,

Founds the Trapezuntine empire.

His ſucceſſors.

2. —— COMNENUS; and he by,

3. —— COMNENUS (E); of whoſe name and father we know nothing, but what was hinted in the laſt note.

[r] NICETAS in Baldwin. ACROP. c. 7. AITHON. c. 13. [s] Vid. CRUS. ubi ſupra. DU FRESNE ſub Alex. Mag. [t] VINCENT. BELLOVAC. ſub ann. 1240.

daughter of *Philip* king of the *Franks*, and wife of *Alexius* the depoſed emperor of *Conſtantinople*, though his father earneſtly preſſed him to it, and promiſed him, upon his complying, to make him partner in the empire. His refuſal, which, our author ſays (8), he excuſed on account of ſuch a marriage being contrary to the eccleſiaſtical laws, ſo incenſed the tyrant, that at laſt he caſt him into a priſon, and appointed his next ſon to ſucceed him (9).

(E) We have nothing recorded concerning theſe two, not even their names; only we are told, that *John*, the next in order, was the grandſon, according to ſome, or the great grandſon (1), according to others, of the great *Alexius*. Among theſe the famed *Ogerius*, protonotary of *Michael Palæologus*, who wrote about the year 1279. calls the then reigning emperor, that is, the *John* we are now ſpeaking of, the great-grandſon of *Alexius the Great*; ſo that, according to his account (2), there muſt have been two princes between theſe two laſt-named (3).

(8) *Cruſius Turco-Græc. p.* 124, *& ſeq.* (9) *Nicet. in Andronic. lib.* ii. *n.* 8. *& ſeq. in Alex. Magn. n.* 4. *& in Iſaac. l.* i. *n.* 1. (1) *Gregoras, lib.* v. (2) *Oger. apud du Freſne.* (3) *Vide Du Freſne ſub Alex. Comn. p.* 192.

John, *the first who is stiled emperor.*

4. JOHN COMNENUS; the first, as is generally supposed that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted, a little higher, the probable reason of his assuming it; to wit, out of emulation against *Michael Palæologus*. To this we may add what a cotemporary author, who was protonotary to the said *Palæologus*, says [u]; to wit, that *John* rather suffered himself to be complimented with it by the *Greeks*, out of spite and contempt to that usurper; who, by his submission to the pope, and uniting the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, had rendered himself odious to them. Another, who lived near the same time [w], hints much the same thing, when he says, that the province of *Trapezond* was antiently under the government of dukes, who were sent thither in that quality by the *Constantinopolitan* emperors; that one of those governors, having made himself absolute master there, took upon him the title of king; and that he, who was then on the throne, had assumed that title; neither do we find, that *Michael* made any opposition to it. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, of which we took notice under the last article, rather obliged him to confirm it to him; at least he thought fit to court his friendship and alliance, by offering him his daughter *Eudocia Palæologina* in marriage; which *John* readily accepted of, and went to *Constantinople* to espouse her: and it is probable enough, that his new title was then acknowleged and confirmed to him by his father-in-law. All that we know further of him is, that he was earnestly courted by pope *Nicolas* IV. to engage in the holy war about the year 1291. and that he died about four years after, and left two sons behind by his wife *Eudocia*; to wit, *Alexius* II. who succeeded him, and *John* his younger brother, whom that princess took with her, being then very young, to *Constantinople*, soon after the emperor's death [x].

A. C. 1281. *Alliance with* Michael.

A. C. 1295. *Death.*

Alexius II.

5. ALEXIUS II. was born in 1282 [y]. and left, by his father's last will, under the guardianship of *Andronicus Palæologus* the elder [z]. He married the daughter of an *Iberian* prince, though he had the offer of a much richer wife, which *Andronicus Augustus* had designed for him. He defeated the *Genoese*, and soon after entered into an alliance with them [a]. He was succeeded by his son

A. C. 1303.

Basilius I.

6. BASILIUS I. who was forced to fight his way through to gain his paternal inheritance [b]. He was highly courted by

A. C. 1320.

[u] OGERIUS apud Wadd. Vide DU FRESNE sub Joh. Comnen. [w] AITHON. c. 13. [x] PACHYM. lib. vi. c. 32, & seq. GREGORAS, lib. v. & vi. Bzov. sub ann. 1184. n. 12. WADD. apud Du Fresne sub Joh. Comn. p. 192. [y] PACHYM. lib. ix. c. 27. [z] GREGOR. lib. v. [a] Iidem ibid. Bzov. ubi supra. [b] GREGOR. lib xi.

pope

pope *John* XXII. to go over to the church of *Rome* [c]. His first wife, or, as some think, his second, was *Eudocia*, the natural daughter of *Andronicus Palæologus* the younger [d]. He was succeeded by,

7. BASILIUS II. called also the younger [e], to distinguish him, as is supposed, from his father. He married *Irene Palæologina*, the daughter of *Andronicus* the younger; which shews, that he must be different from the former, who had married *Eudocia*, another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the *Greek* church to marry two sisters. *Irene*, however, was afterwards set aside, to make way for another woman of the same name, with whom the emperor was fallen deeply in love; which so exasperated his queen, that she soon after hatched both their ruins: him she caused to be killed by some private means; and her she sent, with her children, under a guard, to *Constantinople*. She governed the empire for some time, during which she dispatched an embassy to her father, to desire him to send some proper person, to whom she might be lawfully married, and have children by, to succeed to the empire. The matter was no sooner known at *Trapezond*, than an insurrection was made against her; which ended in a civil war, in which *Tzanychita*, a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed [f]. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that *Basil* the emperor died in the year of Christ 1339 [g]. He left children both by his wife, and by his concubine; the latter of which were, as we hinted, sent with their mother to *Constantinople*. He was succeeded by a son of the former,

Basilius II.

Cut off by his wife, 1339.

Her reign raises a revolt.

Basil's death.

8. —— COMNENUS, whose Christian name has not been transmitted to us; and this last by his son *Alexius*.

— Comnenus.

9. ALEXIUS III. (F), and the famed princess *Eudocia Comnena*, seem, by all circumstances of time, place, *&c.* to have been brother and sister, though their father's name is not

Alexius III. *and* Eudocia.

[c] OD. REINALD. sub ann. 1329. n. 95. [d] GREG. lib. xi. Vide DU FRESNE in Basil. I. [e] GREGOR. ibid. [f] Excerpt. ex GREG. apud Du Fresne in Basil. II. p. 193. [g] GREGOR. ibid. VIGNER. in bibl. histor.

(F) Some have imagined this last to have been the son of *Basilius* II. and have struck out the anonymous one, who stands the eighth in the list; but it is scarce credible, that he could be the son of that *Basil*, who died *anno* 1339. whereas *Alexius* was still alive *A. C.* 1428. when he gave *Mary* his daughter to *John* then emperor of *Constantinople* (4).

(4) *Du Fresne sub Alex. Comn. p.* 193.

recorded by any hiſtorian; neither is it eaſy to gueſs at what time the former began to reign. As to his ſiſter, ſhe was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and, after having been married ſome time to a *Turkiſh* nobleman of great diſtinction, and having ſeveral children by him, as ſoon as ſhe was a widow, ſhe was courted and betrothed to *Manuel* the ſon of *John*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who brought her accordingly thither to conſummate his marriage. But here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, fell ſo enamoured with her, that he married her himſelf about the year 1380 [h]. that is, towards the latter-end of his life and reign; at which time this *Alexius* was upon the throne of *Trapezond*. This laſt married, if we may believe *Laonicus* [i], ſome great lady of the *Cantacuzenian* family; who, being already in love with a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, ſaid to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, was reported to carry on a ſhameful intrigue with him. His eldeſt ſon was no ſooner appriſed of it, than he took an opportunity to diſpatch her paramour, and then ſhut her up, with the emperor, in a room, with a deſign to have ſent them both out of the world by the ſame way. He was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to flee into *Spain*. *Alexius* was ſo exaſperated at his ſon, that he diſinherited him, and named *Alexander* his younger ſon to ſucceed him; but *John* found means, by the help of ſome *Spaniards* and *Genoeſe*, to return to *Trapezond*, where he cauſed his father to be privately murdered, and afterwards to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being ſuſpected of having had an hand in his death [k].

Married to the old emperor.

Alexius murdered by his ſon.

John II. 1449. 10. JOHN II. called alſo *Calo-Johannes*, having thus diſpatched his father, mounted the throne; but found it very difficult to keep himſelf upon it: for the *Turks*, by this time grown very powerful, fell upon him on all ſides; ſo that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thouſand ducats to *Amurat*, and afterwards to his ſon *Mohammed* II. to enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of it [l]. At his death, he left only one ſon, named *Alexius*, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive, with the reſt of the family, at the taking of *Trapezond* by *Mohammed* above-mentioned, and a daughter, named *Catharina Comnena*, who was, by her uncle *David*, given to *Aſan Beigh*, vulgarly called *Uſum Cazanes*, in order to prevail upon that monarch to aſſiſt him againſt the

[h] LAONIC. lib. ii. PHRANZ. lib. iii. c. 2. [i] Lib. ix.
[k] Idem ibid. Vide & PHRANZ. lib. ii. c. 1. DUCAS, c. 22, & 45. DU FRESNE ſub Alexandr. p. 194. [l] PHRANZ. lib. ii. c. 1, & ſeq. LAONIC. lib. ix.

continual

continual irruptions which the *Turks* made againſt him [m]. This was, however, done with this condition, that ſhe ſhould not be obliged to change her religion. *John* had theſe two by the daughter of one of the kings of *Spain*, whom he married during his abode there [n]. Some will have her to have been *David*'s own daughter [o], the laſt emperor of *Trapezond*; but without any foundation: for *Laonicus* expreſly calls her the daughter of *John*; and *David* himſelf, in his letter to *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, ſays plainly enough, that ſhe was the daughter of *Calo-Johannes* [p].

II. DAVID COMNENUS, the third brother of *John*, and laſt emperor of *Trapezond*, ſeized on the crown, in wrong of his nephew, the young ſon of *Alexius*. He was a man of a ſavage and cowardly diſpoſition [q]. He had married the princeſs *Irene* of the *Cantacuzene* family, a lady highly celebrated for her greatneſs of ſoul, and conſtancy under adverſities [r]. Againſt *David*, *Mohammed* II. ſurnamed *the Great*, who by that time had made himſelf maſter of *Græcia*, *Raſcia*, and *Servia*, and of the city of *Conſtantinople*, declared war, under pretence, that he had aſſiſted *Uſum Cazanes* king of *Perſia*, and was become tributary to him. *David* had neither courage nor ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe him; ſo that he marched directly to his capital, and laid cloſe ſiege to it by ſea and land. The ſiege had laſted little above a month, when *David*, having in vain implored the aſſiſtance of Chriſtian princes, particularly of *Charles* VII. king of *France*, agreed to deliver up his metropolis, and with it the whole empire, on condition that his and his family's lives ſhould be ſpared, and he permitted to carry with him all his children and treaſures into *Europe*; and that, when there, he ſhould have a ſufficient revenue aſſigned to maintain him and them. *Mohammed* at firſt refuſed theſe offers with great indignation, not doubting to be ſoon maſter of that metropolis; but, a ſecond parley being deſired, he in appearance accepted of them; but, having once got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherouſly cauſed him to be loaded with chains, and to be kept cloſe priſoner. Being now maſter of the city, he ſeized on the emperor's wife (G), daughters, and upon the reſt of his family, with

David, *the laſt emperor.*

Trapezond *taken by* Mohammed.

[m] LEUNCL. in pand. Turc. n. 188. & VIGNER. bibl. hiſtor. in an. 1456. Vid. & CRUIS. not. in Turco-græc. p. 61. [n] Iidem ibid. [o] SPANDUGIN. pius in Aſia, c. 53, & al. ÆNÆÆ SYLV. epiſt. 391. Allat. de conſenſ. utr. eccleſ. [p] LAONIC. ubi ſupra. [q] DOROTH. MONEMB. apud Leon. [r] PHRANZ. lib. iii. SPANDUG. LAONIC.

(G) So ſome authors affirm, and add, that ſhe ſaw, with the utmoſt conſtancy, her huſband, and ſeven of her ſons, cruelly butchered

with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and cauſed them to be ſent in triumph to *Conſtantinople*. Of the reſt of the *Trapezuntines* he choſe as many as he thought fit for his ſervice, and ordered eight hundred promiſing youths to be brought up janiſaries. The handſome females he diſtributed among his captains and favourites, and ſome of the fineſt amongſt his own ſons. He left in the city none but the meaneſt of the people; put a ſtrong gariſon of janiſaries into the caſtle, another of common ſoldiers into the town; and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire ſubmitted to the conqueror in a little while after; ſo that the whole was reduced to his obedience in few months, and he returned triumphant into *Conſtantinople* [s].

The royal family butchered by him. A. C. 1462.

SOON after his arrival thither, he ſent the emperor *David*, and his children, priſoners to *Adrianople*; and, not long after, upon ſome motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour by the wife of *Uſum Cazanes*, he cauſed them to be put to death. He ſtrove to root out, as much as lay in his power, the whole *Comnenian* family; and none of them were ſpared, but *George* the youngeſt ſon of *David*, who turned *Mohammedan*; and one of his ſiſters, who became afterwards *Mohammed*'s concubine [t]. Thus ended the *Trapezuntine* empire, in the year of Chriſt 1462. and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation [u].

[s] PHRANZ. lib. iii. SPANDUG. LAONIC. DOROTH. MONEMB. & alii. Vide & CRUIS. DU FRESNE, & auct. ab eis citat. [t] LAONIC. lib. ix. & x. hiſt. politic. p. 21. RICAUT. Ottoman empire, &c. [u] Iidem ibid.

butchered by the tyrant, becauſe they would not turn *Mohammedans*; and that ſhe herſelf died ſoon after (4). But *Laonicus* affirms, that ſhe found means, before the *Turkiſh* fleet appeared on their coaſts, to make her eſcape to *Mamia* (5); but what that author means by that word, whether ſome place of ſafety, or ſome relation or friend, is not poſſible to gueſs. Another author affirms *David* to have been killed by a blow which *Mohammed* gave him with his doubled fiſt (6).

(4) *Doroth. Menemb. Spandugin. Phranz. & al.* (5) *Lib.* ix. (6) *Phranz. lib.* iii. *c.* 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The antient State and History of Spain, *to the Expulsion of the* Carthaginians *by the* Romans, *and briefly continued to the Descent of the Northern Nations, and the uniting of its several kingdoms under* Ferdinand *and* Isabella.

SECT. I.

Description of Spain.

Limits and extent of Spain.

AS the only land contiguous to *Spain* was *Gaul*, from whence it was separated on the north by the *Pyrenees*, we may consider it as a peninsula. On the other sides, we find it surrounded by the *Mediterranean*, the *Sinus Gaditanus*, or bay of *Gadez*; the *Fretum Herculeum*, or streights of *Gibraltar*; the western ocean; and sea of *Cantabria*. It must have extended, from east to west, near thirteen degrees; since *Lisbon* is 9° 30′ west of *London*, and cape *de Bauger* in *Catalonia* 3° 15′ east of that city: and from north to south about nine degrees forty minutes; since cape *de Ortegal*, the northern extremity of modern *Spain*, is in 44° 10′ north latitude, and the southermost point of *Tariffa* in 35° 50′ north latitude. According to this determination, antient *Spain*, including *Lusitania* or *Portugal*, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of antient and modern *Spain* are the same, they may be looked upon as intirely the same region. Some modern geographers have assigned this kingdom too large an extent, as our readers will find by consulting them [a].

Names of Spain.

THE generality of the *Greek* writers call *Spain* Ἰβηρία *Iberia*, either from a colony of *Iberians*, a people bordering upon mount *Caucasus*, planted there; or from the *Iberus*, the *Ebro* of the moderns, one of the most noted rivers of this country. However, the antients, who lived before *Polybius*, by *Iberia* understood only that part of *Spain* extending from the *Pyrenees* to *Calpe*, or the streights of *Gibraltar*, and terminated by the *Mediterranean*; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst, the *Greeks* and *Romans*. As the *Iberus* was by far the most considerable river of

[a] STRAB. lib. iii. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. lib. ii. c. 4. Vid. & CHRISTOPHOR. CELLAR. in geogr. ant. lib. ii. c. 1. sub init. JOAN. LUYTS philosoph. profess. introd. ad geogr. nov. & vet. c. 6. p. 50, 51. Traject. ad Rhen. 1692. MORDEN, MOLL, CLUVER. &c.

this

this tract, it might have received the denomination of *Iberia* from thence, as *Egypt*, according to some, did its name from the *Nile*, which *Homer* intimates to have been called *Ægyptus*. But, notwithstanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper *Iberia* was originally only that part of *Spain* called *Celtiberia*, from a body of *Celts* settling in it, bounded by the *Iberus*, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Mediterranean*; which if we admit, it is no wonder, that the *Phœnicians* gave it the name of *Iberia*: for the *Hebrew* עבר *Eber*, as well as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, or *Phœnician* עברא *Ebra* or *Ibra*, in the singular number, signifies *a passage*, and, in the plural, *bounds* or *limits*. The *Phœnicians*, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, *Eber*, *Iber*, *Ebra*, &c. and from thence stiled the inhabitants of it *Iberians*; or have denominated the tract itself *Iberia*, from its situation; it having been generally considered by them as one of the remotest regions, or western limit, of the earth. Be that as it will, we can by no means think it probable, that any part of *Spain* was called *Iberia*, from a colony of *Iberians* settled there; since history does not in the least countenance such a notion. *Festus Avienus* places the *Iberi* upon the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean, to the west of the *Iberus*, a little river between the *Bætis* and the *Anas*, the *Rio Tinto*, or *Rio de Azeche*, of the moderns. But his authority, with regard to the situation of the most antient *Iberi*, must give way to that of *Polybius* [b].

Whence called Spania, *or* Hispania.

The generality of *Spanish* writers derive its name from *Hispan*, the son of *Hercules*, or *Hispal*, one of their fabulous kings; and father *Briet* from *Pan*, the lieutenant of *Bacchus*, to which the syllable *his*, which, in the *Teutonic* tongue, signifies *west*, was added, to denote its situation with respect to the rest of *Europe*. But it appears from *Bochart* and others, that the *Phœnicians* called *Spain*, at least that part of it known to them, שפניה *Sphanija*, or *Spanija*, from שפן *shaphan* or *span*, a *rabbet*, because it abounded with those animals. In support of this notion, it may be observed, that, in many manuscripts of *Curtius*, *Justin*, *Capella*, *Apuleius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Athenæus*, &c. for *Hispania* is found *Spania*, as we learn from *Casaubon* and *Salmasius*. From the *Phœnician*

[b] Christoph. Cellar. ubi supra. Polyb. lib. iii. Homer. apud Bochart. in Chan. lib. i. c. 35. ut & ipse Bochart. ibid. Val. Schindler. lex. pentaglot. in voc. עבר. Claudian. in Stilich. Strab. lib. iii. p. 169. & Posidon. apud Strabon. ibid. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. ii. c. 14. Pind. Olymp. iii. sub fin. & scholiast. Pind. in loc. Plin. nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 7. Festus Avien. in or. maritim.

Spanija,

Spanija, the *Romans* deduced their *Spania* or *Hiſpania*; which appellation, as well as *Iberia*, in common with the *Greeks*, they applied to the whole continent of *Spain*. That this country, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, produced rabbets in vaſt abundance, may be evinced from the concurrent teſtimony of *Varro*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ælian*, and many other writers of good authority, who tell us of an immenſe damage thoſe creatures had done this country, by ſpreading their burrows ſo far, as to undermine and overturn whole cities: but that the *ſaphan* of the *Phœnicians* anſwered to *the rabbet*, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near reſemblance to the latter, the *Phœnicians*, at their firſt arrival in *Spain*, might take them to be the ſame animal, and from thence impoſe upon this country a name, which has ever ſince prevailed. The antients ſometimes, from its weſtern ſituation, called *Spain* likewiſe by the name of *Heſperia*, and *Heſperia Ultima*. But theſe, and other poetical appellations, being alſo given to *Italy*, as well as to other weſtern countries, we ſhall take no further notice of them, except that there were two principal *Heſperias*, to wit, the *Great*, which was *Italy*, and the *Leſs*, which was *Spain*, which were likewiſe diſtinguiſhed into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, or the *Nearer* and the *Farther* [c].

Various diviſions of Spain.

As *Spain*, before the *Carthaginians* made any conqueſts there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own *reguli*, and independent on each other, it muſt have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the preciſe number of which it is impoſſible for us at this day to determine. What number of provinces the *Carthaginians* divided that part of *Spain* ſubject to them into, for want of ſufficient light from antient hiſtory, we muſt likewiſe own ourſelves incapable of aſcertaining. As for the *Romans*, the firſt diviſion they made of *Spain*, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into *Hiſpania Citerior*, and *Hiſpania Ulterior*; and this, according to *Livy*, took place immediately after the conclu-

[c] Virgil. Æneid. lib. i. ver. 573. Horat. lib. i. od. 36. Vid. Dacier & Larue in Æneid. ubi ſupra. Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. Euseb. in chron. p. 13. Epiphan. in hæreſ. lxvi. ſect. 83. Pæan. de Hadrian. Scholiaſt. vet. Juvenal. in ſat. xiv. Athen. deipnoſoph. lib. viii. ſub init. Salmas. & Casaub. ap. Bochart. in Chan. lib. i. c. 35. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Varr. de re ruſtic. lib. iii. c. 12. Strab. lib. iii. p. 144——168. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. iii. c. 5. & lib. viii. c. 29, 58. Ælian. de animal. lib. xiii. c. 15. Galen. de aliment. lib. iii. Shaw's phyſical obſervations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic. &c. p. 376. Prosp. Alpin. hiſt. nat. Ægypt. par. i. c. 20. p. 80. & lib. iv. c. 9. & Cellar. ubi ſupra.

sion of the second *Punic* war. However, for some political reasons, they thought proper to unite these two provinces, in the beginning of the *Macedonian* war; and again disjoined them in the consulate of *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus*. This last disposition of *Spain* remained till the reign of *Augustus*, who altered it, by dividing *Hispania Ulterior* into two provinces; to wit, *Provincia Bætica*, and *Lusitania*, and affixing the name of *Provincia Tarraconensis* to *Hispania Citerior*. In some of the succeeding reigns, we find *Hispania Ulterior* and *Hispania Citerior* again mentioned; notwithstanding which, that the division, introduced by *Augustus*, continued as long as the *Romans* had any footing in *Spain*, appears extremely probable, both from the antient geographers, and many antique inscriptions exhibited by *Gruter* and *Reinesius*. Upon this plan, therefore, we shall here beg leave to give our readers a geographical description of antient *Spain* [d].

Limits and extent of Lusitania.

The limits (A) of *Lusitania*, not having been always the same, we cannot take upon us to define. That it extended from the *Tagus* to the *Cantabrian* ocean, or at least the *Promontorium Celticum*, is intimated by *Strabo*. That part of it, situated betwixt the *Anas* and the *Tagus*, went by the name of *Celtica*, or the country of the *Celts*, as has been observed by *Isaac Vossius*. After *Augustus* had made the disposition of *Spain* above-mentioned, the *Anas* bounded *Lusitania* on the south, and the *Durius*, or *Douro* of the moderns, on the north; so that the whole tract, lying betwixt the *Durius* and the *Can-*

[d] Polyb. & Liv. pass. Cic. pro Fonteio, c. 3. & pro lege Manil. c. 12. Strab. in extrem. par. geogr. Dio, lib. liii. p. 503. Pompon. Mel. lib. i. c. 6. Solin. c. 23. Tacit. ann. iv. c. 13. Plin. lib. iii. c. 2. Steph. Byzant. de urb. & Luc. Holstein in loc. Grut. inscript. xiii. p. 31. & alibi. Reines. inscript. class. ii. n. 13. & alib. Vid. & Cellar. ubi supra.

(A) *Bochart* says, that the country called *Lusitania*, derived its name from לוז *Luz* an *almond*, because it produced vast quantities of that fruit, as he proves from various authors. But we think, unless our readers should take it to be of *Celtic* original, it ought to be deduced from לוז and תני or לוז *Luz* and תאנא or תני, *Tana* or *Tani*, an *almond* and *fig*; for that *Lusitania* produced both those kinds of fruit, *Bochart* clearly evinces in the place referred to. It is plain, therefore, from hence, that the word *Lusitania* is not of *Roman* extraction (1). However, most of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* writers, who are fond of a fabulous antiquity, will have it, that this country was so named from *Lusus*, or *Lysus*, *Bacchus*'s prefect of it.

(1) *Bochart. Chan. lib.* i. *c.* 35. *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. in voeib.*

tabrian

tabrian ocean, was annexed to the *Provincia Tarraconenſis*. The interior limits of *Luſitania*, upon the frontiers of the *Vettones* and *Carpetani*, are fixed differently by different authors; which, as *Cellarius* intimates, may have been owing to a miſtake adopted by ſome of thoſe authors; to wit, that the province of *Luſitania* correſponded exactly with the country of the *Luſitani*; whereas, according to *Pliny*, not only the *Luſitani*, but the *Celtici*, *Turduli*, *Vettones*, &c. were ſeated in that province. The *Luſitani* poſſeſſed the diſtrict bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, and ſtretching itſelf from the mouth of the *Anas* to the *Promontorium Sacrum*, now known by the name of cape *St. Vincent*. As for the *Celtici*, whoſe true name was *Mirobrigenſes*, according to *Pliny*, their ſituation may be collected from what has been already obſerved. Some of the antient geographers make the *Turduli* and the *Turdetani* one nation, particularly *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*; though they ſeem to have been conſidered in a different light by *Polybius*. Be that as it will, the *Turdetani* were undoubtedly a powerful people, ſince they occupied a conſiderable part both of *Luſitania* and *Bætica*, as appears from *Strabo*. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Vettones*, who ſpread themſelves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the *Durius*, and on the ſouth by the *Tagus*. However, as the antients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of thoſe nations or cantons poſſeſſed, it is probable, that their frontiers were not always the ſame. Some authors aſſert *Vettonia*, or the country of the *Vettones*, to have been a province diſtinct from *Luſitania*; and limited on the ſouth by the *Anas*; and this notion ſeems to be countenanced by an inſcription in *Gruter* [c]. The principal cities of this province are the following:

On the ſea-coaſt, 1. *Barbarium Promontorium*. 2. *Oliſippo*. 3. *Tagi Fluvii Oſtia*. 4. *Fontes Fluv.* 5. *Lunæ Montis Promontorium*. 6. *Mondæ Fluv. Oſtia*. 7. *Vaci Fluv. Oſtia*. 8. *Doriæ Fluv. Oſtia*. 9. *Hannibal*.

The inlands were, 1. *Lavara*. 2. *Aritium*. 3. *Selium*. 4. *Elbocoris*. 5. *Araducta*. 6. *Verarium*. 7. *Velladis*. 8. *Æminium*. 9. *Chretina*. 10. *Arabriga*. 11. *Scalabiſcus*. 12. *Tacubis*. 13. *Concordia*. 14. *Talabriga*. 15. *Langobriga*. 16. *Mendeculia*. 17. *Caurium*. 18. *Turmogum*. 19. *Burdua*. 20. *Colarnum*. 21. *Iſallæcus*. 22. *Ammea*. 23. *Ebura* or *Ebora*. 24. *Norba Cæſarea*. 25. *Liciniana*. 26. *Auguſta Emerita*. 27. *Evandria*. 28. *Geræa*. 29. *Cæcilia Gemit-*

[c] Strab. lib. iii. p. 96, 105, & alibi. Isaac Vossius in Pompon. Mel. Plin. ubi ſupra. Polyb. ubi ſupra. Prudent. paſſion. Eulal. ver. 185. Petr. de Marca, Marcæ Hiſpanic. lib. ii. c. 2. Grut. inſcript. p. 383. n. 7. & Cellar. ubi ſupra.

tina. 30. *Capasa*. 31. *Conimbrica*. 32. *Collipo*. 33. *Bletisa*. 34. *Salmantica*. 35. *Salatia*. 36. *Pax Julia*, and some others of less note.

It will not be expected that we should give a particular description of those places, a great part of which we know little of but the names. Those of most note are as follows:

Olisipo. Olisipo, *Olissippo*, or *Oliossipon*, since called *Lisboa* by the *Portuguese*, and by us *Lisbon*, stands at the mouth of the *Tagus*, and was corruptly named by several of the antients *Ulyssippo*; from whence some have imagined, that it was built by *Ulysses*, in his return home from the *Trojan* war. But this notion ought to be looked upon as a mere fiction, destitute of the least shadow of historical proof to support it. We cannot therefore but believe, that *Olisipo*, or *Olissippo*, which, from *Pliny*, the *Itinerary*, and *Gruter*, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two *Phœnician* words עלוץ עבא *alis ubbo*, or *olis ippo*, *the pleasant bay*; for, that the antient *Olisipo* was seated on a bay, we learn from *Mela*; and that the bay, on which *Lisbon* stands, is extremely pleasant, all the moderns allow. *Olisipo*, or *Lisbon*, the capital of the present kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarve*, is in 39° 10′ north latitude, and 9° 30′ west of *London* [f].

Talabrica Talabrica, or *Talabriga*, a city seated upon the *Vacus*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Antoninus*, and *Appian*. The citizens of *Talabriga*, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the *Romans*, seem to have had an uncommon aversion to that people; which is the principal thing we find related of them [g].

Langobriga. Langobriga (B), a town situated between the *Vacus* and the *Durius*, not far from the sea-coast. As both *Pliny* and *Antoninus* take particular notice of it, it must have been a place of some repute [h].

[f] Solin. c. 23. Grut. inscript. p. 252. n. 5. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. Cellar. ubi supra, p. 56. Pompon. Mela & Mercator apud Bochart. ubi supra, ut & ipse Bochart. ibid. [g] Antonin. itinerar. Plin. lib. iii. Appian. in bell. Hispan. [h] Plin. & Antonin. ubi supra.

(B) The word *Brica* or *Briga*, in the old *Spanish* language, signified a city, as we learn from *Resendius*. Therefore *Cetobriga*, *Arabriga*, *Langobriga*, *Meidobriga*, &c. are equivalent to the *city of* Cèto, *the city of* Ara, *the city of* Lango, *the city of* Meido, &c. Hence, probably, came the words *Brigantes*, *Brigantii*, *Brigæcum*, *Brigobanna*, &c. all which are evidently of *Celtic* extraction (2).

(2) *Laur. Andr. Resend. in antiquitat. Lusitan. lib.* iv. *in Cetobriga.*

Ara-

ARADUCTA, or, according to *Reineſius*, *Ara Traducta*, a *Roman* town, ſtanding to the weſt of *Langobriga*. Our readers will find it in *Ptolemy*'s liſt of the towns appertaining to *Luſitania* [i]. Araducta.

ÆMINIUM, a city of this province, mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, near the northern bank of the *Munda*, a little to the S. of *Talabriga* [k]. Æminium.

CONIMBRICA, a city ſeated on the oppoſite bank of the *Munda*. Out of the ruins of this place has ariſen the modern *Coimbra*, one of the fineſt towns in *Portugal*, and celebrated all over the learned world, for the famous univerſity which has ſo long flouriſhed there [l]. Conimbrica.

ARABRIGA, *Sellium*, and *Concordia*, betwixt *Conimbrica* and the *Tagus*, ſeem to have been places of ſome note, though we have ſcarce any particulars relating to them handed down to us by the antient geographers [m]. Arabriga. Sellium, *and* Concordia.

COLLIPPO, a *Roman* municipium, between the *Munda* and the *Tagus*, upon the coaſt of the *Atlantic* ocean. We find this town named, by an inſcription in *Gruter*, COLLIPRO; but that the R there was originally a P, appears from the beſt manuſcripts of *Pliny*, as well as another inſcription. Not far from this city, in a ſouth-weſtern direction, ſtood *Eburobritium*, or as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, *Eburobriga*. As the ſtones that preſerved the above-mentioned inſcriptions were in the neighbourhood of *Liria*, ſome believe, that the ruins of the antient *Collippo* are to be ſought for there [n]. Collippo.

SCALABIS, or *Scalabiſcus*, as ſome think it called by *Ptolemy*, has been conſidered by *Cellarius* as the fifth *Roman* colony of *Luſitania*, ſurnamed *Præſidium Julium*. The *Spaniſh* writers almoſt unanimouſly agree, that the ſpot on which this town ſtood, is at preſent occupied by *Santerien*, a *Portugueſe* town, about forty miles N. E. of *Lisbon*; though the *Scalabiſcus* of *Ptolemy* had a ſituation aſſigned it to the N. of the *Munda* [o]. Scalabis.

ARITIUM PRÆTORIUM, and *Hierabriga*, in the neighbourhood of *Scalabis*, are mentioned by the *Itinerary*. The former place ſtood thirty-eight *Roman* miles from *Oliſipo*, and the latter thirty [p]. Aritium Prætorium, *and* Hierabriga.

NORBA CÆSAREA, a town of repute during the government of the *Romans* in *Spain*, on the ſouthern bank of the Norba Cæſarea.

[i] PTOL. geograph. lib. ii. c. 5. THO. REINES. apud Cellar. ubi ſupra. [k] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſupra. [l] PLIN. ubi ſupra. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Luſitan. lib. iv. [m] PTOL. & ANTONIN. ubi ſupra. [n] PLIN. PTOL. & RESEND. ubi ſup. GRUT. inſcript. p. 323, & p. 1155. & CELLAR. ubi ſupra. [o] PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. & ANTONIN. itinerar. ubi ſupra. [p]

Tagus,

Tagus, near the famous ſtone bridge built over that river, and dedicated to *Trajan*. *Pliny* calls the inhabitants of this city *Colonia Norbenſis*. Some *Spaniſh* authors believe *Norba Cæſarea* to have been contiguous to *Trajan*'s bridge. But other writers of that nation, well verſed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. The latter, in ſupport of their opinion, affirm the city of *Alcantara*, ſeated on the ſpot adjoining to the noble ſtructure above-mentioned, to have been built by the *Saracens*; but the former think it may have ariſen out of the ruins of the antient *Norba*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* ſeem to favour the ſentiment of thoſe who place *Norba* at ſome diſtance from the bridge, ſince they make that town, or, which is the ſame thing, the *Colonia Norbenſis*, to have been ſituated in a territory on the ſouth of the *Tagus*. Be that as it will, we are informed by an antient *Roman* inſcription in *Gruter*, that the *Roman* municipia of *Luſitania*, by ſums raiſed amongſt themſelves, finiſhed the aforeſaid bridge, in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*. The names of theſe municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preſerved by a ſtone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or the town of *Norba*; to wit, *Icadita*, *Lancia Oppidana*, *Arabriga*, *Mirobriga*, *Lancia Tranſcudana*, *Colarnum*, *Meidobriga*, *Interamnia*, &c. Some, if not all, of theſe municipia, undoubtedly made a conſiderable figure, though we are ſupplied with very few particulars relating to them by the antient geographers and hiſtorians [q].

Bletiſa. BLETISA was ſituated near ſome of the above-mentioned municipia, on the ſouthern bank of the *Durius*, as may be inferred from an inſcription in *Gruter*. The modern name of *Bletiſa* is *Ledeſma*, according to *Mariana*, who ſuppoſes the antient and modern cities, going by thoſe names, to have been the ſame. As to any farther particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark [r].

Salmantica. SALMANTICA, called at this day *Salamanca*, was in the neighbourhood of *Bletiſa*, as appears from the above-mentioned inſcription. It is at preſent famous all over the world, on account of the flouriſhing univerſity founded there, which, for ſeveral ages, has been deemed the principal ſeat of literature in *Spain* [s].

Auguſta Emerita. AUGUSTA EMERITA, the capital of this province in the *Roman* times, upon the *Anas*, was built by a body of ſuperannuated ſoldiers, to whom *Auguſtus* aſſigned a diſtrict in *Luſitania*; from whence this city deduced its name. This colony

[q] PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. ubi ſupra. NONIUS & VASÆUS apud Cellar. ubi ſupra, p. 58. GRUT. inſcript. p. 162. [r] GRUT. inſcript. p. 199. n. 2. MARIAN. lib. vii. c. 4. CELLAR. ubi ſupra.
[s] PTOL. & GRUTER. ubi ſupra.

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we find frequently mentioned by antient *Roman* coins and inſcriptions. *Emerita* at firſt appertained to the *Turduli*, according to *Strabo*; though afterwards it was ranked among the towns of the *Vettones*, as we learn from *Prudentius*. This may be eaſily accounted for, if we conſider, that the *Vettones*, in proceſs of time becoming more powerful than the *Turduli*, at length made themſelves maſters of their country. Our readers will find a more minute account of this city and colony in the authors here referred to [t].

Ebora. EBORA, called by the *Romans*, *Liberalitas Julia*, was ſeated between the *Tagus* and the *Anas*, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The ſame ſpot is at preſent occupied by *Evora*, where there has long flouriſhed a famous univerſity. This town was a *Latin* municipium, as appears from ſeveral antient coins and inſcriptions [u].

Salacia. SALACIA, the *Alacer do Sal* of the moderns, ſtood ſome miles to the W. of *Ebora*. From ſome antient inſcriptions in *Gruter* it may be inferred, that this place was a *Roman* municipium [w].

Pax Julia. PAX JULIA, the *Beja* of the moderns, a city in the ſouthern part of the province, ſtood near the frontiers of the *Turdetani*, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus*. Near this place a vaſt number of *Roman* coins and inſcriptions have been found within theſe few years. All the remaining tract to the ſouth of this city, limited on the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth, by the *Anas*, the *Atlantic* ocean, and bay of *Gades*, from its figure, was called *Cuneus* by *Pomponius Mela* and *Strabo*. *Myrtilis*, *Balſa*, *Oſſonaba*, and other places of this tract, deſerve not any great regard. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that, according to *Reſendius*, *Mortola*, or *Mertolo*, a modern town upon the *Anas*, and *Tanilla*, or *Tavira*, a conſiderable city of *Algarve*, anſwer to the antient *Myrtilis* and *Balſa*. As for *Oſſonaba*, if we will believe the ſame author, it has for a long time lain in ruins, though ſome footſteps of it are ſtill remaining, particularly in the walls of *Faro*, another town of *Algarve*, upon the ſea-coaſt. The *Lacobriga* of *Mela* ſtood under the *Promontorium Sacrum*, known in theſe times by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*, upon a ſpot occupied at preſent by a village called *Lagoa* by the *Portugueſe*, near the city of *La-*

[t] STRAB. ubi ſupra. DIO, lib. liii. p. 114. Num. Auguſt. & Num. Tiber. apud Cellar. ubi ſupra, p. 60. PRUDENT. ubi ſupra. LUDOVIC. NON. c. 31. [u] PLIN. ubi ſupra. GRUTER. inſcript. p. 489. n. 9. Num. var. Auguſt. apud Cellar. ubi ſupra, p. 62. [w] PLIN. ubi ſupra, & alibi. GRUT. inſcript. p. 13. n. 16.

gos, where ſome remains of it are ſtill to be ſeen [x]. The names of the reſt of the towns may be found in the authors quoted below [y].

As to the *Luſitanians*, if we may believe *Strabo*, they preferred living upon the plunder of their neighbours, rather than the improving their lands, tho' naturally fertile and rich. In other caſes their manner of living was rude and ſimple. They uſed to warm themſelves by means of ſome fire-ſtones made red hot. They bathed in cold water, eat but of one diſh at a meal, and that very ſparingly. Their dreſs was commonly black. They made no uſe of coin, but either bartered one commodity for another, or for ſome plates of ſilver, flatted with the hammer, and cut into pieces. They uſed, like the *Egyptians*, *Gauls*, and other antient nations, to expoſe their ſick on the highways, that travelers might direct them to proper medicines for their cure. They were robuſt and ſtout, and ſo warlike, that the *Romans* did not conquer them without great difficulty and length of time, and more by dint of artifice than valour. Thus far our author [z].

Promontories of Luſitania.

THE chief promontories of *Luſitania* were the *Promontorium Sacrum*, *Promontorium Barbarium*, and the *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Oliſiponenſe*; to which ſome add a fourth, called by *Pliny Cuneus*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, or *Cape St. Vincent*, formed an angle, projecting into the bay of *Gades* and the *Atlantic* ocean, which was termed the weſtern extremity of the world by *Strabo*. The *Promontorium Barbarium*, at preſent *Cape Spichel*, lay to the ſouth of *Oliſipo*, tho' not very diſtant from the mouth of the *Tagus*. The *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Oliſiponeſe*, ſtiled by ſome of the moderns, *Cape de Rocca Sintra*, projected into the *Atlantic* ocean near *Oliſipo*, and was made by *Pliny* the common boundary of *Earth*, *Sea*, and *Heaven*. As for *Pliny*'s *Cuneus*, it is ſuppoſed to be the promontory at this day known by the name of *Cape St. Mary*, by *Cellarius* [a].

Ports and iſlands.

THE principal ports of this province were thoſe of *Oliſipo*, at preſent *Lisbon*, and *Hannibal*. The ſituation of the former is ſo well known, as not to admit of a diſpute; but that of the latter cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained. *Mela*, upon whoſe authority it intirely depends, places it near the *Promontorium Sacrum*; which is all that we can ſay of it. The only iſland

[x] PLIN. PTOL. ANTONIN. ubi ſupra. POMPON. MEL. & STRAB. ubi ſupra. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Luſitan. & GRUT. inſcript. paſſ. [y] PLIN. PTOL. STRABO, MELA, CELLAR. &c. [z] STRABO, lib. iii. [a] Idem ibid. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22. & alibi. & HARDUIN. in loc. PTOL. lib. ii. c. 5. CELLAR. ubi ſupra.

taken notice of by the antients, on the coaſt of *Luſitania*, is the *Londobris* of *Ptolemy*, the *Barlenga* or *Barlinges* of the moderns [b].

Mountains.

THE *Mons Herminius* of *Hirtius*, the modern *Arminno*, ſeems to have been the only mountain of note in this country. It is rather a long ridge of mountains, ſince known by the name of *Sierra de Eſtretta*, and running from north to ſouth, between the provinces of *Beira & tra los Montes*. On the top are two lakes of vaſt extent, and very deep, one of them eſpecially, which they have never yet been able to fathom. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that they are calm when the ſea is ſo, and rough when that is ſtormy. Hence, as well as from the loud and dreadful noiſe they make, which is echoed by the adjacent hills, and heard at many leagues diſtance, they are judged to have ſome ſubterranean communication with the ocean; which is ſtill further confirmed by ſome wrecks of ſhips which are now-and-then thrown up by their waves, tho' at near four miles diſtance from the ſea. *Herminius Minor*, now *Sierra de Marvao*, from the city of that name, to which it ſtretches itſelf, is part of the *Greater Herminius*, and runs into the province of *Alentejo*; but is nothing ſo conſiderable. The warlike inhabitants of the former were called *Plumbarii*, from their lead-mines and works; and, according to *Cellarius*, the city of *Medobriga* or *Meidobriga*, ſtood at the foot of it [c].

Rivers.

THE moſt celebrated rivers of *Luſitania* were the *Anas*, the *Tagus* (now *Tajo*), and the *Durius*. The *Anas* is called at preſent the *Guadiana*, the *Tagus* the *Tajo*, and the *Durius* the *Douro*. To theſe may be added the *Munda*, which now goes under the name of the *Mondego*; and the *Vacus*, now called the *Voga*. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themſelves into the *Atlantic* ocean [d].

Curioſities.

WE ſhall here only mention ſome few natural curioſities of *Luſitania*: 1. The lead-mine near *Meidobriga*, from whence *Pliny* denominates the inhabitants of that place *Plumbarii*; which ſtill exiſts. 2. The golden ſand, or ſmall particles of gold, mixed with the ſand, of the *Tagus*. This we find atteſted by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ovid*, *Pliny*, *Silius Italicus*, &c. and the truth of it ſeems confirmed by *Reſendius*; for that famous antiquary aſſures us, that ſome of theſe golden particles were found, intermixed with the ſand of the *Tagus*, in his time; but that the laws of *Portugal* would not permit people throw up the interior ſand on the banks of the *Tagus*, with which theſe particles are ſuppoſed to be incorporated, leſt the neighbouring fruitful fields ſhould be thereby damaged. He

[b] MEL. lib. iii. c. 1. [c] HIRT. c. 48. CELLAR. ubi ſupra, p. 60, 61. [d] PTOL. ubi ſupra. CELLAR. ubi ſupra, p. 54, 55.

adds, that the kings of *Portugal* have a ſceptre of the *Tagan* gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world [e]. 3. Beſides the two lakes above-mentioned, we may add the famed pool near *Roya*, remarkable for its hideous noiſe, like that of thunder at a diſtance, which is commonly heard before a ſtorm, above eighteen or twenty miles off. 4. Another pool, near the river *Mondego*, mentioned by *Pliny*, and by many modern authors, which is obſerved to ſwallow down every thing that is thrown into it, tho' ever ſo light. We might add the vaſt variety of hot and medicinal, and other ſurpriſing ſprings with which this kingdom abounds; which may be ſeen in *Vaſeus*'s deſcription of it, who adds, that the ſingle province, formerly called *Interamnis*, and now *Entre Duero e Minho*, hath no leſs than 25000 conſtantly flowing with clear and excellent water.

Bætica deſcribed.

THE ſecond province of *Hiſpania Ulterior*, or *Farther Spain*, was *Bætica*, ſo called from the famed river *Bætis*, ſince *Tarteſſus*, and now *Guadalquiver*, or the *Great River*. We have already mentioned its limits on the weſt or *Luſitanic* ſide; it was bounded on the ſouth by the *Mediterranean*, and the *Sinus Gaditanus*, or gulph of *Gades*; and on the north by the *Cantabric* ſea, now the ſea of *Biſcay*. As to its limits towards the north-eaſt, or province of *Tarraco*, they cannot be ſo well fixed, becauſe they are rightly ſuppoſed to have been in a conſtant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to incroach upon his neighbour. Hence antient authors place thoſe on the ſea-coaſt differently; to wit, *Ptolemy* at *Baræa* [f], *Pliny* ſomewhat higher, at *Murgis* [g], tho' both ſituated on the *Sinus Virgitanus*, a little below *New Carthage*. The ſame may be ſaid of the inland ones, which are likewiſe differently placed, either higher or lower, from the province of *Tarracon*, as may be ſeen by the authors above-quoted. The *Bætis* before-mentioned divided this province into two parts; on the one ſide of which, towards the *Anas*, were ſituate the *Turdetani* (A), from whence the country was called *Turdetania*,

Its inhabitants.

[e] POMPON. MEL. lib. iii. c. 1. OVID. met. lib. ii. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22. & lib. xxxiii. c. 4. SIL. ITAL. lib. i. ver. 234. PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi ſupra. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Luſitan. lib. ii. [f] Geogr. ubi ſupra. [g] Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 1. Vid. CELLAR. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. i. GERUND.

(A) Some add, after *Polybius*, the *Turduli*, as different from them. We have already ſpoken of both. They were (1) ſituate on the ſame ſide of the *Bætis*, but higher up: but as that author rather diſtinguiſhes them only with regard to their ſitua-

(1) *Gerundenſ. paralip. lib.* i.

tion;

nia, but better known by the name of *Bæturia*. On the other ſide were ſituated the *Baſtuli*, *Baſtitani*, and *Conteſtani*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſts. The reader will find, under the next note, all that can be found concerning thoſe people (B). We forbear mentioning a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may ſee them in *Cellarius* above-mentioned; and, if he cares to depend upon the *Spaniſh* authors for either their ſituation, cities, or other particulars, he may conſult thoſe we have lately quoted both in the text and notes.

Roman *colonies.*

WE come now to ſpeak of the *Roman* colonies in this province; which *Pliny* tells us was the moſt fertile, beſt cultivated, and pleaſanteſt of all the reſt. The *Romans* had four tribunals, or, as they ſtiled them, *Conventus juridici*; to wit, 1. *Gades*, now *Cadiz*. 2. *Cordova*. 3. *Aſtigi*, now *Ecija*. 4. *Hiſpal*, now *Sevil*. They had, beſides, about one hundred and thirty cities, among which nine were ſtiled colonies; eighteen municipal; twenty-nine which enjoyed the franchiſe of *Latium*; ſix free cities; three allied ones; and one hundred and twenty tributary [h].

THE whole province of *Bætica*, according to the laſt-quoted author's diviſion, contained what we now call *Andaluſia*, part of the kingdom of *Granada*, and the outward boundaries of *Eſtramadura*.

WITH

[h] Vid. BRIET. parallel. part. 2. lib. iv. c. 3.

tion; and *Ptolemy* ſeems to intimate, that they were but one people (2); we ſee no reaſon for making two of them, any farther than the diſtinction of higher and lower will go; eſpecially as *Strabo* makes the two names to be indifferently given to them (3); and theſe are by ſome authors (4) affirmed to have been the antienteſt people in all *Spain*.

(B) Of the firſt of theſe we have already ſpoken. The *Baſtuli*, ſuppoſed to be of *Phœnician* or *Libyan* extract, extended from the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſt, till, driven from thence by the *Moors*, they fled into the mountainous part of *Galicia*, which they then called by their name *Baſtulia*. The *Baſtetani*, or *Baſtitani*, were ſeated higher up on the ſame coaſts. The territories of both theſe made what ſince became the kingdom of *Granada*, in which there is a ridge of very high mountains, called, from the latter, the *Baſtetanian* mountains. Mention is made alſo of their capital *Baſtitana*, a place of ſuch ſtrength, that king *Ferdinand* was ſix months in beſieging it, before he could take it from the *Moors* (5).

(2) *Lib.* ii. *Gerund. Garibai. Antigued. & al. de geſt. F. Ximen.*

(3) *Lib.* iii.

(4) *Vaſſ. chron. Taraph de reg. Hiſp.*

(5) *Bulgar. commentar. Serdin. Comec.*

WITH respect to the cities and colonies above-mentioned, we shall, for brevity's sake, single out only some of the most celebrated ones; to wit, that of the *Accitani*, situate between the *Bastuli* and *Bastitani*, along the same shore. We find it mentioned by *Pliny* [i], and by some antient inscriptions, under the name of COLONIA JULIA GEMELLA ACCITANA [k], whose citizens were called *Gemellenses*, because that colony was made up of two legions, to wit, the third and sixth, as appears by those inscriptions [l]. It is supposed to be the present city of *Guadiz* in *Granada*, an antient episcopal sea, formerly called the *Accitanus*, from *Acci*, the name of that city (C). Those of *Gades*, *Corduba*, *Astigi*, and *Hispal*, were famed for their courts of judicature. The other four, whose situation is less known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than in any of the other two provinces, the reader may see in Briet's parallel above-mentioned [m]; all which confirms what *Pliny* says of this [n], that it excelled them by far; for so it did in richness, extent, number of cities and harbours, fertility of its soil, commodious situation for traffick, and many other particulars: and this may be one great reason, why the *Romans* cultivated and encouraged it more than they did the rest.

Their cities.

How few of those antient cities this province had before the coming in of the *Romans*, is not difficult to guess, if we only consult the best antient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to trust to the *Spanish* writers, it must have not only abounded with them, but they must likewise have been vastly large, populous, and opulent, even before the coming of the *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, and other nations, of whom we shall give an account in the sequel. And yet these, espe-

[i] Hist. lib. iii. c. 1. [k] GRUT. p. 271. n. 6. [l] CELLAR. lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3. [m] Ubi supra, sect. 2, & seq. [n] Lib. iii. c. 1. De his vid. GERUND. TARAPH. GARIB. VASEUM, & al.

The *Contestani* are, by some, placed in this province of *Bætica*, and by others in that of *Tarracon*. They were most likely seated between, and extended themselves a good way into both. They are said, by *Ptolemy* (6), to have been settled there by *Testa*, one of their kings, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and called from him *Contestani*, as well as their chief city *Contestinum* (7); but that king, though mentioned also by *Manetho*, is generally ranked among the dubious, if not fabulous.

(C) The *Spaniards* pretend, that *Torquatus*, a disciple of *James* the apostle, was by him appointed the first bishop of it (8).

(6) *Ubi supra. Vide & Taraph. sub ann.* 1424. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Vas. chron. c.* 20.

cially

cially the *Tyrians*, are affirmed by the ſame authors to have built ſome freſh conſiderable ones, every one in the places where they ſettled themſelves; for all which we have no better grounds, than for that of *Uliſipo*, and its pretended founder, of which we ſpoke under the firſt article of this chapter. But, when we come to examine things more cloſely, we find no ſuch traces of this boaſted number of cities. On the contrary it is plain, that, when the *Turdetani* had, at the inſtigation of *Hannibal*, aſſiſted the brave *Saguntines* their neighbours againſt the *Romans*, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not ſo much as recorded (D); and which theſe cauſed to be raſed, and the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves [o], as a determent to others from lending their aſſiſtance to any whom they thought proper to war againſt. *Ptolemy* mentions but one ſea-port town on the coaſt of the *Baſtitani*; to wit, that of Οὖρκη *Urce*, ſince *Vorgi*, in the bay of that name, tho' we find ſome conſiderable ones on thoſe coaſts, ſuch as *Menobia*, *Abdera*, *Portus Magnus*, *Beria*, *Murgis*, and ſome others. In the inland were likewiſe a conſiderable number, which *Pliny*, in his *Natural Hiſtory*, tells us, in his time amounted to an hundred and ſeventy-two. The greateſt part of theſe being, in all appearance, and from the *Roman* names given them, either founded or inlarged by that nation, ſuch as thoſe of *Aſta Nebriſa*, *Ugia*, and *Orippa* [p], on the banks of the *Bætis*, below *Hiſpal*; we have not time to dwell upon them, but ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort mention of thoſe of the greateſt note. Among theſe is the famed city of *Hiſpal*, now *Seville* (E), ſituate on the river *Bætis* above-mentioned, and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought a vaſt number of merchandizes up to this city, and thence quite up to Hiſpal.

[o] Liv. lib. xxi. c. 6. lib. xxiv. c. 42. [p] De his vide Cellar. ubi ſupra.

(D) This the *Spaniards* think to have been called *Turvel*, ſituate near the ſpring-head of the river *Thurias* or *Durius*, and to which they have given the antient name of *Turdeta*.

(E) Some pretend, that it was founded and named by *Hiſpal*, one of their fabulous kings, and the ſon of *Hercules* (9); others, that it was ſo called from the *palus*, or marſh, on which it was founded; or rather from the *pali*, or ſtakes, upon which the foundation of it was laid (1). That of *Seville*, or, as it was antiently written, *Civilia*, is thought to be only a corruption of *Civitas Julia*, as it is called in ſome antient inſcriptions (2). But when, or by whom, it was founded, is not to be gueſſed at.

(9) *Vaſ. Garib. & al. ſup. citat. ibid. c. 9.* (1) *Paralip. c. 1.* (2) *Idem*

Corduba. This city is ſtiled by *Pliny Colonia Romulenſis*, and by ſome antient inſcriptions *Colonia Romulea.* We took notice above, that it was one of the four courts of judicature.

Corduba. The next city in rank to *Hiſpal* is *Corduba*, now *Cordoua*, no leſs famed for its rich mines, and fertile ſoil, or, as the poet calls it [q], *aurifera terra*, than the other was for its trade. It is ſituate on the banks of the ſame river, was called a patrician colony, and is ſaid by *Strabo* to have been the work of *Mar-*

Tarteſſus. *cellus* (F). *Tarteſſus* was once a famed antient city, pleaſantly ſituate between the two mouths of the *Bætis* (G), which made a

[q] Sil. Ital. lib. iii. ver. 401.

(F) Our author leaves us in the dark which of the *Roman* generals of that name he meant; ſo that the *Spaniſh* writers are much divided about it. *Vaſæus*, often quoted, thinks, that it was he who was cotemporary with *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; becauſe he finds no mention made of this city before him (3). But *Nonius* thinks it to be of much older date (4); ſince the ſame *Strabo* calls it *Coloniam primam*, or firſt colony, which the *Romans* ſent into this part of *Spain*. And it is mentioned by *Silius Italicus* in the ſecond *Punic* war (5). As for the title of *Colonia Patricia*, given to it, it is not only mentioned by *Pliny*, but by ſome antient inſcriptions in *Gruter*, to which we refer (6); and this is further explained by what *Strabo* adds, that it was from the beginning inhabited by noblemen of the *Romans*, and other nations (7).

(G) *Strabo* ſays, that the *Bætis* formerly emptied itſelf into the ſea at two different places (8). One of them has been ſince ſtopped up. *Mela* mentions the city of *Carteia* in the ſame bay (9), which, he ſays, ſome fanſy to have been the antient *Tarteſſus*. Hence authors are divided in their opinions, whether theſe were two diſtinct cities, or the ſame with different names. We find nothing that can ſatisfy our readers on that head, antient authors often confounding theſe two names and that of *Gades* together, as the learned *Bochart* and others have juſtly obſerved.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from *Tarteſſus* to that of *Gades*, on account of *Hercules*'s ſetting up his two columns there (1), it is rightly rejected. We have given a truer account of the foundation of *Gades* in our *Carthaginian* hiſtory, to which we refer, to avoid repetition (2). As for *Carteia*, a late author endeavoured to prove it to be the preſent town of *Rocadillo*, diſtant about four miles from *Gibraltar* (3); but the point is far from being cleared by him, and too dark and prolix for us to dwell longer upon, in a work of this nature.

(3) *Ibid. c.* 20. (4) *Ibid. c.* 19. (5) *Lib.* iii. *ver.* 401. (6) *Grut. p.* 460. (7) *Lib.* iii. (8) *Ibid.* (9) *De ſitu orb. lib.* ii. *c.* 6. (1) *Dionyſius Alexandr. Vide auct. Hiſp. ſup. citat. & Geruud. parelip. lib.* i. (2) *See vol.* xvii. *p.* 344. (3) *Conduit. diſcourſe of the ſituation of Carteia.*

kind

kind of iſland, called after the name of that city [r], *Tarteſſida*. This antient city is celebrated by ſome of the *Latin* poets, as ſituate on the fartheſt verge of the weſtern ſhore [s]; but, for the other particulars of it, we refer our readers to the laſt note, as we muſt do, for the remainder of the cities of this province, to the authors ſo often cited already, and eſpecially to the late and accurate *Cellarius*, in the chapter above-quoted; and for *Gades* or *Gadir*, now *Cadiz*, to what we copiouſly ſaid of it in the former volume [t].

Bays and ports.

WE come now to ſay ſomething of the famous bays and ports of this province; the firſt of which, next to *Gades* above-mentioned, is that called *Portus Meneſtæus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, who doth likewiſe place here the oracle of that name. The next is that of *Beſippo*, the country of the famed *Pomponius Mela*, and ſome others, without the ſtreights mouth. *Calpe*, *Carteia*, *Barbeſul*, *Cilniana*, *Salduba*, *Suel*, and *Malaca*, within the ſtreight, and on the coaſts of the *Baſtuli*. *Menoba*, *Selumbina*, *Abdera*, and *Portus Magnus*, and likewiſe the famed promontory of *Charidemus*; all which are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, and placed by them on the *Baſtitanian* coaſts. Beyond the promontory lately mentioned are the cities of *Baria* or *Barea*, and *Murgis*, in the *Virgitanian* bay; the former of which is reckoned by *Ptolemy*, and the latter by *Pliny*, the laſt ſea-port of the *Baſtitani*, as we hinted a little higher. Thoſe antient authors are, however, neither well agreed, nor eaſily reconciled, about the ſituation, names, and ſome other particulars relating to thoſe cities. Thus, for inſtance, *Calpe*, which is by *Strabo* ſtiled a famed antient *Spaniſh* ſea-port, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned *Bochart* and *Caſaubon* have thought, that *Calpe*, in the former, was inſerted, by the miſtake of the tranſcriber, for *Carteia*, eſpecially as no mention is made in the others of any city beſides it in that bay. But this has been in a great meaſure anſwered, by ſome learned men, from the inſcription on a medal, with theſe letters, C. I. CALPE; that is, as they read it [u], *Colonia Julia Calpe*. And this they back with a paſſage out of *N. Damaſcen* [w]; who ſays, that *Octavius* overtook *Cæſar* near the city of *Calpia*, which is the ſame with *Calpe*: ſo that *Strabo*'s text wants no amendment, and one of theſe two opinions muſt be right; to wit, either that there were ſeveral

Mene-ſtæus Portus.

Baria.

Murgis.

Calpe.

[r] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [s] SIL. ITAL. ubi ſupra. ver. 399, & alibi. OVID. metamorph. lib. xiv. ver. 416. [t] Vol. xvii. p. 344, & (E). [u] SPANH. de præſt. numiſm. p. 766. NORIS cenotaph. Piſan. p. 207. [w] Excerpt. VALES. apud Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 2. art. 34.

cities

cities ſituate on the mouth of the ſtreight, on account of its advantageous ſituation, one of which was called *Calpe* or *Calpa*, or elſe, that the *Carteia*, which was ſituate near the promontory of *Calpe*, had likewiſe taken that name from it; and accordingly the *Itinerary* mentions a city, in the road from *Malaga* to *Cadiz*, which he calls *Calpe Carteia*, joining thereby thoſe two names, probably to ſhew, that they ſignified the ſame thing. *Barbeſul*, *Aſta*, and ſome others of the ſea-ports above-named, appear likewiſe to have been conſiderable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of *Munda*, where *Cæſar* overcame the ſons of *Pompey*. But, as we are obliged to ſtudy brevity, we ſhall refer the reſt to the author laſt-quoted.

The river Bætis, &c.

RIVERS of any note there are not in this province, except the *Bætis*, often mentioned already, or, as it is ſometimes written, *Bætes* and *Betis*. It hath, according to *Pliny* [x], its ſpring-head in the *Tugienſian* foreſt, ſo named from *Tugia*, a town mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of *Antoninus* (H), in the province of *Tarracon*, at the foot of the *Oreſpodan* mountains. Others of leſſer note are the *Barbeſola*, near the city or mount *Calpe* above-mentioned, the *Saduca*, which ſeems to have divided the *Baſtuli* from the *Accitani*, and ſome few others not worth dwelling upon.

Mountains.

Mountains, of a conſiderable length and height, this providence certainly abounds with. We find, however, but few mentioned by antient authors. *Ptolemy* takes notice only of two; to wit, the *Mariani* and *Hipylæ*, the latter of which were ſcarcely known to any other antient writer [y]. Theſe, as they run along the territories of *Hiſpal* or *Seville*, were, we are told, called *Illipæ*; and, as they came nearer to *Corduba*, *Themarini*, and *Orthoſdadæ* [z]: the former, which are by *Pliny* called *Ariani* (I), run along the famed deſert of the ſame name, now known by that of *Sierra Morena*, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Caſtulo*. The

[x] Lib. iii. c. 1. [y] Lib. ii. c. 4. [z] Vide MARIN. SICUL. reb. Hiſp. lib. i. ſect. de montibus.

(H) That author places it in the road between *Caſtalo* and *Malaca*, at about thirty-five miles diſtance from the latter.

(I) As theſe mountains are called, by the generality of authors, and by one antient inſcription, by the firſt name; and, by the ſecond, only by *Pliny* and the *Itinerarium*; it is ſuppoſed, that the M, in theſe, was, by ſome of the copyiſts, dropped; but whether they were the ſame, or different, is not of any great conſequence to inquire, with ſo little help, and under ſo great an uncertainty (4).

(4) *De his vide Cellar. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *in fin. ſect.* 2.

region

region of the *Baſtitani* was likewiſe full of them, as we hinted in a former note; and all that needs be added, with relation to them all, is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of ſeveral kinds, particularly gold, quickſilver, copper, and lead; the greateſt quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of thoſe called *Mariani*, which the *Romans* improved to no ſmall advantage, having every-where their *procuratores rei metallicæ*, or overſeers of the mines. That of *Calpe*, mentioned a little higher, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its ſituation; and ſo no more need be ſaid of it.

Soil, climate, and produce.

THE goodneſs of the ſoil and air of *Spain* in general is too well known to need any mention here. This province was particularly remarkable for it; and we ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel, to give further proofs of it, from the healthineſs and longevity of its inhabitants. And ſo little did they know of phyſic, that, if we may believe *Poſidonius*, they uſed, like the *Luſitani* lately mentioned, to lay their ſick relations along the public ſtreets and roads, to have the advice of ſuch paſſengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were ſo robuſt and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but uſed to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themſelves and the child.

Healthy inhabitants.

Stout women.

Rich mountains.

Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horſes and cattle, the former of which they bred from the beginning in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and eſpecially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it ſeems, ſo very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on thoſe healthy mountains, that it could not be uſed either for food or drink, or even, as we are told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheeſe with, without ſome mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greateſt perfection: but theſe are topics ſo well known to every reader, that we need not dwell longer upon them; and as for mineral waters, they flow, in the greateſt quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of *Granada* is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues: which need not to be wondered at, conſidering the vaſt ridges of mountains that are in it, and the variety of metals and minerals they abound with. Some of them riſe ſo hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The moſt famous of the warm kind are thoſe of *Hiſpal*, *Cordoua*, and *Granada*; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the moſt inveterate, and even the venereal, diſeaſes; which is not altogether improbable, conſidering the quantity of ſulphur, and other minerals,

Natural rarities.

Medicinal waters.

nerals, they are impregnated with, and the great perſpiration which the heat of the climate gives to its inhabitants. There are two others of great fame here; to wit, that called *Bætis*, from a ſmall town near it; it ſprings, in a ſmall rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two ſtreams, into two lakes; and its waters are noted for curing all hæmorrhages, by waſhing. The other is near the town of *Antiquaria*; which is no leſs famed for diſſolving the ſtone, and bringing it off by urine [a]. We ſhould be drawn into too great a length, were we to enter into ſo copious a ſubject as that of their artificial rarities; their ſtately buildings, ſuch as bridges, churches, eſpecially their palaces, whether thoſe of the *Gothic* or of the *Roman* faſhion: but one thing we cannot forbear obſerving, that there are ſome yet ſtanding almoſt in their priſtine grandeur, eſpecially in the kingdom of *Granada*, built by the *Moors*, in a ſtile peculiar to them, and which has ſcarce any thing common with the other two, and yet ſeems to exceed them in taſte and magnificence. But as this country, as well as the ſeveral authors who have written upon it, are ſo well known to us, we ſhall inlarge no further upon them.

Againſt hæmorrhages and ſtone.

Stately buildings.

Tarracon *deſcribed.*

TARRACON was the third province in *Spain*. It was, as we obſerved before, by the *Romans* ſtiled *Hiſpania Citerior*, or *Hither Spain*, and diſtinguiſhed, by the name of *Tarraconenſis*, from the antient city of that name, which was then the capital of it, and the reſidence of the *Roman* præſes, or governor. We have ſeen, under the two former articles, how hard it is to ſettle the limits of this province, with reſpect to thoſe of *Bætica* and *Luſitania*, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other ſides they are eaſily fixed, it having the *Mediterranean* on the eaſt, the ocean on the weſt, and the *Cantabrian* ſea and the *Pyrenees* on the north, by which laſt it is divided from *Gaul*. *Tarracon*, being by far the largeſt of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likelihood, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river *Iberus*, now *Ebro*, which ran almoſt acroſs the whole province, having its ſource on the north-weſt ſide of it, between the *Cantabrian* mountains; and, very near the ſea of that name, and by a ſouth-eaſt courſe, emptying itſelf into the *Mediterranean*, about thirty miles below the city of *Tarraco*. Along the ſouth-weſt ſide of that river were ſeated the *Celtiberians*, the antienteſt, and by far the moſt conſiderable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, ſo many diſtinct tribes deſcended from them, as we are apt to think they moſtly were, from the greateſt part of their names

Its limits.

Divided by the Iberus.

Celtiberians, *where ſeated.*

[a] MARIN. SICUL. de reb. Hiſp. lib. i. cap. de fontibus.

being

being of *Celtic*, rather than of any other extract. This canton was called from them *Celtiberia*, and reached from the mouth of the *Iberus* quite to the country of the *Cantabri*, on the oppoſite coaſts. Along the courſe of it, on that ſide, were, among other people of leſs note, the *Illærcaones*, ſeated juſt within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the *Hedetani*, or *Sedetani*, *Pelendones*, *Berones*, and laſt of all the *Cantabri*. Nearer to *Bætica*, and on the borders of it, were, towards the *Mediterranean*, firſt, the *Conteſtani*, mentioned alſo under the laſt article; and, as you went forwards, acroſs the country, towards the oppoſite ſhore, you found another tribe of the *Turdetani*, the *Lobetani*, *Luſones*, *Carpetani*, *Arevacæ*, and *Vaccæi*; and theſe two laſt were ſevered from each other by the river *Duero*, which was the confine of *Luſitania* on that ſide; and, weſt of the *Cantabri* and *Vaccæi*, were, on the *Cantabrian* coaſt, the *Tranſmontani* and *Artabri*; and in this laſt was the *Artabrum Celticum*, called alſo *Promontorium Nericum*, now cape *Finiſter*. In the inland are placed the *Aſtures*, *Auguſtani*, *Lucenſes*, and *Gravii*. On the weſtern coaſt, between the cape above-mentioned and the *Durius*, were the *Callaici* alias *Callæci*, whoſe country was called *Callæcia*, one tribe or canton of which were named *Bracarii*, and the country *Bracara*; and theſe were ſeated on the banks of the *Durius*: the others were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Lucenſes*; and both were ſubdivided by *Ptolemy* into ſeveral tribes, ſuch as we ſhall ſpeak of, upon another occaſion, under the following note (K). All theſe are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, as ſeated, the former on the other ſide of the *Iberus*, and the latter on the hither ſide of the *Tagus*. On the other ſide of the *Iberus*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſts, were ſeated the *Lacetani* and *Auſetani*, who were parted by the river *Rubricatus*, or, as *Mela* calls it, *Lubricatus*, now *Lobragat*, near the city of *Barcelona*. Along the *Iberus* were the *Ilergetes*, *Jacetani*, *Sueſſitani*, *Vaſcones*, *Varduli*, *Autrigones*, and *Concani*; and theſe were ſeated between the head of the *Iberus* and the *Cantabrian* ſea. Nearer to the

Other nations and cantons along the coaſts.

In the inland.

Lucenſes.

Lacetani, *and other tribes.*

(K) This canton, which was ſince called *Gallicia*, and antiently *Celtica*, was, in all likelihood, either inhabited originally by the *Celtes*, or was a colony of them ſent from *Gaul*; for many ſuch they were forced to ſend out of that kingdom into this and other countries, for want of room in their own, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to their hiſtory: the latter ſeems, however, the moſt probable, from the names by which they were diſtinguiſhed; ſuch as *Celerini*, *Grovii*, *Limici*, *Querquerni*, and ſome others, which to us appear to be of *Gauliſh* extract, and bear a viſible analogy with ſome of thoſe which we find in antient *Gaul*.

Pyrenean

Pyrenean mountains, along that vaſt ridge, were the *Ceretani*, *Indigetes*, *Cemſi*, *Lacetani*, and ſome others of leſs note. Every one of them had its diſtinct metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe, as may be ſeen by thoſe in the note (L). We have already obſerved in general on this head, that thoſe diſtricts which end in *tania*, and the cities which end in *briga*, are of *Celtic* extract; and we ſhall add here, that this province abounds with ſuch, more than the other two, as may be ſeen by the liſt of the people we have given below; for, where their name terminated in *tani*, the country of courſe ended in *tania*, as *Auſetani* and *Auſetania* (M).

We

(L) Thus the *Bracarii* had *Bracara*, the *Artabri Artabrum*, the *Aſtures Aſturia*, the *Sueſſitani Sueſſa*, the *Lacetani Lacca*, the *Ilergetes Ilerda*, and ſo of the reſt, unleſs where the *Romans*, ſettling afterwards their colonies, called thoſe towns by new names; eſpecially we find ſome few of thoſe places ſtiled *Julia* and *Auguſta*, as *Julia Libyca* in the canton of the *Ceretani*; *Cæſar Auguſta* among the *Lacetani*; *Auguſta Bracara*, *Porta Auguſta*, *Auguſti Lacus*, in *Gallicia*, and the like.

Here, by the way, we muſt obſerve, that this laſt province was not called ſo from the *Galli*, as ſome have imagined, but from its antient metropolis, which was called *Calle*, ſituate in a pleaſant valley upon the *Durius*, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become a conſiderable one in time, was ſince named barely *Porto* and *Puerto* by the *Spaniards*, by the *Dutch Port a Port*, and by us *Oporto*. From theſe two, *Porto* and *Calle*, came the name of *Portugal*, or *Portucalle*. As for *Calle*, it muſt be owned, that it is not mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, &c. but we find it in the *Itinerarium*, which places it on the road between *Uliſippo*, or *Liſbon*, and *Auguſta Bracara* (5).

(M) *It is not our deſign to* ſpeak particularly *of every one* of them, and much leſs of their cities, many of which we know little elſe of, than their names. We may ſay of them in general, that they retained more of the antient *Celtic* valour, cuſtoms, language, and, we may add, fierceneſs, than thoſe of *Bætica*, or even of *Luſitania*, though the *Celtiberians* of this laſt province are ſaid to have been the braveſt people in all *Spain*, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel. And the reaſon, probably, of it is, that they were neither ſo much under the dominion of the *Romans*, nor ſo converſant with them, as thoſe in *Bætica*; for the deſcendents of the *Celtes* were every-where as famed for their tenaciouſneſs of their antient religion, laws, cuſtoms, language, &c. as the *Romans* were to propagate their own

(5) *Cellar. ubi ſupra, lib.* ii, *c.* 1. *ſect.* 3.

where

We find, however, the following colonies of note (for we ſhall omit the others for brevity's ſake) to have been in time planted amongſt theſe *Celtic* ſettlements; to wit, in *Aſturia*, the famed *Colonia Auguſta*. It is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, and in ſome antient medals, tho' differently placed [b], and was a court of judicature, according to *Pliny* in the place laſt-quoted. It divided the *Aſtures* into *Auguſtanos* and *Tranſmontanos*; which confirms what we hinted in the laſt note; to wit, that the former were, in all likelihood, of *Roman* extract, whilſt the latter, of *Celtic*, removed over the ridge of mountains that parted them; for we find here alſo the ſeventh *Roman* legion, which was ſurnamed *Gemina*, ſettled between the *Aſturian* ſea and the capital of this diſtrict, called *Aſturia Auguſta*, now *Aſtorga*, a city ſtill of ſome note (N). This country was alſo celebrated by the poets for the gold it produced. The next was that infamous one of *Calaguris*, diſtinguiſhed by *Pliny* by the name of *Naſcica*, juſtly execrated, by the *Roman* authors [c], for the murder of the brave *Sertorius*, mentioned in a former volume [d]. The city was at firſt a

Roman colonies.

Colonia Auguſta.

Auguſta Gemina.

Calaguris.

[b] Apud Gruter. p. 193. n. 3. p. 426. n. 5. Vide & Goltz. Holstein. & Harduin. apud Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3, & 44. Vide & Strab. lib. iii. Plin. lib. iv. c. 22. [c] Vid. Valer. Max. lib. vii. c. 6. L. Flor. lib. iii. c. 22. Juven. ſat. xv. ver. 93. [d] See before, vol. xiii. p. 122, & ſeq.

where-ever they conquered; and this was one conſtant cauſe, why the former choſe rather to yield their territories to the latter, when they could defend them no longer againſt them, and to retire into more mountainous lands, where they could freely live by themſelves, than to ſubmit to their laws, and conform to their manners, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

(N) *Ptolemy* indeed makes the *Aſtures* to have been of *Libyan* extract, and to have come over with the *Carthaginians*, and ſettled in this part of *Gallæcia*. The city was called *Aſtorga*, from its being ſituate on the banks of a river of that name, which flows into the *Durius*; and the *Romans*, having ſeized on it, and the adjacent territories, called it *Auguſta Aſturica* (6). Some derive the names, both of the river and of the city, from *Aſtir*, *Memnon*'s coachman, who came thither with other *Trojans*, and planted a colony here (7); but this we look upon as fabulous.

As for the ſeventh legion above-mentioned, we find it called in *Ptolemy legio ſeptima Germanica*; but as there is no mention of any ſuch, either in other authors, or in any antient inſcriptions, but often of *legio ſeptima gemina* (8), it is rightly ſuppoſed, that it is in that author a mere error of the copyiſt, who miſtook it for *Germanica*.

(6) *Geogr. lib.* ii. *Vide & Gerund. paralip. lib.* iii. (7) *Toraph. de reg. Hiſp. ex Lucan. & Sil. Ital.* (8) *Neila apud Vaſei chronic. ſub ann. Chr.* 106.

muni-

municipal one, and, in ſome inſcriptions, ſurnamed *Julia* (O), and then made a colony, with ſome others mentioned by *Pliny* [e], particularly thoſe of *Oſca*, *Ilerda*, and *Turiaſa*. *Calaguris*, ſince *Calahorta*, was the head town of the *Autrigones*, ſeated indifferently by geographers on either ſide, but by the moſt exact on the other ſide the *Iberus*, as we hinted in the laſt note.

Graccuris. *Grachuris*, or *Graccuris*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* among the chief cities of the *Vaſcones*, was, as we are told by *Livy* [f], built by *Tit. Sempron. Gracchus*, who took it from the *Celtiberians*, and called it by his name. Its ſituation is uncertain; only the *Itinerarium* places it on the road to *Cæſar Auguſta*, at ſixty-four miles diſtance from it in the road to *Tarraco*. It is, in ſome antient inſcriptions, ſtiled *Municipium Graccuris*. Some Chriſtian champions, who ſuffered here for the faith in thoſe early times, are, in ſome martyrologies, called the *Grachurian*, and in others the *Ilerdan*, martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of thoſe two places. The laſt we ſhall name is the famed town of the *Vaccæi*, called

Intercata. *Intercata*, celebrated by antient authors for a ſingle combat, which was fought, at the ſiege of that city, between *Scipio Æmilianus* and a bold *Spaniſh* tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no ſooner eſcaped one danger, than he expoſed himſelf to a greater, and was the firſt who ſcaled the walls of that place [g]. We come now to ſpeak of ſome of the moſt celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may juſtly place the metropolis of it.

Tarraco. TARRACO, now *Tarragon*, ſituate on the *Mediterranean* coaſt, between the rivers *Iberus*, or *Iberó*, and the *Rubricatus*, now *Lobregat*. It was a colony planted there by the two

[e] Lib. iii. c. 3. [f] Epit. xlii. [g] LIV. epitom. xlviii. AUREL. VICT. in Scip. Æmil. APPIAN. in Iberic. &c.

(O) It is inſcribed, in ſome *Auguſtan* coins, MVN. CALAG. IVL. that is, *Municipium Calaguris, Julia*; and, in one of *Tiberius*, M. C. I. C. CELERE, C. RECTO IIVIR. that is, *Municipium Calaguris Julia, Caio Celere, Caio Recto, Duumviris.*

As there were two cities of that name, *viz.* this of *Naſcica*, and another ſurnamed *Fibularenſis*, ſome authors have placed them differently on the ſides of the *Iberus*; but *Peter de Marca* and *Cellarius*, whom we chooſe to follow, place the former on the other ſide of that river. As for the latter, which was at ſome diſtance from it, and inferior to it in point of privilege and opulence (9), it was only remarkable for a manufacture of what the *Romans* called *fibulæ*, a kind of buckles or buttons to faſten their garments with; and was diſtinguiſhed by that name, on that account.

(9) *Vid. Cæſ. comment. lib.* i. *c.* 40. *Cellar. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *ſect.* 3.

Scipios, *Publ.* and *Cornel.* with a juridical court; and was the capital of *Hiſpania Romana* (P), not ſo much on account of the excellency of its harbour, as *Strabo* obſerves, as for its being commodiouſly ſituated for all thoſe, who traveled into this kingdom, whether by ſea or land [h]. But *Spaniſh* authors, though they grant thoſe two *Roman* generals to have planted a colony here, will by no means allow, that they founded the city; but fetch its origin as high as *Hercules*, or even *Tubal* [i] (Q).

Below *Tarraco* was the famed city of *Saguntus*, or *Saguntum*, on the ſame coaſt, of which having ſpoken amply in a former volume, and of its dreadful cataſtrophe, we ſhall refer our reader to it [k]. *Valentia*, another antient city a little below *Saguntum*, was the capital of the *Edetani*. It is ſituate on the mouth of the river *Thurias*, about three miles from the ſea, and was antiently ſtiled *Colonia Julia*, and founded by *Junius Brutus*, whilſt he was conſul in *Spain* [l], and given to Saguntus. Valentia.

[h] Lib. iii. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. iii. Taraph. ex Beroſ. & al. vol. xvii. p. 582, et ſeq.

[i] See Gerund. lib. v. &

[k] See before, vol. xii. p. 231, & ſeq.

[l] Liv. epitom. lv. Plin. lib. iii. c. 3.

(P) It is placed by antient geographers in the region or kingdom of the *Coſſetani*, or *Coſſitani*, ſituate between the two rivers above-mentioned. It appears from antient medals to have been a very flouriſhing city, eſpecially in *Auguſtus*'s time; and is called by one *Colonia Victrix*, by another *Colonia Victrix Togata Tarraco*; and in a third are found theſe words, Genio Col. I. V. Tarrac. that is, *Genio Coloniæ Victricis Togatæ Tarraconenſis*. There are ſtill, it ſeems, quantities of ſuch antient coins frequently dug up about the neighbourhood of it; which inclines one to think, it was formerly much larger than it is now, tho' it is at preſent very ſpacious, opulent, and conſiderable (1).

(Q) However that be, it has been all along very famous, having been, ſince, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Arragon*, an archiepiſcopal ſee, and famed for a council or two held there; the firſt by *John* the then metropolitan, and his twelve biſhops, in the year of Chriſt 516. in which it was, amongſt other things, enacted, that the celebration of the *Sunday* ſhould begin on *Saturday* evening. Hence that cuſtom hath, it ſeems, ſpread itſelf almoſt all over *Spain*, to leave off all kind of work from that time (2). In another held under *Berengarius*, primate of the ſame place, 1180. it was ordained, that the dates of all public writings ſhould be computed from the year of Chriſt, which before were wont to be reckoned from the reigns of the *Frankiſh* monarchs (3).

(1) *Vide Cellar. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *ſect.* 3. § 104. *Marin. Sic. de reb. Hiſp. lib.* iii.
(2) *Vaſ. chronic. ſub ann.* 516. (3) *Taraph. ubi ſupra, ſub ann.* 1176.

his army. It was afterwards deſtroyed, with *Herennius* and his accomplices, by *Pompey*, and rebuilt by *Julius Cæſar*. It hath retained its antient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is ſtill of the province of that name, an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Spain*. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honeſty by *Tully*, as they now are, by their own authors, for their ſuperſtition and bigotry [m]. Before we leave this part of *Spain*, we muſt not omit the famous city of *Complutum*, now *Alcala de Henarez*, ſo called from the river *Henarez*, on whoſe banks it is ſituate, in a pleaſant plain; and, as that river falls into the great *Tagus*, the circumjacent cities are eaſily furniſhed with all kinds of proviſions and merchandizes. *Complutum* has now no biſhoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a conſiderable univerſity, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbiſhop of *Toledo*, under whoſe auſpices, care, and immenſe charges, the firſt polyglot bible was compiled, and printed in this city, and is from thence called the *Complutenſian* polyglot (R).

Complutum

WESTWARD of, and between, *Complutum* and the antient city of *Toletum*, now *Toledo*, and on the ſame river *Tagus*, was ſituate the *Mantua* of *Ptolemy*; near which ſpot the town of *Madrid*, the now metropolis of all *Spain*, is ſuppoſed to have

Mantua.

[m] De his vide MARIN. SICUL. de reb. Hiſp. in fin. lib. iii.

(R) This glorious work, the firſt of that kind, was performed by men of the greateſt learning, invited thither by that cardinal at a vaſt charge. It was a conſiderable time in compiling, and about four years in printing, that is, from 1514. to 1517. but the whole was not publiſhed till 1520. when it came out, recommended with a bull of pope *Leo* X. in ſix volumes, including the lexicon. It was printed in four languages, *viz.* the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. The *Hebrew* was as correct as it could poſſibly be done, according to the original; but the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Vulgate Latin*, were corrected in ſuch a vaſt number of places, and from ſuch a prodigious number of manuſcripts, as were procured from all parts at no ſmall expence, in order to render thoſe three verſions more conformable to the original, that it, by degrees, dwindled into diſlike; but hath, however, this merit with the learned, that it ſerved for a model to thoſe which were ſince publiſhed in other kingdoms; among which that of *London* is juſtly eſteemed, in all reſpects, the moſt uſeful and exact, though not enriched with ſuch a variety of coſtly ornaments as that of Mr. *Le Jay*, printed at *Paris* (4).

(4) *Vid. int. al. Mattair. annal. typogr. Palmer, hiſt. of printing. Calmet, diſcourſe of polyglotts, & al. mult.*

been

been ſince built (S). But of this, and many others, both on the ſea-coaſts and in the continent, we ſhall forbear ſaying any thing further, they being ſo well known to almoſt every reader. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the courſe of this article: the reſt, that are of any note, together with ſuch natural rarities that may be worth obſerving, the reader will find in the following note (T), and in the map annexed.

THE

(S) Hence we find it called by ſome *Mantua Carpetana*, by others *Madritum* and *Madritt*; but commonly now *Madrid* (5).

(T) Beſides the cities above-mentioned, we ſhould take notice of a very famed one, namely, *New Carthage*; but as we have had occaſion to ſpeak of it in a former volume, we ſhall refer our readers to it (6). *Segobriga*, alias *Segobrica*, was, as we are told, the capital of the *Celtiberi* (7), concerning whoſe ſituation authors, even *Spaniſh*, differ ſo much, that we can hardly ſay any thing about it. Some think there were two of that name, one in this province of *Tarraco*, and the other at the foot of the *Caſtellan* mountains; but the former, which is the moſt conſiderable, the authors above-quoted place in the neighbourhood of the antient *Numantia*, mentioned not only by them, but by the *Itinerary*, which places it between *Uxama* and *Turiaſo*, near the river *Durius*. This laſt was, it ſeems, ſo excellently fortified by nature, that it neither had, nor needed, any walls, towers, or other fortifications, being ſeated on the top of a ſteep mountain, and ſheltered by much higher hills on three of its ſides, being only acceſſible on the fourth, which opened to a plain, but by ſuch narrow defiles, as could be eaſily guarded by an handful of men. Great wonders are told of this place by the authors underquoted (8); for it would ſwell this note too much, were we to deſcend to particulars. It was, however, quite deſtroyed by the two *Scipios*; but, ſince we find it mentioned by thoſe antient authors, and by the *Itinerary*, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by ſome of their ſucceſſors. We have already given a full account of the *Numantine* war, and the ſad cataſtrophe of that famed city; and ſhall refer our readers to it (9), to avoid repetitions; and, for the ſame reaſon, we ſhall forbear mentioning any more of thoſe antient cities, whoſe names, and further particulars, have been ſufficiently taken notice of in the courſe of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* hiſtory; for thoſe of later date belong not to this, but to the modern part of this work.

Mountains of note, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are the *Pyrenees*, which divide *Spain*

(5) *Vide Sicul. Marin. de reb. Hiſp. lib.* ii.
(6) *See vol.* xviii. *p.* 40.
(7) *Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 3. *Strab. lib.* iii. *Ptol. lib.* ii. *c.* 6.
(8) *Iid. ibid. Flor. bell. Numant. Oroſ. lib.* v. *c.* 7. *Vide & Mariauam, lib.* iii. *& auct. Hiſpan. ſupra citat. & Cellar. ubi ſupra, ſect.* 711.
(9) *See vol.* xii. *p.* 398, *& ſeq.*

Islands. THE chief islands belonging to the *Tarraconian* province,
Gades. are, first, that of *Gades*, situate on the gulph of that name, between the streights of *Gibraltar* and the river *Bætis*, and famed, not so much for its bigness, as for the concourse of foreign nations thither from the earliest times, and for its celebrated city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, names, and other particulars, we have already spoken in this chapter, and in a former volume [n]. *Strabo* gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much smaller breadth; yet it had, according to him, no less than five hundred horsemen in his time [o]. We shall have occasion to speak of the famed temple of it, in the sequel. As for the city, we have, in the preceding part of this volume, mentioned its being plundered by the *Carthaginians*, and taken by the *Romans* [p]. It was since erected into a bishoprick, under the title of *Episcopatus Gadi-*
Erythia. *tanus* [q]. The next is the so much celebrated, and so hard to find, island of *Erythia*, where *Geryon* is said to have kept his fine oxen, which *Hercules* came and stole from him [r]. Some have placed it near that of *Gades*; others think it was the same with it; and others have thought, that it was either sunk into the sea, or was to be sought for among the rocks. We have, however, ventured, in a former chapter of this volume, to offer a conjecture concerning its situation; and shall refer our readers to it [s]. No less difficult has been the search after those

[n] See vol. xvii. p. 344, (E). vol. xviii. p. 470.
[o] Lib. iii.
[p] See vol. xviii. p. 61.
[q] VAS. chronic. c. 21.
[r] HESIOD. theogon. ver. 289, & seq.
[s] Vol. xviii. c. 15. sect. 1. (F).

from *Gaul* by a continued ridge of vast height and depth, and reaches from sea to sea. They are supposed to have been so called, from a fire which spread itself over the surface of them, and burnt with such fierceness during several days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels, as we shall see in the sequel. The *Idubedan* hills were another ridge, which crossed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of several famed rivers, such as those of the *Tagus* and *Anas*, which flowed westward toward the ocean, on one side; and of the *Sucro* and *Thurias*, which ran eastward into the *Mediterranean* on the other. The *Orospedan* ridge seems to have separated this province in part from *Bætica*. They were also called *Mariani montes*, and now *Serra Morena*. We spoke of them under the last article. A great many more this province abounds with; for a further account of which, we must refer our readers to the antient and modern authors, lately quoted; as likewise for those mines, mineral waters, and other curiosities, they and the neighbouring valleys produce, the bare mention of which would carry us far beyond our limits.

ten

ten famed iſlands, called by the *Greeks Caſſiterides*, from whence the *Phœnicians*, the firſt diſcoverers of them, uſed to fetch ſuch vaſt quantities of tin. We ſhould not have mentioned them here, the learned *Camden* having fully ſhewn, that they are our iſlands of *Scilly*, had not ſome of the antients, as *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* [t], placed them on the *Spaniſh* coaſts, ſomewhat beyond the *Promontorium Celticum* or *Artabrum*, or *Cape Finiſter*; and others ſomewhere on the weſtern ocean, about the upper coaſts of *Luſitania* [u]. But as there could never be found any ſuch iſlands on thoſe coaſts, they have been ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate with that of *Erythia* lately mentioned. However, as we ſhall have occaſion to reſume them, when we come to ſpeak of the *Britiſh* iſlands [w], we ſhall ſay no more of them here, but paſs to thoſe which are more conſiderable, and better known to us; and theſe are the *Baleares*, or *Gymneſiæ*, as they are called by the antients. Caſſiterides.

THESE were diſtinguiſhed into *Major* and *Minor*, or, as *Mela* expreſſes it, *Majores* and *Minores*. Their bigneſs, ſituation, and other particulars, are ſo well known to every reader, that it were ſuperfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need to ſay of them here, is, in what ſtate they were in thoſe antient times. In the former, now *Majorca*, *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* place the two cities of *Palma* and *Pollentia*, the one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt; and theſe are by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*, ſtiled *Coloniæ*. In the latter, now *Minorca*, they place likewiſe two cities; to wit, *Jamno* and *Mago*; which were, however, no more than caſtles or forts, if *Mela*'s judgment, who was of that country, is to be preferred to the others. But as they ſeem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this iſland, it is hardly to be doubted but theſe ſoon grew into conſiderable ſea-ports, eſpecially that of *Mago*, which became ſince a celebrated one, under the name of *Maon*. Theſe two iſlands were, on account of their ſituation and harbours, ſtiled *Fortunatæ*, and ſtand at about thirty miles diſtance from each other. They were at firſt poſſeſſed by the *Phœnicians*, who held them till *Q. Metellus* brought them under the *Roman* yoke, for which he got the ſurname of *Balearicus* [x] (U). Baleares.

FAR-

[t] STRAB. lib. iv. PTOL. lib. iii. [u] DIOD. SICUL. lib. v. c. 38. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22, & alibi. MELA, & al [w] See hereafter, ch. 27. [x] De his vide STRAB. & PTOL. ubi ſupra. D. SIC. lib. v. c. 18. MEL. lib. ii. ad fin. FLOR. lib. iii. c. 8.

(U) As to the etymon of *Baleares*, moſt authors derive it from the *Greek* βάλλειν, which ſignifies *to throw with a ſling*, becauſe the inhabitants of them were particularly famed for their

Pityuſæ *iſlands.*

FARTHER, towards the ſtreights, over-againſt the cape *Dianium*, now *Denia*, are the two iſlands called *Pityuſæ* by the antients, from the vaſt quantities of pine-trees which they produced [y]; the one of which, by far the larger of the two, tho' ſmaller than that of *Minorca*, was named *Ebuſus*, now *Ivica*; the other *Ophiuſa*, now *Formentera*. They are both mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; and *Mela* adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poiſonous, nor even wild creatures; and that, if any were brought thither, they could not live in it [z]. The iſland abounded with paſture-ground [a], and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed; ſome have even added ſugar-canes [b], which it is ſaid, they boiled into ſugar, and made a traffick of: but this *Cellarius* has ſhewn to be a miſtake, and that it means no other, than the dried figs above-mentioned [c]. The other, by far the ſmalleſt, is thought by ſome to have been the ſame with that which the *Latins* call *Colubraria*; but the author laſt-quoted hath plainly proved, from the teſtimonies of *Pliny* and *Mela*, that they were two different iſlands; and that the latter was at a much greater diſtance from that of *Ebuſus* than the former; and both of them are ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, that we need ſay no more of them. As for *Ebuſus*, it was the name both of the iſland, and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly called *Ebuſium*; for we find, in antient inſcriptions of *Gruter*, *Ordo Ebuſii*, and *Rp.* or *Reſpublica Ebuſii*; and are further told, that it was a colony of the *Phœnicians* [d]. The laſt iſland worth mentioning was called *Capraria*, and now *Cabrera*, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the *Colubraria* ſeems to have been, from its great quantity of adders. It ſtands on the ſouth of *Majorca*, and is

Their produce.

Colubraria.

Ebuſus.

Capraria.

[y] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5. [z] De ſit. in fin. lib. ii. [a] FEST. AVIEN. deſcript. orb. vet. 621. [b] NONN. c. 94. in Stat. ſylv. lib. i. [c] Lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 4. § 132. [d] SIL. ITAL. lib. iii. ver. 362.

ſkill in it (1): yet, as the *Carthaginians* had theſe iſlands before any other, *Bochart* thinks they gave them that name, which is compounded of two *Punic* words, *Baal* and *Jarah*, which amount to the ſame ſenſe, and ſignify *a ſlinging-maſter*, or *a man expert at throwing*, &c. Their other name of *Gymneſiæ*, or *Gymnaſia*, is, according to the antient authors above-quoted, of *Greek* extract, and was given them on account of their inhabitants going naked in ſummer.

(1) *Vide Diod. Sic. lib.* v. *c.* 18. *Strab. lib.* xiv. *Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 5. *Euſtat. ad Dionyſ. ver.* 457.

chiefly

chiefly noted for being fatal to mariners. All theſe iſlands, and a great number of others mentioned by antient writers, now not to be found, and ſuppoſed to have been ſince ſunk into the ſea, belonged to this province of *Tarracon*, and underwent the ſame fate of paſſing from the *Carthaginian* to the *Roman* yoke. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving from *Pliny* [c], that this province was divided into ſeven *conventus*, or provincial aſſemblies, whoſe names the reader will find in the note (W). It had ſeventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve *Roman*, and eighteen *Latian* cities, and an hundred and thirty-five *ſtipendiaria* or gariſons, in the *Roman* pay, and one confederate.

The ſeven Carthaginian conventus.

[c] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 3. & al. ſupra citat.

(W) Theſe were the *Carthaginienſis*, *Tarraconenſis*, *Cæſar-Auguſtanus*, *Clunienſis*, *Aſturus*, *Lucenſis*, and *Braccarus*.

SECT. II.

The Religion, Laws, Government, Cuſtoms, Learning, &c. *of the antient* Spaniards.

THERE is no doubt to be made, that where-ever *Spain* was inhabited by the deſcendents of the *Celtes*, thither they brought their old religion, government, *&c.* What theſe were, we have given an account of in a former volume [a]; and ſhall ſpeak ſtill more largely upon, in the next chapter of the antient *Gauls*, the undoubted and immediate deſcendents of the antient *Celtic* ſtock; for we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, and ſo, indeed, we find, a great affinity between them in all theſe particulars, as they all ſprang from the ſame origin. But, as the *Gauls* are better known to us than the *Spaniards*, we ſhall refer the greateſt part of what we have to ſay on theſe diferent heads, till we come to their hiſtory; for, could we even admit what the generality of *Spaniſh* writers affirm after *Beroſus*, that *Tubal*, the fifth ſon of *Japhet*, came and peopled *Spain* ſo ſoon as an hundred and forty-three years after the flood, *Gomer*, his eldeſt brother, and the father of the *Celtes*, muſt have been as ſoon in poſſeſſion of *Gaul*; and both muſt, of courſe, be ſuppoſed to have brought the ſame religion, laws, government, *&c.* namely, that which they received from their grandfather *Noah*; which they ſtrictly adhered to for a long ſeries of years, and was, in all theſe countries, the

The religion of the antient Spaniards.

[a] Vol. vi. p. 23, & ſeq.

Simplicity of their worſhip.

ſame as that of the old patriarchs. They worſhiped one Supreme Being, not in temples, as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but in groves conſecrated to him. They believed a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, ſuitable to their behaviour in this. They offered victims to him, and celebrated ſome feſtivals in honour of him; and, in moſt things, obſerved a great ſimplicity in all their religious rites, during a long ſeries of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into ſeveral of their ſuperſtitions, eſpecially into their various ways of divination, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in the next chapter. One bloody and inhuman cuſtom they gave, indeed, into very early, in common with moſt antient nations; to wit, that of human ſacrifices; the origin of which having endeavoured to account for in ſome former parts, we ſhall refer our readers to them, to avoid prolixity [b].

Superſtitious cuſtoms.

Various religions introduced;

BUT, as this country was afterwards invaded by ſuch variety of other nations, the *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, and a multitude of others, who ſettled amongſt them, it is natural to think, that every one brought their own religion and cuſtoms with them; and what theſe were, may be ſeen in the hiſtory we have given of each of thoſe nations, in the courſe of this work. *It is plain, ſuch a mixture of different nations muſt bring not only a vaſt variety of religious laws and cuſtoms, but produce ſome alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed ſome doctrines and notions, rites and faſhions, from one another, as ſuited their taſte or circumſtances.* Superſtition has no bounds, and perſons, either out of wantonneſs or impatience, will be eaſily induced to hunt after a variety of deities, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies. This, we find, was the caſe of the *Iſraelites*, tho' reſtrained from it under ſuch ſevere penalties: how much more will it be ſo, where every one is left at his own liberty?

and ſuperſtitions;

under the Romans;

However, after the coming of the lordly *Romans*, whoſe conſtant policy it was, to introduce every-where their gods, religion, laws, *&c.* either by fair or foul means, we need not doubt, but thoſe that fell under their dominion, were obliged to ſubmit to this change.

under the Goths, &c.

THE inundation likewiſe of the northern nations, ſuch as the *Suevi*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, muſt likewiſe have introduced ſuch changes as may be better imagined than expreſſed. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in their ſeveral hiſtories here enſuing; only thus much may be ſaid here, that, though they had embraced Chriſtianity, yet they were all of them infected with the *Arian* hereſy. This did not, however, ſlacken

[b] Vide int. al. vol. ii. p. 191, & ſeq. 282, & ſeq. vol. iii. p. 336, & 485, & ſeq.

their

their zeal againſt the heatheniſh idolatry and ſuperſtition, which had been introduced there by the *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, and other nations, whoſe temples, altars, ſtatues, *&c.* they deſtroyed where-ever they came, obliging all that fell under their power to embrace their religion; but both *Sueves* and *Goths* at length exchanged their *Arianiſm* for the orthodox faith, the former under the reign of their king *Ariamirus* alias *Theodemirus*, and the latter under *Reccaredus*, who made open profeſſion of it upon his acceſſion to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, biſhops, and clergy; and their confeſſion of faith was preſented to the famed council of *Toledo*, where ſome further regulations were made, for the preſervation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worſhip. This great change was ſo much the more remarkable, conſidering the tenaciouſneſs of thoſe nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without perſecution, or any other violent means. Upon the whole, it muſt be owned, that the *Goths* made many excellent laws and regulations, for the better government in church and ſtate. We ſhall ſpeak of them, in their hiſtory, in a ſubſequent chapter; and ſhall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them, known by ſeveral names, ſuch as, *officium Gothicum*, *Toletanum*, and *Mozarabicum* (A), and ſuppoſed by moſt authors to have been compiled by *Iſidore*, then biſhop of *Hiſpal* or *Seville*. This liturgy was confirmed by the *Toletan* council above-mentioned, tho' the pope did not ſuffer them to enjoy it long, before he obliged them to exchange it for the *Roman*, not without a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition from the *Goths*, eſpecially thoſe of *Catalonia*, who ſent a number of deputies to the council of *Mantua*, to expoſtulate againſt ſuch a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars we are told with relation to this ſucceſsleſs deputation, which, as they diſplay the unfair intrigues and arbitrary ſway of the *Romiſh* court, as well as the ſuperſtitious practices of thoſe times, we ſhall give to our readers in the note (B).

Heatheniſh idolatry aboliſhed.

Arians *converted.*

Their confeſſion of faith.

Excellent laws.

Liturgy.

Suppreſſed by the pope.

It

(A) So called from the name of *Mozarabes*, which they then gave to thoſe Chriſtians, who were under the ſubjection of the *Saracens*.

(B) The merit of theſe two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by ſingle combat; in which one champion was to fight for the *Gothic*, and the other for the *Roman*. They did ſo; and the latter loſt the battle; but, the *Roman* party raiſing ſome freſh chicane about it, it was again agreed to have it tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the *Gothic* was preſerved, and the other burnt. But ſuch was the prevalence of the pope's party,

Government, laws, &c.

Variety of them.

It is probable, that though the first inhabitants of *Spain* were under one monarchical government, upon their first setting in it, as well as those of *Gaul*, *Germany*, and other *European* nations, yet, as they came to increase in number, and inlarge their territories, they split themselves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. This was the case of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, when *Cæsar* first came amongst them, as we shall shew in due time; and much more may we suppose it to have been so here, considering the great variety of nations that came and settled amongst them; for it is more reasonable to suppose, that most, if not all of them, brought and settled their own laws and form of government, than that they should submit to that of the antient inhabitants, especially as many of the former came thither rather as conquerors, than colonies; from all which must necessarily result, not only a vast variety, but likewise a constant fluctuation, of them, as they passed from one dominion to another, especially when they came under that of the *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, *Goths*, and *Vandals* (C).

After

ty, as it was managed by his then legate, that the synod of *Leon* decided afresh in favour of the latter. The *Gothic*, however, was far from being wholly set aside. It was retained by several congregations, and by seven churches of *Toledo*, during a considerable number of years. Neither did it lose its credit by being disused, since even the famed cardinal *Ximenes* erected a chapel in that city, in which the divine worship was to be performed according to the *Gothic* or *Mozabaric* liturgy; but, in the end, means were found to get it condemned, and wholly set aside, and with it the old character, in which it was written (1).

This character was not, however, the old *Runic*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the *German* history, as hath been affirmed by several authors; but the old *Gothic*, in which most, if not all, books were written at that time in *Spain*, and elsewhere; and was near the same with the old *Roman*, but of a coarser mould; and was particularly used in all the *Visigothish* dominions.

(C) How they were governed under those conquerors, may be seen by their history. One thing we must, however, observe here, with respect to the *Romans*; that it was their constant policy, in their conquered dominions, to distinguish between those, that, through fear, or necessity, had either sought their friendship and protection, or willingly submitted to them; and those, who were subdued by force of arms. The former of these they permitted to preserve their laws, and form of government; and only obliged them to pay a certain tribute, and to send a number of auxiliary forces, and perhaps to

(1) *De hoc vid. Vas. chron. sub ann.* 717. *Comec. de gest. fr. Ximenii, lib.* ii. & *al. Vide & Capzow German. & Leddiard. vers. vol.* ii. *p.* 284.

AFTER the expulsion of the *Carthaginians* by the *Scipios*, of which we have given an account in their history, and that of the *Romans* [c], *Spain* was governed by consuls, proconsuls, prætors, proprætors, and *præsides*, from that very time down to the reign of *Tiberius*, if not lower; for we find *L. Piso* prætor of the *Hither Spain* in his time, and a rescript of *Adrian* directed to the consul of *Bætica*. The *præsides* are mentioned likewise in subsequent reigns; but that title was of a more general signification, and applied to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-six emperors, from *Augustus*, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to *Honorius*, in whose reign the *Romans* were expelled by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevi*. Under these emperors, who governed the empire after their own arbitrary will, *Spain* was divided into two provinces; but soon after reduced into one, though under several governors, or *legati* and *tribuni* [d]. About the reign of *Diocletian* and *Maximinian*, it began to be governed by *comites* or counts; and, if any of these were forced to be absent from their jurisdiction, they left the care of it to substitutes, who were called *vicarii*. And lastly, in the time of the *Goths*, those provinces, that were subject to the *Romans*, were set under government of *duces* and *præfecti*. Under the *Goths*, they were governed by nineteen kings, during the space of two hundred years, that is, from *Athanaric*, who began his reign in the year of Christ 369. to *Leovigild*, *ann.* 569. The *Suevi* reigned in *Galicia*, according to *Isidorus*, an hundred and seventy-seven years, that is, from *Hermeric*,

Under the Romans.

Under the Roman *emperors.*

Under the Goths, *and* Suevi.

[c] Vol. xii. p. 318. vol. xviii. p. 54, et seq. Vide & VAS. chron. c. 13.

[d] TACIT. ann.

quarter a number of their troops; but the others they forced to submit wholly to the *Roman* laws and government: tho', by the way, it must be observed, with respect to the former, that if they gave the least umbrage to their pretended protectors, they seldom failed of being stripped of their privileges, and of being reduced to the slavish state of the latter. This proved the case of the *Spaniards*, who were forced, by degrees, to submit, not only to the *Roman* yoke, but to their religion, customs, &c. and even to their language (2).

We find, however, in some antient authors, the names of several petty kings of *Spain*, both in the times of the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, who governed in their several little kingdoms, and lived in peace with, and acknowleged them both, or paid some tribute, perhaps, to them; such as *Mandonius*, whom *Livy* calls king of the *Ilergetes*, *Amusius* king of the *Lacetani*, *Andubal* mentioned by *Polybius*, and some others; but to these the *Romans* only gave the title of *reguli*.

(2) *Vide Aldrete, compend. hist. de Hispania.*

meric,

Succeſſion of their kings.

meric, *A. C.* 408. to *Andeca*, who was defeated and dethroned by *Leovigild* above-mentioned, who brought that kingdom under his ſubjection *A. C.* 581. In this liſt of *Suevian* kings, there is a chaſm of their names for an hundred years, from *Remiſmund*, who infected that kingdom with *Arianiſm*, *A. C.* 464. to *Theodemirus*, who embraced the orthodox faith, the hiſtorians not having thought them worthy to be recorded. The others are ten in number, including *Reccaredus* above-mentioned. Laſtly, the united kingdoms of *Goths* and *Suevi*, which began at *Reccaredus* the ſucceſſor of *Leovigild*, and firſt orthodox king of the *Goths*, *A. C.* 568. laſted an hundred and twenty-ſeven years, that is, to *A. C.* 713. when the *Moors* put an end to the kingdom, in the third year of *Roderic*, their ſeventeenth and laſt king.

Laws.

WHAT laws the antient *Spaniards* originally had, or what new ones were impoſed upon them by their conquerors, we are left to gueſs. We are indeed told, that *Hercules*, upon his coming thither, gave them a body of laws, ſuch as he had brought from his own country, whether *Egypt*, *Tyre*, or *Greece*; but what they were, we are wholly in the dark about (D).

(D) If we may, however, offer a conjecture from what we read about their neighbours the *Gauls*, who had a multiplicity of governments, ſome monarchical, ſome ariſtocratic, and ſome even democratic; and, of the former, ſome limited, ſome deſpotic; we may reaſonably conclude, that every one of them had their own laws, and ſuch as beſt ſuited to their genius, intereſt, and the ſafety of the whole; but theſe do not appear to have extended farther, than to the preſervation of each of their particular forms of government: for, in other caſes, each of them had their grand council, to deliberate, enact, explain, and decide, according to the preſent emergency, as they thought for the good of the community. By theſe, all controverſies between man and man, town and town, diſtrict and diſtrict, were adjudged; and their power was ſuch, that even their kings, where they had not made themſelves wholly abſolute, of which we ſcarce meet with any inſtance, were obliged to ſubmit to their deciſion, ſave only, that in all caſes, where the plaintiff was not ſatisfied with it, he had liberty to challenge his adverſary, and to determine the affair by ſingle combat. The ſame was likewiſe done between city and city, diſtrict and diſtrict, who appointed one or more champions to appear for them, and the cauſe was always adjudged to the conquering ſide; for it was a conſtant maxim amongſt all thoſe antient nations, and more eſpecially with the deſcendents of the *Celtes*, that Providence always interpoſed in ſuch caſes; and that, where-ever the victory fell, there was the ſureſt right.

IN

Valour and diſcipline.

In the art of war, and military diſcipline, we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other nations of *Celtic* extract, were very deficient, truſting too much to their ſtrength and bravery, and deſpiſing all other arts, and even defenſive weapons, as beneath a man of true courage; but, in this reſpect, the *Spaniards*, though no leſs brave and ſtout, had much the advantage of them; and this was chiefly owing to their being ſo early and ſo frequently at war with, and intermixed, and ſubdued by other warlike nations, from whom they received freſh and conſtant improvements; whereas the *Gauls*, and other northern nations, being ſcarcely known till after the coming in of the *Romans*, and having no other wars to wage, except what they did amongſt themſelves, one petty kingdom or commonwealth againſt another, were quite ignorant of martial diſcipline; and even their weapons were ſo clumſily made, and ſo miſerably tempered, that they often became uſeleſs, before half the action was over. In a word, their way of fighting was ſo artleſs and rude, that, in many inſtances, it gave a double advantage to the enemy, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

Way of fighting.

The *Spaniards*, on the contrary, had, by their continual wars with ſuch a variety of polite nations, made themſelves maſters of, and placed their chief confidence in, their expertneſs in every branch of the martial trade.

Excellent weapons.

Diodorus Siculus tells us [e], that the *Celtiberians* had ſuch an excellent way of tempering the ſteel with which they made their weapons, that no ſhield or helmet could reſiſt them; and that they uſed them with equal dexterity both on horſeback and foot, and alternately, if occaſion required. He likewiſe commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleneſs in giving or avoiding of blows; and adds, that they uſed likewiſe the ſame defenſive weapons that other nations did, ſuch as the ſhield, helmet, *&c.*

The length and difficulty of their conqueſt.

And this is the reaſon why the *Romans* were ſo long in ſubduing them, and ſpent more years in the conqueſt of this country, than *Cæſar* did weeks, if we may believe him, in the reduction of *Gaul*. In the former, they were forced to proceed, as it were, inch by inch, againſt a ſtout and warlike nation, that knew how to take every advantage of ground, ſituation, diſpoſition, *&c.* In the other, every battle gained by *Cæſar* (and theſe, by his own confeſſion, were eaſily obtained through this want of ſkill) opened to him a way through whole provinces, who were glad to ſubmit to him on any tolerable terms. What increaſes the wonder is, that, at the coming in of the *Romans*, the *Spaniards* had ſuſtained ſuch long and dreadful wars, eſpecially juſt before, againſt the *Carthaginians*, that one might have expected them to have

[e] Lib. ii. c. 1.

been

been quite exhauſted of their ſtrength; and yet it is plain, they held out againſt them near, if not quite, two hundred years, before they were intirely ſubdued (E). We ſhall conclude this article with a judicious remark, which has been long ſince made, with reſpect to this conqueſt of *Spain*; that though the *Roman* conquerors were always eager of taking the ſurname of thoſe nations they ſubdued, ſuch as *Aſiaticus*, *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. yet none of them, not even *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who is complimented by *Livy* with having put the finiſhing ſtroke to it, nor any of his ſucceſſors, though moſt of them ambitious enough of ſuch high titles, ever took that of *Hiſpanicus*, *Ibericus*, or any other that this country was called by. *Q. Cæcil. Metellus* was the only one who aimed at it, and would fain have obtained that of *Celtibericus*; but could not. This ſeems to argue the *Romans* to have been ſo conſcious of the vaſt deal of blood and treaſure, which it had coſt them, more than any other, that they could ſee no reaſon for beſtowing any ſuch honours upon them, and for which there might not have been the leaſt pretence, had the *Spaniards* been united into one common intereſt, inſtead of being divided into ſo many governments, and under ſo many heads; for this, after all, will be found the main cauſe of their falling under the *Roman* yoke.

(E) Since then we find there was a conſtant neceſſity to keep a numerous army, and a watchful eye over them, and even quite to diſarm whole provinces, to hold them under a tyranny, whilſt many thouſands, thinking it ſhameful and inſupportable, preferred a voluntary death to ſuch a ſlaviſh ſtate; ſo dreadfully abject did it appear to that fierce and warlike nation, ſays *Livy*, to live without arms (3). And indeed what *Valerius Maximus* ſays of the *Celtiberians*, or *Spaniards*, was common to all the *Celtic* nation, and their deſcendents, That they eſteemed nothing ſo glorious, as to die with their ſword in hand, and in defence of their liberty. We ſhall ſee many pregnant inſtances of this noble ſpirit in ſome ſubſequent chapters. Even by the confeſſion of ſome of their own authors, the victories, which they gained over them, often coſt them ſo dear, that they deſerved nothing leſs than ſuch a pompous name (4); and many a triumph they have celebrated over them, which, had it had its due, would have been turned into a doleful mourning for a bloody and ſignal defeat. Thus much, we think, is incumbent on an impartial author to ſay, in juſtice to any brave conquered people, though it be much more common now-a-days to ſee them treated with the ſame contempt and diſregard by modern writers, as they were wont to be by their lordly conquerors.

(3) *De bell. Mac. lib.* iv. (4) *L. Flor. lib.* ii.

How

How ſoon arts and ſciences began to flouriſh in *Spain*, can only be gueſſed at. That they had an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we ſhall mention only three of the moſt illuſtrious; to wit, the famed ſtoic philoſopher *Seneca*, who was a native of *Corduba*; the learned orator *Quintilian*; and the great coſmographer *Pomponius Mela*, often quoted through this work: and though we find other *European* nations very ſlow and late in cultivating them, ſuch as the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others, who affected a ſingular contempt for them, as unſuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, conſidering the vaſt concourſe of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent ſituation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and it ſeems indeed almoſt impoſſible they could have ſubſiſted without them, conſidering the continued invaſions they were expoſed to, and the many enemies they were forced to make head againſt. Even learning, and the liberal arts, if we may believe *Strabo*, began early to flouriſh here [f]; for he tells us, that the *Turdetani*, a people of *Bætica*, were become very famous for them, and were poſſeſſed of a vaſt number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of laws written in verſe, and other pieces of poetry of above ſix thouſand years ſtanding; which laſt, however exaggerated, doth at leaſt ſhew, that there was ſome foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of ſeveral kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by ſeveral other antient authors, particularly one of their own nation [g], but more manifeſtly by what *Pliny* tells us [h] of one *Lartius Licinius*, a private perſon, who made no difficulty to give an immenſe ſum, no leſs than forty thouſand *nummi*, for a book of *Pliny* II.'s commentaries.

Learning, arts, and ſciences.

Their early progreſs in Spain.

We make no ſcruple to affirm, that the original language of *Spain* was the old *Celtic*, of which we have given ſome account in a former volume [i], and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further of in the next chapter; for, whether we ſuppoſe, with the generality of *Spaniſh* authors, that *Tubal* came thither by ſea, and peopled that country, or, as we have elſewhere hinted, that the *Celtes*, or deſcendents of *Gomer* his eldeſt brother, ſpread themſelves thither by gradual migrations, the caſe will be much the ſame in this particular; becauſe, on the ſuppoſition of the former hypotheſis, *Tubal* and *Gomer* parting ſo ſoon

Their language, the old Celtic.

[f] Lib. iii. [g] Pomp. Mela, Sil. Ital. Columel. Martial. Lucan. & al. plur. [h] Epiſt. lib. iii. [i] Vol. vi. p. 30, & ſeq.

after

after the flood, their language muſt have been the ſame; that is, the *Tubalians*, or, as they are called by others, *Cetubales*, and the *Gomerians*, muſt have carried the ſame language into thoſe countries where they ſettled, whether we call it by the name of the one, or of the other; with this difference only, that it muſt have been much purer, and nearer that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether that was the *Hebrew*, or any other; concerning which we ſhall not here repeat what we ſaid on the ſubject at the entrance of this work [k]. But as that *Beroſian* account is now, by moſt learned men (except *the Spaniards*, who are fond of their own antiquity beyond other nations), rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here, and elſewhere, to aſcribe the firſt peopling of *Spain* to the *Celtes*, or deſcendents of *Gomer* (F); for if we allow the *Celtes* to

[k] Vol. i. p. 346, et ſeq.

(F) What confirms this hypotheſis ſtill more, is, that their antient language, as it is ſtill preſerved in ſome parts of *Spain*, appears to be much the ſame with that which is ſpoken by our *Welſh*, who are deſcended from *Gomer*, and retain ſtill their paternal name of *Gomerai*, and call their own language *Gomraeg*, as we have ſhewn in their hiſtory, quoted a little higher. We likewiſe there took notice of the vaſt affinity there is between it and the antient *Hebrew*; inſomuch that to thoſe, who are maſters of both, they plainly appear to be only dialects of the ſame tongue; or, to ſpeak, perhaps, more properly, the *Celtic*, or language of the deſcendents of *Gomer*, is a dialect of the *Hebrew*, or language of *Noah*. And hence the modern *Spaniſh*, as it is now ſpoken throughout that country, will afford us a new proof of what we have advanced on this head. Many learned men have obſerved, that it retains a great number of names, words, and, we might add, idioms too, which to them plainly appeared to be of *Hebrew* extract, but have been at a loſs how to account for it.

It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that they were brought thither by the *Jews*, who fled from their country, whilſt *Nabuchadnezzar* was laying it waſte; and came and ſettled there, as ſome have imagined; for that nation is rather famed for loſing their tongue, than preſerving it; much leſs for propagating it in any country they come to.

This made *Aldrete* to think thoſe words to be of *Arabic*, and not of *Hebrew* extract, and to be of no longer date than the coming in of the *Moors* (5). Had that learned author had recourſe to the old language, which is ſtill kept in ſome parts of *Biſcay*, *Navarre*, and *Catalonia*, he would have found ſuch a vaſt number of them, as would have convinced him, that they muſt be a great many centuries older than the coming in of the *Moors*: and, had he known any thing of the affinity there is be-

(5) *Antiqued. de Hiſpan. lib.* ii. *c.* 8.

tween

to have been either the firſt, or even ſome of the firſt, inhabitants of *Spain*, there will be the leſs wonder there ſhould be ſtill found, in the modern language of that country, ſuch primitive words, notwithſtanding the length of time, and various changes, it may have undergone, ſince it is no more than what may be obſerved, not only in the *High* and *Low Dutch*, and other northern languages, but even in the *French*, the fartheſt removed, and ſtrangelieſt altered, from the old *Gauliſh*, or *Celtic*. We may add, that the modern *Spaniſh* preſerves more of the maſculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old *Celtic*, than any other in *Europe*. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Spaniſh* nation, with reſpect to the antient *Celtic* grandeur and majeſty; and we may ſafely add, of their pride, and ſingular contempt not only for trade, commerce, manufactures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as below their dignity and martial genius; and therefore turned them over, as much as they could, to their ſlaves, as we ſhall ſhew when we come to ſpeak of the *Gauls*, in the next chapter.

Its conformity with other languages, whence.

Between the Celtes *and* Spaniards.

BUT whatever the original language of *Spain* may have been at firſt, it muſt have ſuffered great changes under thoſe different nations, by whom this country was ſubdued: but the greateſt of all was under the *Romans*; for theſe made it their conſtant buſineſs to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their yoke, at firſt, by founding ſchools, and even univerſities, where youth might, with the *Latin* tongue and character, be taught the arts and ſciences, which was no ſmall inducement to inſpire them with a fondneſs for it; and, where that failed, then more forcible means were uſed: ſo that, in time, almoſt the whole kingdom came to ſpeak it as their mother-tongue, except thoſe few tribes of the antient inhabitants, who, perhaps, like our *Welſh* here, fled into their

The Latin *introduced by the* Romans

tween the *Hebrew* and the *Celtic*, he would have eaſily concluded, that all thoſe words and idioms in the modern *Spaniſh* muſt have come from the latter, and not from the former; which would have removed all the difficulty, without having recourſe to the *Arabic*.

What ſeems to have miſled him into this notion, is, that there is likewiſe a great conformity between this laſt language and the *Celtic*: hence that ſurpriſing number of words and idioms common to the *High Dutch* and *Arabic*, which has puzzled ſo many critics, and cannot be otherwiſe accounted for, than by ſuppoſing them to be of *Celtic* original, which, like the old *Arabic*, was, as we hinted a little higher, a dialect, or, as ſome chooſe rather to ſuppoſe it, both the *Hebrew*, and they, were dialects of the original tongue.

mountainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original one.

Corrupted by the Goths *and* Vandals.

THE *Latin* continued no longer there than to the coming in of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, under whom it began by degrees to dwindle from its purity, as it did in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and other parts, where thoſe barbarous nations, as they were called, got any dominion; and to adopt their barbariſms, and to degenerate into the ſtate in which we ſee it now. And here it muſt be obſerved, with reſpect to the *Spaniſh*, that it has ſuffered the leaſt corruption, and retains more of the antient *Latin*, of any in *Europe*. This makes us think, that it did not receive any conſiderable alteration under the *Moors*; otherwiſe it muſt have deviated much more from it than it actually doth. Beſides, it is not likely, whatever *Aldrete* might infer from his fanſied words and idioms of *Arabic* extract, that *Spaniards*, fond as they ever were of their old ways, would have adopted any thing from a nation, which could not but be hateful to them, as invaders and conquerors; and much more ſo, on account of their religion.

Their writing.

FROM what we lately quoted out of *Strabo*, it is plain, the antient *Spaniards* muſt have admitted writing amongſt them many ages before either the *Gauls*, *Germans*, or any others of *Celtic* extract; ſince theſe, as ſhall be ſhewn in due place, made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their hiſtory, learning, or religion, but contented themſelves with preſerving them in proper poems; which their druids and bards learned by heart, and tranſmitted in the ſame way to their diſciples. But it is more than probable, that the former were, in ſome meaſure, forced to it by ſome of thoſe many nations under whoſe dominion they paſſed from time to time, ſuch eſpecially as the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*. But which of thoſe different characters was firſt adopted, or became moſt in vogue, we cannot pretend to ſay; only that, from the coming of the *Romans*, their letters, as well as language, drove out all the reſt, and were in uſe till their expulſion, when the old *Gothic*, of which we gave an account at the beginning of this ſection, took place (G).

(G) This laſt, though far inferior to the *Roman* in beauty, and more tiring to the eyes, continued in ſuch vogue throughout *Europe*, from the coming of the *Goths*, downwards, that all church, divinity, and law-books, were written, and (even long after the invention of printing, and reviving of the old *Roman*) were printed in it. We have ſeen there why and how it was at length condemned and ſet aſide.

An odd way of computing time in Spain.

It will not be amiss here to take notice of an odd way, which the *Spaniards* of old had of computing of time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its rise in the reign of *Cæsar Augustus*, prevailed all over *Spain*, and was not abolished till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, first in *Arragon*, by *Peter* IV. *A. D.* 1358. in *Castile*, by king *John*, an. 1383. and in *Portugal*, by *John* I. an. 1415. This way was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, instead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Christ, or any other remarkable epoch; and this was used, not only in their profane, but, what is still more surprising, in their ecclesiastic records. So that it has puzzled the learned not a little, at first, to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a tolerable etymon for that word thus used. It shall suffice to say here, that they are all agreed on one point; to wit, that the æra commenced in *Augustus*'s time; some add, that it was instituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Christ. Some reckon it but barely twenty-six years; and think those highly mistaken who give it any more [l]. Others think it began on the year in which that prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangelist words it; and that it was called æra from the *æs*, or copper coin, which was exacted by that decree [m]. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Christ, which was, according to them, the year in which *Julius Cæsar* was killed, and *Augustus* succeeded him [n]. The rightest of them, in our opinion, are those who deduct the first four years out of that emperor's reign, because, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the *Spaniards* should have begun so soon to compliment him with this new computation; and consequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of his triumvirate, when that country, together with *Gaul*, and some other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was, according to *Usher*, forty years before the birth of Christ. As for the original of the word, those that do not like that we mentioned above, which is that of *Isidore* bishop of *Seville* [o], will be less pleased with some others, which *Spanish* critics have fetched still farther. That of *Vaseus*, who thinks that æra was a mark stamped on the coin, to shew the value of it; and that of *Resendius*, who affirms that æra was nothing else but a term to signify a computation, or computed number; would appear most probable to us, if they were backed with any good authority [p].

Whence, and when introduced.

Why called æra.

[l] Gerund. paralipom. Hispan. lib. x. in fin. ex Isidor. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Vide Vasei chronic. c. 22. Vas. apud eund. ibid. [o] Epist. ad [p] Iidem ibid.

Excellent way of educating their youth.

THE education of their children in antient days chiefly conſiſted in training them up to martial deeds, uſing them to ſuch food and exerciſes, as tended to make them ſtrong and robuſt, active and nimble; in inſpiring them with a love of liberty, and a contempt of death. Theſe principles were ſo ſtrongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and ſo carefully riveted in them both by precept and example, as they grew up, as well as by the hopes of a glorious future life to the bold and brave, and of miſery and ignominy to the baſe and cowardly, that the whole nation ſeemed unanimouſly to prefer death before ſlavery; and looked upon it as the moſt glorious of all bleſſings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in this martial way, contracted ſuch an habit of bravery, that they ſeldom or never failed of ſhewing ſome ſignal examples of it to them, as often as an opportunity offered itſelf. But we ſhall defer ſpeaking more particularly on this head, till the next chapter, where we ſhall ſingle out ſeveral inſtances of this native valour, in theſe and other *Celtic* nations, even in thoſe of the ſofter ſex, and tender years.

Great love of liberty.

Bravery of their women.

Commerce, and antient ſtate.

WE have already obſerved, that this country was not only excellently ſituate for trade and commerce, but abounded with ſuch commodities, eſpecially ſilver, as invited all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, to come thither for them, to ſettle among them, and even to ſubdue them; inſomuch that ſcarce any kingdom under heaven ever paſſed through ſo many different dominions as this. *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Tyrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Moors*, and many others, have had their particular ſettlements in it; and the greateſt part of them, if not all, have held it, or at leaſt ſome conſiderable ſhare of it, under their ſubjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it (H).

To

(H) What condition the country was in, before thoſe ſtrange nations came into it, we dare not ſay; though, if we were to believe one half of what the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians have written on this head, it muſt have been in a more flouriſhing condition than any other; ſince we are told by them, that, even before the coming of *Hercules*, it had a great number of rich and ſtately towns and cities, and theſe of great antiquity too (6): and this ſeems, in ſome meaſure, confirmed by antient writers, ſuch as *Strabo*, *Juſtin*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and others; and indeed, if they really had ſuch a ſucceſſion as we are going to give

(6) *Vide inter al. Gerund. ubi ſupra, lib.* i. *Garſi de academ. Hiſp. Nomenclat. urb. Hiſpan. Taraph. de orig. &c. reg. Hiſpan. Vaſ. chronic. & al. plur.*

in

General character of the antient Spaniards.

To cloſe up the character of the antient *Spaniards*, they poſſeſſed all the virtues of the old *Celtic* nation, and inherited fewer of their vices than any others of their deſcendents; they were brave, noble, and magnanimous, and hoſpitable to an high degree; and ſo famed for their faithfulneſs, that, even after their being conquered by the *Romans*, ſeveral of thoſe emperors preferred them to other nations, to be their life-guard. They were ſober, frugal, patient under hardſhips, jealous of their honour, and, till a few centuries paſt, rather deſirous, as much as they could, to preſerve their own territories, than to go in ſearch of new ones abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of *Celtic* extract, thoſe of pride, cruelty, ſuperſtition, and lazineſs, are juſtly laid to their charge, as well as to that of the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others; but it doth not appear, that they imitated them in their ſumptuous banquets, much leſs in their exceſſive fondneſs for ſtrong liquors; on the contrary, they are famed for their averſion to them, by which they preſerved themſelves from ſuch bloody quarrels, as were the natural conſequence of thoſe drunken revels, which we find to have been ſo indulged among their neighbours, and were commonly attended with the worſt effects.

in the next ſection, of long-lived and opulent monarchs, from *Tubal* the grandſon of *Noah* to *Geryon*, whom that hero overcame, there would be no room to doubt of the truth of ſuch antient cities having been built before his time. But the misfortune is, that there is no other authority for thoſe reigns, than that of *Beroſus*, who, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, is juſtly looked upon now as a fabulous author, and that what the *Greek* and *Roman* authors mentioned above have ſaid of the pretended antiquity of thoſe cities, and their founders, was, in all likelihood, taken upon truſt from the *Spaniards* themſelves, who appear plainly enough to have been as fond of indulging this paſſion for antiquity, as ever the *Greeks*, or any other of their neighbours; but of this we muſt leave every reader to judge for himſelf.

SECT. III.

The Origin, Antiquity, and Chronology, of the antient Spaniards.

WE have, in ſeveral parts of this work [a], proceeded on the moſt probable hypotheſis, founded on the teſtimony of the beſt and moſt antient authors, that the *Celtes*, the deſcend- Spain, *its firſt inhabitants*.

[a] See before, vol. i. p. 375, & ſeq. vol. vi. p. 4, & ſeq. & alibi paſſim.

ents of *Gomer* the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet* [b], were the firſt that peopled *Europe*, at leaſt as far as the *Danube* and *Rhine*, and even beyond. Whether this was done by gradual migrations from the place of their diſperſion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by ſea, will, we think, be more properly inquired into in the next chapter, where we ſhall ſpeak of the *Gauls* the immediate deſcendents of thoſe *Celtes*; and where we ſhall ſhew, from the beſt antient teſtimonies, that theſe were, from the earlieſt times, found ſettled in every part of it, and even in this of *Spain*, notwithſtanding its being ſurrounded on three ſides by the ſea, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, before any nation that intermingled afterwards among them, of whom we have given an account in the firſt ſection of this chapter, and ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak at the entrance of the next [c]. According to this hypotheſis, it will be impoſſible to gueſs, about what time either this, or any other country of *Europe*, were peopled by them, or which of them hath the preference in point of antientneſs before the reſt, or even to aſſert any thing of this country before the coming of *Hercules* into it.

BUT the *Spaniards*, ever fond of their own antiquity, having once adopted the fabulous *Beroſus*, have fetched their origin from another ſpring, namely, from *Tubal*, the fifth ſon of *Japhet* [d], whom that author affirms to have come into, and reigned in *Spain* from the year of the flood 143. to 258. and from whom they pretend to derive a regular ſeries of long-winded monarchs, down to the three *Geryons*, who were killed by the *Egyptian Hercules*, to ſay nothing of a much longer one, which they likewiſe draw from this laſt hero, and ſome other newcomers from *Libya*, down to the time in which they allow the *Celtes* to have made their firſt entrance into *Spain*; to wit, in the year of the flood 1350. So that, according to theſe authors, *Spain* had been a monarchy, and had laſted one thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſix years before the coming of the *Celtes* into it [e]. This account, how fabulous ſoever, not only with regard to *Tubal*'s reign, and of his pretended ſucceſſors, but likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, with regard to thoſe of *Hercules*, as it is not only adopted by all the *Spaniſh* authors in general, but likewiſe by all the followers of *Beroſus*, we ſhall be obliged, before we go further, to give our readers a compendious ſketch of it, eſpecially as we have all along in

Beroſian *liſt of their kings.*

[b] Geneſ. x. 2. [c] Sect. 3, and 4. of chap. 25. [d] Geneſ. ubi ſupra. [e] Vide inter al. GARIBAY. compend. hiſt. Hiſpan. lib. iv. c. 4, & ſeq. VAS. chron. Hiſpan. c. 10. ſub an. diluv. 1350. GERUND. paralip. Hiſp. SANT. MARIANNA. et al. mult.

this

this work given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the hiſtory of each nation.

1. TUBAL, having received his grandfather's bleſſing, came, according to theſe hiſtorians, and ſettled in ſome part of *Spain* (A), in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned there to the year 258. during which interval *Noah*, called by profane authors *Janus*, came thither, and built two cities, the one of which he called, from his own name, *Noela* in *Galicia*, and the other *Noega* in *Aſturia*, and which, to this day, retains that of *Navia*. Tubal, *or* Thubal.

2. IBERUS, the ſon of *Tubal*, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258. reigned thirty-ſeven years, that is, to the year 295. From him our authors pretend, that the river *Iberus*, from which *Spain* was called *Iberia*, had its name. We have elſewhere given a much more probable etymon of theſe two names [f]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, Iberus.

3. IDUBEDA, by ſome called *Juballa*, and *Jubalda*, who reigned ſixty-four years, gave name to the famed *Idubedean* mountains, peopled the province of *Briga*, now *Riola*, and called it by that name from, Idubeda.

4. BRIGO, his ſon and ſucceſſor (B), who reigned fifty-two years, and left the kingdom to his ſon, Brigo.

5. TAGUS,

[f] See before, vol. vi. p. 6. & ſeq. & note.

(A) This *Beroſian* fable they think ſufficiently backed by what we read in *Joſephus* (1), who makes *Jubal*, or *Thubal*, as he is called, to have peopled *Spain*; and by St. *Jerom*'s comment on the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Ezekiel*, where he underſtands by *Tubal* either *Italy* or *Spain*; but this, at moſt, will only prove, that ſome of that patriarch's poſterity came and peopled this country, or perhaps came and ſettled in ſome part of it; but not, that he came thither himſelf, and founded a monarchy in it; which has been ſufficiently exploded in ſome former parts of this work (2), and by the generality of authors, who have confuted the fabulous founder of that notion (3).

However, theſe partial ones, who have adopted it, have built many other conjectural ſchemes upon it; ſuch as the place where he landed, ſettled, *&c.* the ſyſtem of religion, laws, *&c.* he left with them, and the like; inſomuch that they affirm, that his deſcendents ſtrictly adhered to the precepts given to *Noah* by GOD, and preſerved themſelves free from idolatry, polytheiſm, and all the heatheniſh ſuperſtition, till *Hercules* brought thoſe plagues from *Egypt*, and infected *Spain* with them.

(B) From him the *Briones*, or *Brigones*, ſituate along the long

(1) *Antiq. lib.* i. *c.* 3. (2) *See before, vol.* i. *p.* 377, *& ſeq. vol.* vi. *p.* 4, *& ſeq.* (3) *Vide inter al. Bochart. phaleg. Sir Walter Raleigh, hiſt. Perizon. Pezron, Calmet, comm. in Geneſ.* x. 2, *& al.*

Tagus. 5. TAGUS, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river *Tagus*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Bœtus, *the laſt of* Tubal's *line.* 6. BOETUS, from whom the river *Bætis*, and the province of *Bætia* or *Bætica*, formerly *Turdetania*, and ſince *Andaluſia*, had their names. He is ſaid to have been ſurnamed *Turdetanus*, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging, learning.

Geryon. 7. GERYON, an *African* or *Libyan*, of a gigantic ſtature, and a bloody tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood 514. and reigned, according to ſome, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others [g]. Againſt him came *Oſiris*, or, as he is called by others, *Dionyſius*, king of *Egypt*, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant (C), and divided his kingdom between his three ſons, commonly called the three *Geryons*, after having firſt exacted a ſtrict promiſe from

[g] Conf. GARIBAY, compend. VAS. chron. Hiſp. ſub an. diluvii 514.

ridge of *Idubedean* mountains, are affirmed, by the *Navarrean* hiſtorians, to have been named, as well as the city of *Cantabria*, antiently, according to them, *Cantabriga*; whilſt the *Caſtellani* derive both from the *Galli Bracati*, who came and ſettled there.

(C) This *Geryon* was alſo called *Deabus*, and is ſurnamed, by the *Greeks*, *Chryſco*, on account of the vaſt wealth which he had gotten by his plunders and robberies. He is ſaid to have brought over a number of wild or *Scenite Arabs*, and to have been the founder of the city of *Girona*. *Diodorus Siculus* (4) makes him the ſon of *Chryſdor*, or the golden ſword, the ſon of *Meduſa*. From his defeat is ſuppoſed to have ſprung the fable of *Hercules*'s overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away, ſpoken of in a former volume (5). *Juſtin*, indeed, makes mention of him, and of his vaſt herds of cattle (6); but *Strabo* and *Pliny* look upon the whole as a mere fable (7); and *Arrian* further affirms (8), that there never was ſuch a king as *Geryon* in *Spain*. *Ariſtotle* ſays, that *Hercules* (whom even ſome *Spaniſh* authors affirm to have been, not the *Egyptian*, but the *Greek* one, and ſon of *Jupiter* (9) by *Alcmena*), had been enticed over into *Spain* by the richneſs of its inhabitants; whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongſt them, forbidding the uſe or poſſeſſion of ſilver, which was ſtill in force ſome time after the coming thither of the *Carthaginians* (1). Something like this law was likewiſe among ſome of the antient *Gauls*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter.

(4) *Lib.* ix. *c.* 4. *Vide & Aldrete, var. antiguedad. lib.* iv. *c.* 18. (5) *See before, vol.* vi. *p.* 161. *ſub not.* (6) *Hiſt. lib.* xliv. (7) *Strab. lib.* ii. *Plin. lib.* iv. *c.* 22. (8) *De geſt. Alex. Mag. lib.* ii. (9) *Vide Gerundenſ. paralipom. lib.* ii. *Ant. Nebrigenſ. & al.* (1) *Vaſei chronic. ſub an. diluv.* 539.

them,

them, that they would reign amicably, and abſtain from thoſe plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had ſo juſtly puniſhed their father.

8. THREE *Geryons*, ſaid to have been all of one birth, and the laſt of the *Geryonic* race, reigned with ſuch ſurpriſing concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that repreſents them with a threefold body. Theſe being ſuppoſed to have had an hand in the death of *Oſiris*, in revenge of that of their father, *Hercules* his ſon brought a great army from *Egypt*, overcame and ſlew them, one after another, in ſingle combat. It is ſaid, that the columns between the *Carpean* and *Abylean* mountains were ſet up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near forty years, when they received this overthrow, and were buried in the iſle of *Gades* [h]. *Hercules*, who did not come ſo much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no ſooner overcome the three *Geryons*, than he made ready to paſs into *Italy*, and left the government of *Spain* to his ſon, Geryons.

9. HISPAL (D), who built the city of that name, now called *Seville*, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by *Cæſar*: and from *Hiſpal* began a new ſucceſſion of *Spaniſh* kings. He is ſaid to have reigned ſeventeen years, and to have left his kingdom to his ſon, Hiſpal.

10. HISPAN, or *Hiſpanus*, from whom the country took its name, which it hath preſerved ever ſince. He began his reign in the year of the flood 607. and reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnifient prince (E), and to have made the city of *Gades* his chief redence [i]. Hiſpan.

11. HERCULES,

[h] GARIBAY, ubi ſup. lib. iv. c. 12. ad fin. [i] Id. ib. in fin. c. 14.

(D) In this expedition it is pretended, that our *Egyptian* hero introduced the idolatry and ſuperſtition of his country; to which another author adds the bloody rite of offering up human victims (2).

He had likewiſe two favourite companions with him, the one named *Zacynthus*, and the other *Baleon*; the former of whom gave his name to the famed city of *Zacynthum*, ſince *Saguntum* (3); and the other to the *Balearic* iſlands, now *Majorca* and *Minorca* (4).

Another antient author, who 'was a *Spaniard* by birth, adds, that the *Tyrians* built a ſtately temple to this *Hercules*, which became famous both for its antiquity and vaſt treaſures (5).

(E) To him ſome antient authors have falſly aſcribed, among

(2) *Lactan. lib.* i. *c.* 21. (3) *Vide Hieronym. proœm. in epiſt. ad Galat.*
(4) *Luc. Flor. lib.* ix. (5) *P. Mela, de ſit. orb. lib.* iii. *c.* 6.

other

Hercules. HERCULES, hearing of his grandson *Hiſpan*'s death, returned into *Spain*, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639. to 658. Being grown very old, he bequeathed the *Spaniſh* kingdom to *Heſperus*, one of his captains and companions, and died, and was buried at *Gades*, or *Caliz*, where that ſtately monument was erected to him, which we mentioned in a late note, and which became in high veneration, not only among the *Spaniards*, but was reſorted to by moſt nations of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Afric*.

Heſperus. 11. HESPERUS, from whom both *Spain* and *Italy* were called *Heſperia*, but the former, by way of diſtinction, *Heſperia Magna*, and his brother *Atlas*, ſurnamed *Italus*, had accompanied *Hercules* in all his excurſions and conqueſts. Upon the death of that hero, *Heſperus* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor, as by his will and appointment. *Atlas*, who is ſuppoſed to have been left in *Italy*, upon the return of the other two into *Spain*, came thither alſo himſelf, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669. after he had reigned there eleven years.

Atlas. 12. ATLAS, after he had reigned ten years in *Spain*, is ſaid to have returned into *Italy*, in order to drive his brother thence alſo; for, it ſeems, that fugitive prince was fled thither, and was ſo well received, as to give him new cauſe of jealouſy. Upon his departure, he left the kingdom to his ſon,

Orus. 13. ORUS, or *Sicorus* (F), who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river *Sicoris*, now *Segre*, which falls into the *Iberus*, or *Ebro*; and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Sicanus. 14. SICANUS, who had followed him from *Italy* into *Spain*; a prince ſaid to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river *Anas*, now *Ana*, and reigned thirty-two years; during which he is ſaid to have carried his ſucceſsful arms into *Italy* and *Sicily*, which was from him called *Sicania*, as it had been before *Trinacria*, and ſince *Sicily*, from his ſucceſſor,

other ſumptuous works, the aqueduct of *Segovia*, which was built by the emperor *Trajan*, and the *Pharus* or famed tower of *Corunna*, a maritim city in *Galicia*, which was erected in *Auguſtus*'s time (6).

(F) From this, and the two following princes names, *Sicanus* and *Siceleus*, it is ſuppoſed, that their proper names were *Orus*, *Anus*, and *Eleus*; and that the *Sic* was a titular prænomen; and this is further proved by *Anus* giving his name to the river *Ana*, and *Eleus* to that of *Elea* (7).

(6) *Vide Flor. Vaſ. chronic. Garic. & al. ubi ſupra.* (7) *Idem ibid. c.* 24. *Vid. Ant. Nebrig. hiſt. reg. catholi, Vaſ. chronic. ſub an. diluv.* 967. *& al.*

15. SICE-

15. SICELEUS succeeded his father, and reigned forty-four years; during which he is said to have passed over into *Italy*, and performed very great feats, and to have assisted *Iasius*, the grandson of *Atlas*, by *Electra* his daughter, who was then at high wars with *Dardanus*, about the succession to certain states in that country. In this prince's reign the *Deucalian* flood is said to have happened; and that *Moses* was then likewise performing his wonders before the hardened king of *Egypt*. Siceleus.

16. SICELEUS was succeeded by his son *Lusus*, who had accompanied him in his wars in *Italy*. He is said to have been a brave prince, but vastly addicted to the heathenish superstitions that then prevailed. Some attribute the peopling of *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, to him; others to *Lusus*, a chieftain and companion of *Bacchus*, as we lately hinted. *Lusus* reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by, Lusus.

17. ULUS, or *Sic-Ulus*, whom some make the son of *Lusus*, others of *Atlas*. He was so warlike a prince, and kept such vast armies and fleets, that he was called the son of *Neptune*. He passed over into *Italy*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies that had been settled there by *Atlas*, repressed their enemies there, peopled some countries in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, built some cities, and particularly the famed castle of *Alsino*: thence he passed into *Sicily*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies, which his predecessors had fixed there, and who, it seems, were sadly harassed by the other inhabitants of that island; which, from his great feats there, he called by his own name. He reigned about sixty years, and was succeeded, by what means we are not told [k], by, Ulus.

18. TESTA, an *African* or *Libyan*, to whom, however, the *Spanish* historians give the character of a good and wise prince. Some of them affirm, that, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, a colony of *Greeks*, from the island of *Zacynthus*, came into *Spain* by sea, and, with his permission, settled in that part of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by those of *Saguntini* and *Saguntines*, mentioned in a former volume [l]. As for *Testa*, after a reign of seventy-four years, he was succeeded by his son, Testa.

19. ROMUS, who reigned thirty-three years, and is supposed to have founded the city of *Rome*, in the province of *Tarragona*, since called *Valentia*, from the *Romans* calling that city afterwards by this name, and inlarging and beautifying it, Romus.

[k] Idem, c. 23. VAS. sub an. diluv. 893, & al. [l] See before, vol. xvii. p. 578.

and

and making it the metropolis of it (G). *Romus* was succeeded by,

Palatuus. 20. PALATUUS, the supposed founder of the city of *Palentia*, or *Palantia*. This prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquillity, when a famous warrior, named *Licinius Cacus*, raised a war against him, and deprived him, according to some, of part, according to others, of his whole kingdom, and forced him to wander about from country to country, whilst he reigned uncontrouled, and encouraged all kinds of arts and handicraft trades, which, till then, had been much neglected in that country. At length, *Palatuus* found means to recover his kingdom from him, after he had possessed it thirty-six years; and gave him a total overthrow near mount *Cacus*, now *Montcajo*, so called from him after this overthrow. Some pretend, that he was slain upon it; others, that he retired into *Italy*. However that be, *Palatuus* reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by,

Cacus *defeated.*

Erythræus. 21. ERYTHRÆUS, in whose reign is placed the founding of *Carthage*, of which we shall say no more here, having given an ample account of it in a former volume [m]. He is said to have given name to the famed island of *Erythræa*, or *Erythia*, as it is called by *Mela* [n] and *Pliny* [o], an island, which has been sought for far and near [p]. We have endeavoured, in this volume, to give the best account of its situation, to which we shall refer our readers [q]. *Erythræus* was the last of the line

[m] Vol. xvii. p. 221, & seq. [n] De situ, lib. iii. c. 6. [o] PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22. [p] Conf. auct. supra citat. et ARRIAN. cum mult. al. [q] Vol. xviii. p. 187, (F)

(G) Others will have it, that the people of the province built this famed city, and called it by that name, in honour of *Romus*; and that the *Greeks* called it *Rome*, and the *Latins Valentia*, as names of the same import in each language (8).

In this prince's reign, the *Phœnicians* are said to have made their first entrance into *Spain*; and about the same time also the famed *Greek* chieftain *Iacchus*, or *Bacchus*, surnamed *Liber Pater*, not so much with a design to conquer that country, as to spread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other, side of the world, where he is said to have carried his conquests as far as the *Indies*. As he traveled through *Andalusia*, he built the famed city *Nebrisa*, in the province of *Bætica*, since called *Veneria*, and now *Lebrixa*, the native place of the learned *Antony Nebrissensis*, often quoted in this chapter; who says, on this head, that *Lusus*, the son of *Bacchus*, gave name to *Lusitania*; and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the destruction of *Troy*.

(8) *Garib. ubi supra, c. 24. Idem ibid. c. 26.*

of *Teſta*; in which the monarchy had laſted two hundred and forty-five years, according to ſome, or an hundred and twenty-three, according to others [r], including the thirty-ſix years of *Licinius*'s uſurpation. He was ſucceeded by,

Gargoras.

22. GARGORAS, ſurnamed *Mellicola*, becauſe, as *Juſtin* hath it [s], he found out the uſe of honey, and cultivating of bees. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, a wiſe prince, and a great promoter of induſtry. In his reign, the famed city of *Troy* having been deſtroyed by the *Greeks*, of which, as well as its long ſiege, an account has been given in a former volume [t], many of thoſe warriors, who either did not care, or were hindered, by contrary winds, from returning into their own country, came and ſettled in *Spain*, and built cities in ſeveral parts of it, and, amongſt them, thoſe which the reader will find in note (H). To *Gargoras* ſucceeded, if we may believe *Juſtin* [u],

Habis, *his excellent reign.*

23. HABIS, his grandſon by a daughter, and a baſtard, but, in all other reſpects, an extraordinary prince, whether we conſider the many and ſurpriſing dangers he was obliged to go through, and from which he was delivered, as it were, by as many miracles, or the beauty and talneſs of his perſon, or the many and ſignal benefits which the *Spaniſh* nation received from

[r] Conf. ANT. NEBRIGENS. GARIBAY, et VASÆUM, ubi ſupra.
[s] Hiſt. lib. xliv. [t] Vol. iv. p. 498. [u] Lib. xliv.

(H) *Teucer*, the ſon of *Telamon*, one of the firſt that came into *Spain*, ſettled in that part where the new *Carthage* was built, ſince called *Carthagena*, if he was not the founder of it. From thence he paſſed into *Galicia*, and gave name to that canton (9). He is likewiſe ſaid to have built the city of *Salmantica*, now *Salamanca*, in memory of his own native country; though *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, who calls it *Elmantica*, ſays nothing of his founding it. *Amphilochus*, a companion of *Teucer*, is ſaid to have built that of *Amphiloqua*, ſince called *Aguas Caldas*, or hot waters, and now *Orenſe* in *Galicia*. *Diomedes* built *Tydo* on the banks of the *Minius*, now *Minno*, in memory of his father *Tydeus*. It retains ſtill the name of *Tuy*, *Tuya*, and *Tude*. Some other places and colonies, theſe, and a few more, gave name to; as *Aſtur* to *Aſturias*, *Ulyſſes* to *Ulyſſipone*, now *Lisbon*, where he built alſo a temple to *Pallas*. *Strabo* (1) calls this city *Ulixipolis*, or city of *Ulyſſes*. *Mneſtheus* built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coaſts of *Andaluſia*, near the city of *Gades*, or *Caliz*; in which laſt, the *Andaluſians* ſay, was a ſtately temple, built by the ſame warrior, which became in time famous, and much reſorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world.

(9) *Juſtin. ex Trog. lib.* xliv. (1) *Strab. lib.* iii.

him

him during his reign, to which he was, for his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather in his life. The *Spaniards* at that time were ſtill ſo very rude and uncivilized, that they knew nothing of the uſe of bread, or of cultivating the earth. It was he, it ſeems, that firſt taught them to plow their land with oxen, to ſow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewiſe gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them ſeven courts of judicature in ſeven cities of his kingdom. Our author adds, that, after his death, his kingdom continued in his poſterity during ſeveral centuries; but we muſt not thence ſuppoſe, that either he or they, or indeed any of his predeceſſors, were maſters of the whole country, but only of ſome conſiderable part, as we hinted a little higher, in ſpeaking of their government. How long this laſt king reigned, who ſucceeded him, *&c.* what other kings reigned in other parts of *Spain*, and many other things relating to the antient hiſtory of it, we are wholly left in the dark about, down to the coming of the *Carthaginians*, no antient hiſtorian having left us any thing about it. Only this chaſm is filled up, by ſome of their authors, with ſuch fabulous ſtuff, as what we have here in *England* from our own monkiſh books. We ſhall mention one or two of them, by way of ſample, in the note (I).

Year of the flood 699.

ABOUT forty-two years after, the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*, are ſaid to have come firſt into *Spain*, and about twenty years after the *Rhodians*. Of the firſt it is affirmed, that they fought for ſome time with the *Spaniards*, or *Iberians*, as they were then called,

(I) In the year after the flood 1250. that is, thirty-four years after the beginning of *Habis*'s reign, began, according to theſe authors, ſuch an extraordinary drought, that it did not rain in all *Spain* during the ſpace of twenty-ſix years; inſomuch that all the rivers of it, except the *Bætis* and the *Iberus*, were dried up, and the country become almoſt a deſert, for want of inhabitants. If ſuch a long and univerſal drought had really happened, it would rather be a wonder, that there were either man or beaſt alive in moſt parts of that vaſt country. They tell us, indeed, that about the ſame time a certain people, whom they call *Almonides*, came and ſettled in it; but, if ſo, is it not very ſtrange, that no antient author ſhould have taken the leaſt notice of it (2)? for which reaſon the learned author, often quoted in this chapter, juſtly rejects both as fabulous (3). Fifty-ſeven years after, *Homer*, or, as his right name was, *Meleſigenes*, traveled through *Spain* and *Italy*. This was before he loſt his ſight; and he, according to *Herodotus*, flouriſhed an hundred and ſixty-eight years after the *Trojan* war (4).

(2) *Vaſ. ſub an.* (3) *A. Nebricenſ. ubi ſupra.* (4) *Vide Strab. lib.* iii.

about

about their ſettlements; but agreed at length upon a peace and mutual friendſhip; ſo that they, from that time, became ſo blended with each other, by intermarrying and living together, that they became as one people, under the name of *Celtiberians* [w]. From which account we ſhall obſerve, by-the-bye, that this could only be one of thoſe colonies, which the *Celtes* in *Gaul* ſent into this country; for more than one or two they ſent from thence hither, as well as into other parts of *Europe*, as often as they were ſtreightened for want of room, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. It is therefore very probable, that theſe colonies, coming into *Spain* after a few battles or ſkirmiſhes, being found by the inhabitants to be originally of the ſame ſtock, having the ſame, or nearly the ſame, language, religion, and cuſtoms, were readily admitted, and blended with them. The *Rhodians*, who came thither by ſea, landed at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, and built there a city, to which they gave their name. It was a biſhop's ſee till the time of the *Goths*; but is now reduced to an heap of ruins. About ten years after, happened that great fire, which ſpread itſelf all over that vaſt ridge of mountains called the *Pyrenees*, and from thence *Incendium Pyrenæum*, or, as others will have it, more properly, that thoſe mountains were thence called *Pyrenean*. This fire, we are told, was at firſt kindled by ſome ſhepherds [x], and burnt with ſuch fierceneſs for many days, that it ſpread itſelf almoſt over that whole ridge. As for what they add, that the intenſeneſs of the heat melted the ſilver in the mines, and made it boil up, and run down in rivulets along thoſe hills, it is juſtly looked upon as exaggerated by *Poſidonius*, *Strabo* [y], and others (J).

Bef. Chriſt 1649.

The Gauls *and* Rhodians *ſettle in* Spain.

Year of the flood 729. Bef. Chriſt 1619.

[w] Diod. Sic. bibl. lib. vi. Lucan. Hieron. et al. [x] Diod. Sic. lib. vi. Vide et Aristot. de mirab. auſcult. [y] Lib. iii.

(J) It muſt be owned, however, that *Spain* yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal; ſince *Ariſtotle* aſſures us, that the *Phœnicians*, who are ſuppoſed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for ſuch an immenſe weight of it, that their ſhips could neither contain nor ſuſtain its load, though they uſed it for ballaſt, and made their anchors, and other implements, of ſilver; and yet this is nothing (5) to what we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel, of the immenſe product of theſe mines. As for the *Phœnicians*, they are ſuppoſed to have likewiſe ſettled in *Spain*, and to have built ſeveral other cities, eſpecially in *Bætica*, and to have had the maſtery of the ſea for the ſpace of forty-one years; after which they went and ſettled in the *Balearic* iſlands.

(5) *Ariſtot. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra.*

Besides

Other nations that governed in Spain.

BESIDES the *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Phœnicians*, already mentioned, who obtained footing and dominion in this country, *Eusebius* mentions [z] several other nations, who did the same, before the coming in of the *Carthaginians*, such as the *Egyptians* a second time, who held the dominion of the sea thirty-five years, and built some cities, especially *Tarracona*, which they so called from *Tarraco* their leader. The *Milesians* are likewise affirmed, by the same author, to have held some government there for the space of twenty-nine years. Next, the *Carians* forty-eight years, from whom *Ptolemy* affirms the *Caristi* in *Spain* to be descended. The *Lesbians* succeeded them, who built several cities, and governed, according to the same *Eusebius*, sixty-eight years. Then the *Phocians*, in the sixteenth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and held the government forty-eight years; and from thence went and settled on the south part of *Gaul*, and built the city of *Marseilles*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter. Lastly, *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and conquest of *Judæa*, is affirmed, by *Josephus* and *Strabo*, to have reigned nine years in *Spain* [a], at the end of which it is said, that he abandoned it to the *Carthaginians*; though it is likely, that, as the *Spanish* writers affirm, a great part of that vast host, which he had brought with him, settled there, and built cities and castles, which they called by their own, or some *Chaldee* names; by which they may be still traced up to their original [b]. But, upon the whole, it seems probable, that most, if not all, of these nations, contented themselves with maritim parts, for the sake of commerce, and the command of the sea, and penetrated but a little way into the inlands, whilst these might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad to trade and barter with them, and so be less solicitous who were masters of the sea-coasts, and parts adjacent, if they could but enjoy the benefit of their commerce, and the produce of their own lands, in peace and quietness. If any of these strangers were enticed, by the pleasantness and fruitfulness of the country, to settle amongst the antient inhabitants, whether this was done by permission and consent, or by force of arms, yet it could not be long before they became so blended with each other, that nothing remained of their origin, but the names they gave to those places, which they either built or lived in. As for the *Celtiberi*, mentioned a little higher, they increased so fast in that pleasant and

Nebuchadnezzar.

The coasts chiefly inhabited by those strange nations.

[z] EUSEB. chron. Vide et TARAPH. sub ann. ante Chr. 840.
[a] Antiquit. lib. x. c. 9. Geogr. lib. iv. [b] Vide LIV. decad. iv. TARAPH. reg. Hisp. sub ann. 571. GARIBAI. lib. v. c. 4. VAS. sub ann. U. C. 13, et 204.

healthy country, that they were forced to have recourse to their old method of sending colonies abroad. Some of them settled in *Lusitania*, where they founded several cities, and called them by *Celtic* names (K); and from these colonies the *Lusitanians* had that of *Celtiberi* given to them: hence *Diodorus Siculus* says, that of all the *Celtiberians* the *Lusitanian* were the stoutest [c]. Another colony of them went into *Bætica*, where they likewise left several cities, and other monuments of their settlement. The goodness of the climate, however, joined to their laborious exercises, and plain way of living, which made them so stout and long-lived, may be justly esteemed one of the main causes of their multiplying so fast, and being obliged to send abroad such frequent colonies, a further proof of which we have in the long reigns of some of their monarchs formerly mentioned; and we shall close this section with one more, in the person of the famed *Argantho-nius* king of the *Tartessii*, who is said to have reigned at *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, full fourscore years [d], and to have died in the hundred and thirtieth, according to one [e], or hundred and fortieth, according to another antient author [f]; and is mentioned with admiration by others, for his long reign and life [g] (L).

Celtiberians *in* Lusitania.

Argantonius, *his long life and reign.*

[c] Lib. vi. [d] Valer. Max. lib. viii. c. 14. [e] Asin. Poll. apud eund. [f] Val. Max. ibid. [g] Herodot. Anacr. Cicer. de senect. Basil. epist. ad Nepot. Vide & Vas. sub an. U. C. 129. Gerund. Taraph. & al.

(K) Amongst these was the antient city of *Segovia*, or *Segobia*, famous for its celebrated aqueduct, and afterwards for its woolen manufacture; and another of the same name, and built by another colony of *Celtiberians*, near *Corduba* in *Bætica*, and mentioned by *Cæsar*, tho' the other was the more famed of the two (6).

(L) *Herodotus* says, that he reigned in *Carteia*, al. *Tarteia*; *Anacreon*, that he lived an hundred and fifty years; *Pliny* gives him but an hundred and twenty; but *Silius Italicus* three hundred. As for the time in which he lived, it is impossible to ascertain it; some making him cotemporary with king *Siculus*, the seventeenth king in our list, in the year of the flood 1514 (7). Others bring him down as low as the 130th year of *Rome*, or of the flood 1692 (8).

(6) *Comment. lib.* iii. *sub an. U. C.* 129. (7) *Lib.* iii. *Taraph. sub an.* 1485. (8) *Vas.*

SECT. IV.

Of the Conqueſt of Spain *by the* Carthaginians *and* Romans, *to the Coming in of the* Goths, *and other Northern Nations.*

THIS remainder of the *Spaniſh* hiſtory we give here in a ſeparate ſection, not as deſigning to treat of it in that ample manner that it would deſerve, were it detached from the body of this work; for that were a deviation from our original plan, and on the one hand draw us into ſuperfluous repetitions, their conqueſt by the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* having been fully treated of in the hiſtory of thoſe two nations; and, on the other, oblige us to anticipate thoſe of the *Gauls*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. who conquered, or ſettled in, any part of this country, and which will, therefore, more properly belong to their ſeveral hiſtories in a ſubſequent chapter. Our motives, therefore, for ſeparating this part from that which we gave in the laſt ſection, are, firſt, to diſtinguiſh the true from the fabulous, or the certain from the uncertain: of this latter kind, at leaſt, we look upon to be moſt of what hath been ſaid in the laſt ſection, though, for the reaſons there mentioned, we were obliged to inſert it in ſuch a work as this; and, ſecondly, becauſe in the remaining part of this volume, we ſhall proceed in a more ſuccinct account, to avoid all ſuch needleſs repetitions or anticipations, and content ourſelves with giving our readers a kind of regular ſummary of thoſe conqueſts, and refer them for the further account of them to the volumes and pages, where they are to be ſeen at full length; and, for the reſt, to the reſpective chapter, where they will be more amply related.

THEIR conqueſt by the *Carthaginians* was, if we may believe *Juſtin* and *Oroſius*, occaſioned by the *Tyrians*. Theſe, having founded the city of *Gades*, and built a temple to *Hercules*, were ſo moleſted by the jealous *Spaniards*, that they were forced to ſend to *Carthage* for help; which being readily granted, *Meſeus* was ſent with a fleet to their aſſiſtance, who ſuppreſſed their enemies, and inlarged their territories, by the reduction of ſeveral conſiderable places along that coaſt [a]. The richneſs of the country ſoon invited them to purſue their conqueſts; and the vaſt treaſures, both in gold and ſilver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a ſtrong temptation to them [b], as they were engaged in ſuch a bloody and expenſive war with the *Romans*. This was ac-

Carthaginians *invited into* Spain *by the* Tyrians.

[a] JUSTIN. ex Trog. lib. ult. [b] DIOD. SIC. lib. vi.

cordingly

cordingly performed with great ſucceſs at firſt, by their great general *Hamilcar Barcas*, and afterwards by his ſons *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal*, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inſpire him with greater hatred againſt the *Romans*, and with a more eager deſire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the ſubjection of *Carthage*. The ſucceſs which theſe generals met with, both againſt the *Spaniards* and againſt the *Romans*, whom they had courted to their aſſiſtance [c], has been ſo fully ſpoken of both in the *Roman* hiſtory [d], and in that of the *Carthaginians* [e], that we ſhall need only to refer our readers to thoſe places cited at the bottom. *Aſdrubal* likewiſe, another of their generals, who was left there to command during *Hamilcar*'s return to *Carthage*, was no leſs ſucceſsful there, and obliged the *Romans* to come to a treaty with him, of which the reader will find an account in a former volume [f], and which he inviolably kept with them whilſt he lived; but his death, which happened ſoon after [g], and his being ſucceeded by young *Hannibal*, put an end to it: and that enterpriſing hero, tho' then but twenty-ſix years of age, began the war afreſh, and laid ſiege to the famed city of *Saguntum*. We have given already a full account of that ſiege, and the ſad cataſtrophe of its brave inhabitants, and ſhall refer our readers to it [h]. But *Hannibal* having undertaken his fatal expedition into *Italy* [i], the *Carthaginian* affairs began to decline apace, and their forces to receive many conſecutive overthrows here, both by ſea and land [k], eſpecially under *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who, being defeated by *Scipio*, was forced to retire to *Gades* [l], where, being again defeated at ſea, and, to complete his misfortunes, betrayed by *Maſiniſſa*, he was reduced to ſuch a deſperate ſtate, that, in revenge, he committed ſuch horrid cruelties, as rendered him and his nation odious to the *Spaniards* and *Romans* [m]. All this while the two *Scipios* not only gained ground againſt them by theſe frequent defeats, but by ſome ſignal inſtances of their politeneſs rendered themſelves as amiable to the *Spaniards*, as their enemies were become hateful to them [n]. At length two deciſive battles, which they gained over them, were attended with the retaking of *Saguntum*, which had been rebuilt by *Hannibal*. They alſo cauſed the *Turdetani*, who were found there, to be all ſold for ſlaves, for

Year of the flood 2119. Bef. Chriſt 229.

Hamilcar *and his ſon's ſucceſs in* Spain.

Aſdrubal's *treaty with the* Romans.

[c] See before, vol. xvii. p. 567. & ſeq. [d] See vol. xii. p. 160, & 212. & ſeq. 175, & ſeq. 221, & ſeq. [e] Vol. xvii. ubi ſup. [f] Vol. xii. p. 206, & ſeq. vol. xvii. p. 258. & ſeq. [g] Ibid. p. 574. & ſeq. [h] Vol. xii. p. 217, & ſeq. Ibid. p. 591. & ſeq. [i] Vol. xvii. p. 339. & ſeq. 539. & ſeq. [k] Vol. xvii. p. 605. [l] Ibid. p. 616. [m] Vol. xii. p. 304. & ſeq. [n] Ibid. p. 305. & ſeq.

having joined *Hannibal* againſt that faithful city [o]. We ſhall not repeat here the circumſtances of the death of thoſe two generals; which was like to have quite altered the poſture of affairs, had not the brave *Marcius* recovered that great loſs by a bold and deſperate act; and, with the few troops which he could gather up, after the loſs of thoſe two battles, ſurpriſed and burnt the *Carthaginian* camp, which occaſioned, in the confuſion that then reigned, the deaths of thirty-ſeven thouſand of them, beſides near two thouſand more, who were taken priſoners by him [p]. He was ſucceeded by young *Scipio*, who, though at that time but twenty-four years of age, had been unanimouſly choſen proconſul of *Spain*, and came thither with a reinforcement of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. His wonderful ſucceſs there, the immenſe ſpoil he got at the taking of *New Carthage*, his ſingular behaviour and continence towards a beautiful female captive, and his generous refuſal of the vaſt ranſom which her parents offered to him, gained him the affections of the *Spaniards* to ſuch a degree, that they looked upon him as a demigod, and began everywhere to revolt from the *Carthaginians* [q]. Their generals made ſeveral vain efforts to ſtop the progreſs of this young hero, and were as often defeated by him [r], as were alſo *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who had revolted from him [s]. At length, having thus far reduced the *Carthaginians*, he reſolved on a deſcent into *Afric*, to oblige them to abandon *Spain*. The ſucceſs of this expedition being foreign to this *Spaniſh* hiſtory, except that he actually forced them out of this country, and brought it under the *Roman* yoke, we ſhall refer our readers to thoſe places, where a full account is given of both [t].

Year of the flood 2142. Bef. Chriſt 206.

Stript of its mines and treaſures.

THE *Romans* being thus become maſters of this rich and noble country, or at leaſt of a conſiderable part of it, by the expulſion of the *Carthaginians*, one of their firſt cares was, to ſeize on all its valuable mines, eſpecially thoſe of ſilver and gold [u], and to ſtrip it of its immenſe wealth; and how conſiderable this was, may be gueſſed by the ſketch we ſhall give in the next note (A), of the prodigious quantities which their prætors,

[o] Vol. xii. p. 231, & ſeq. p. 262, & ſeq. [p] Ibid. p. 275, et ſeq. [q] Ibid. p. 288—295. [r] Ibid. p. 309, et ſeq. [s] Ibid. p 306. [t] Ibid. p. 309, et ſeq. [u] 1 Maccab. viii. 3, et ſeq. LIV. OROS. &c.

(A) Thus we are told (1), that *Scipio* above-named, upon his return to *Rome*, carried with him fourteen thouſand three hun-

(1) *Liv. decad. 4. lib.* i. ii. & iii.

dred

prætors, even by the confeſſion of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public, as well as into their own treaſury. But as it would be impoſſible to enter into a detail of all thoſe tranſactions that happened during their *Roman* bondage, without repeating all that has been ſaid in their hiſtory in the foregoing volumes, we muſt in this, as well as in the ſubſequent chapters, refer our readers to what has been already ſaid there; and only add here one or two remarkable

dred and forty-two pounds of ſilver, beſides an immenſe quantity of coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable things. *L. Lentulus* is ſaid to have brought away a ſtill much larger treaſure; to wit, forty-four thouſand pounds of ſilver, and two thouſand five hundred and fifty of gold, beſides the money which he divided among his ſoldiery. *L. Manlius* brought with him twelve hundred pounds of ſilver, and about thirty of gold. *Corn. Lentulus*, after having governed the *Hither Spain* two years, brought away one thouſand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, and of ſilver two thouſand, beſides thirty-four thouſand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilſt his collegue brought from *Farther Spain* fifty thouſand pounds of ſilver.

What is ſtill more ſurpriſing, is, that theſe immenſe ſums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thouſand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of ſilver, four thouſand and ninety-five of gold, beſides coin, and other things of value, were brought away within the ſhort ſpace of nine years; for juſt ſo much time elapſed between the firſt and the laſt of theſe *Roman* prætors (2); and juſt after they had been as ſeverely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the *Carthaginians*. Theſe few inſtances ſhall ſuffice to ſhew, how rich this country muſt then have been, and what an immenſe treaſure it yielded to their conquerors; for though theſe laſt never ſlacked their hands, but kept ſtill on bringing freſh ſupplies from thence, yet we do not find, that it was at all exhauſted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richneſs of the country, that invited the northern nations many centuries after, to come and ſeize upon, and drive the *Romans* out of it, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent chapter.

We are, indeed, told by *Strabo*, that when the *Carthaginians* firſt came thither, they found ſilver in ſuch amazing plenty, that their utenſils, and even mangers, were made of it (3); inſomuch that *Poſidonius* ſaid of this country, that *Pluto*, the god of riches, had his reſidence in the bowels of it (4). And *Pliny* mentions ſeveral rich mines of ſilver dug there by the *Carthaginians*, one of which, called *Bebel*, from the finder of it, yielded *Hannibal* three hundred pounds of ſilver *per* day (5). In a word, moſt antient authors have celebrated this country for its richneſs to ſuch a degree, that it hath only expoſed it the more to the invaſion of foreigners far and near.

(2) *Vide Vaſ. chronic. ab an. urb.* 549. *ad an.* 558. (3) *Lib.* iii. (4) *Apud. ibid.* (5) *Lib.* xxxiii. *c.* 6.

events, which have not yet been taken notice of, or but lightly touched upon. One of them is the grand embaſſy which the *Celtes* and *Spaniards* ſent out of this country to *Alexander the Great*, to congratulate him upon his vaſt ſucceſſes, to beg his amity, and that he would ſend proper perſons to adjuſt ſome differences that were amongſt them, that is, in all likelihood, between ſome of their petty kings. This embaſſy, it ſeems, was highly pleaſing to that conqueror, who heard of thoſe nations for the firſt time; and, having granted their requeſt, ſent them very honourably home [w]. *Oroſius* tells us, that the head of this embaſſy was called *Maurinus* [x].

Embaſſy to Alexander.

THE next is that noble puſh which was made by the *Celtiberians* in *Luſitania*, to ſuppreſs the *Roman* tyranny, and, if poſſible, to drive them farther, if not quite out of *Spain*. What their ſucceſs might have been, had not their leader *Viriatus*, whom *Florus* calls a ſhepherd, and *Oroſius* a banditto, been diſpatched by the treachery of *Servilius Cæpio*, who hired that general's guards to aſſaſſinate him, may be eaſily gueſſed by the diſpatch he had made in croſſing the *Durius*, *Iberus*, and *Tagus*, ſeizing on *Galicia*, and ſome other provinces, and putting all the *Roman* colonies to fire and ſword: but his untimely death put an end to all farther oppoſition, it being found then too dangerous to head an army againſt ſo powerful and treacherous a nation as the *Romans* ſhewed themſelves on this occaſion [y]. How thoſe brave brothers, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, fared, for daring to oppoſe them ſome time after, need not be here repeated [z], any more than the dreadful cataſtrophe of *Numantia* [a], *Saguntum* [b], and ſome other cities and people, for daring to defend their country againſt them. By theſe cruel and treacherous means theſe *Roman* invaders ſo far ſuppreſſed that noble love of liberty for which this nation was juſtly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it; and thoſe proved ſo unſucceſsful, or, to ſpeak more properly, were ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that it quite deterred them from even betraying the leaſt hope or deſire after their antient freedom, till at length they were quite forced to ſubmit to all their laws, cuſtoms, and religion; and, in a word, to be wholly romanized after their own arbitrary will. However, it is plain, that *Farther Spain* was not quite ſubdued till the fourth conſulate of *Marius*, *A. U.* 652. nor the *Celtiberians* till five years after, two years after *Dolabella* had triumphed over the *Luſitanians* [c]. The reſt is ſaid to have been conquered by *Auguſtus*, as we have formerly hinted.

[w] ARRIAN. geſt. Alex. Magn. lib. vii. [x] Lib. iii. c. 20. [y] SIL. ITAL. OROS. lib. v. c. 8, et ſeq. FLOR. lib. liv. [z] Vol. xvii. p. 616. & ſeq. [a] Vol. xii. p. 398. & ſeq. [b] Vol. xii. p. 231, vol. xvii. p. 578. & ſeq. [c] OROS. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in Mar.

We ſhall conclude this chapter with a liſt of the *Spaniſh* prætors, as far as *Livy* has gone with them, and afterwards of the emperors, under whoſe government *Spain* continued from *Auguſtus* to *Honorius*; in the beginning of whoſe reign the *Romans* were driven out of it by the northern nations, whoſe hiſtory will follow in due time; by which means the reader will eaſily come at the remainder of the *Spaniſh* bondage under both, without our being forced to repeat what has been already ſaid in the *Roman* hiſtory, or anticipating upon what more properly belongs to thoſe of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. hereafter; but as we ſhall but barely mention thoſe *Spaniſh* prætors and emperors, without entering into any further particulars of their reigns, we ſhall give the liſt of them in the cloſe of this ſection. And the ſame we ſhall do of the *Gothiſh* kings which reigned in *Spain* from *Ataulphus*, the brother of *Alaricus* king of the *Goths* in *Italy*, who was ſeated there in that part of it near the *Pyrenees*, by the emperor *Honorius*, down to *Rotheric* the thirty-third king; who, by inviting the *Saracens* to his aſſiſtance, occaſioned the conqueſt of the greateſt part of this country by thoſe infidels; under whoſe ſevere yoke it continued more or leſs during the ſpace of 700 years, before it could be quite cleared of them. Laſtly, to keep up the ſeries of the *Spaniſh* government, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort account of thoſe brave Chriſtian princes, who recovered, by degrees, their ſeveral kingdoms from the *Saracenic* yoke, from *Pelagius*, who became the firſt prince of *Aſturias*, down to *Ferdinand* king of *Caſtille*, who, by the marriage of *Iſabella* queen of *Leon*, united both kingdoms in his family; by which *Spain* was reduced under one monarchy, and from whom the modern hiſtory will be reſumed. But, before we leave *Spain*, we beg leave to add, that tho' the *Romans* carried off ſuch immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver out of it, as was hinted in the laſt note, they ſtill left enough behind in it to maintain their numerous armies and colonies, to build great cities, caſtles, forts, and particularly ſchools and academies, for all kinds of learning and exerciſes; to which we may add many other ſtately edifices, which were there reared by their prætors, conſuls, and eſpecially by their emperors; all which ſerved either to allure the *Spaniards* to the *Roman* yoke, or to deter them from ſhaking it off.

After *Scipio* above-mentioned had expelled the *Carthaginians*, *Spain* was governed by the following prætors; to wit,

Hither Spain, by

L. Lentulus
Q. Fabius Butæus
Cato the cenſor
P. Cor. Scipio
C. Flaminius
M. Bæbius Pamphilus
L. Æmil. Paulus
M. Fulv. Nobilior
L. Manlius

L. Manlius
Quint. Crispinus
A. Terent. Varro
Q. Fulv. Flaccus
T. Sempronius
M. Titinius

P. Licin. Crassus
Ap. Claud. Cento
P. Fur. Philo
Cn. Fab. Buteo
M. Jun. Pœnus

Farther Spain, by

L. M. Acidinus
Q. M. Thermus
Ap. Cl. Nero
Sext. Digitius
M. Fulv. Nobilior
A. Attil. Serranus
C. Flaminius
Cn. Man. Vulso
C. Catinius
C. Calpur. Piso

P. Sempronius
P. Manlius
L. Posthumius
T. Fonteius Capito
M. Cornelius Scipio
Not mentioned by *Livy*
Cn. Servil. Cæpio
M. Mantienus
Sp. Lucretius

After them the senate reduced the country under one prætor, in the consulships of *P. Licin. Crassus*, *C. Cass. Longinus*, an. urb. 583. which continued so only under the two following ones; to wit,

C. Marcellus *Publ. Fonteius.*

After whom it was again divided, and governed by

Cn. Fulvius *C. Licinius Nerva.*

Thus far *Livy*; and from this time, to wit, A. U. 701. *Spain* became a consular province, under the consulship of *Q. Fulvius* and *T. Annius*; and was governed by them, and their procon-suls and proprætors, as we learn from *Florus* and *Orosius*.

The emperors are as follow:

1. *Julius Cæsar*
2. *Augustus*
3. *Tiberius*
4. *Caligula*
5. *Claudius*
6. *Nero*
7. *Galba*
8. *Otho*
9. *Vitellius*
10. *Vespasian*
11. *Titus*
12. *Domitian*
13. *Nerva*
14. *Trajan*
15. *Adrian*
16. *Antoninus Pius*
17. *M. Aurelius*
18. *Commodus*
19. *Pertinax*
20. *Julian*
21. *Severus*
22. *Caracalla*
23. *Macrinus*
24. *Heliogabalus*
25. *Alexander*
26. *Maximinus*
27. *Balbinus*
28. *Gordianus*
29. *Philip*
30. *Decius*
31. *Gallus*,

31. *Gallus*
32. *Æmilianus*
33. *Valerianus*
34. *Gallienus*
35. *Claudius* II.
36. *Quintillus*
37. *Aurelianus*
38. *Tacitus*
39. *Florianus*
40. *Probus*
41. *Carus*
42. *Numerianus*
43. *Carinus*
44. *Dioclesian*
45. *Galerius*
46. *Conſtantine*
47. His three ſons
48. *Julian* II.
49. *Jovian*
50. *Valentinian*
51. *Valens*
52. *Gratian*
53. *Theodoſius*
54. *Arcadius*
55. *Honorius.*

Gothiſh Kings in *Spain.*

1. *Ataulphus*, who having married the princeſs *Placidia*, ſiſter to *Honorius*, was by him made prince of ſome provinces, on both ſides of the *Pyrenees*, and kept his court ſometimes at *Barcelona*, and ſometimes at *Narbonna*. He was murdered by his treacherous ſubjects, in the third year of his reign, and ſucceeded by,

2. *Sigeric*, who was likewiſe murdered ſoon after, and ſucceeded by,

3. *Wallia*, or *Abalia*, a warlike prince, who having inlarged his dominions, died at the end of a three years reign.

4. *Theodoret*, alias *Theodoric*, or *Thierri*, reigned thirty-one years, and was killed in a battle againſt *Attila* the *Hunn*, and ſucceeded by his ſon,

5. *Thoriſmund*, who drove *Attila* out of *France*; and, after a three years reign, was murdered by the treachery of his own brothers, and ſucceeded by one of them; to wit,

6. *Theodoric* II. who, being ſucceſsful againſt the *Vandals* and *Saracens*, was likewiſe murdered by his brother, after a reign of thirteen years.

7. *Euric*, who reigned ſixteen years, inlarged his dominions both in *France* and *Spain*, and left his crown to his ſon,

8. *Alaric*, who was killed in battle by *Clovis* king of *France*, after he had reigned 23 years, and ſucceeded by,

9. *Gezaleyk* his baſtard ſon, an uſurper, who, four years after, was outed by,

10. *Amalaric*, the lawful ſon of *Alaric*, who was reſtored by the help of the *Oſtrogoths*, and reigned twenty-one years. In him the family of the *Viſigoths* being extinct,

11. *Theudis* the *Oſtrogoth* was raiſed to the throne; but murdered ſoon after by a pretended mad man, and ſucceeded by,

12. *Theu-*

12. *Theudiſel*, of another family, who reigned only one year, and was ſucceeded by,

13. *Agila*, who was defeated and killed ſoon after his election to the throne by,

14. *Athanagild*, who reigned thirteen years; and after whoſe death,

15. *Liuba*, or *Liuva*, was elected, and reigned five years, and left the crown to his brother,

16. *Lievigild*, who had reigned four years in partnerſhip with him, and fourteen more after him. He overthrew the *Suevi*, and joined their kingdom to his own, and was ſucceeded by,

17. *Ricared*, alias *Flavius Recaredus*, the firſt orthodox king, who likewiſe converted all his ſubjects from *Arianiſm*, as has been hinted a little higher. He reigned fifteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

18. *Liuvia* II. who was murdered in the ſecond year of his reign by,

19. *Witteric*, who, after ſeven years reign, was alſo murdered by his own people, and ſucceeded by,

20. *Flavius Gundamar*, who reigned but two years, and was ſucceeded by,

21. *Siſibut*, who ſubdued the *Aſturians*, and died in the ninth year of his reign.

22. *Ricared* II. the ſon of *Siſibut*, reigned but three months, and was ſucceeded by,

23. *Flavius Swintila*, the ſon of *Ricared* I. who quite expelled the *Romans*, and became the firſt abſolute maſter of all *Spain*; but, after a ten years reign, was dethroned by,

24. *Siſenand*, who reigned only four years, and was ſucceeded by,

25. *Chintila*, who was elected to the crown, and, after a four years reign, left the throne to,

26. *Tulga*, who reigned but two years, and was ſucceeded by,

27. *Flavius Chindaſwind*, who ſeized on the crown by force, and held it ſeven years.

28. *Flavius Raceſwinth* reigned twenty-four years, and was ſucceeded by,

29. *Wamba*, alias *Bamba*, and *Ubamba*, who was depoſed by,

30. *Flavius Ervigius*, who reigned ſeven years, and left the crown to his ſon-in law,

31. *Flavius Egica*, who reigned fourteen years, and left the throne to his ſon,

32. *Vitiza*, a moſt wicked tyrant, who, to prevent his ſubjects revolting againſt him, laid the foundation of the total

reduction

reduction of the *Spaniſh* monarchy by the *Saracens*, which happened in the following reign, by cauſing all the walls and fortifications of his towns to be demoliſhed, and all the arms that could be found in his dominions to be deſtroyed. He reigned ten years, and was ſucceeded by,

33. *Rotheric*, a prince no leſs wicked than his predeceſſor, and who having raviſhed the daughter of his great favourite count *Julian*, the latter called in the *Saracens*; who, bringing an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, defeated him in an action which laſted eight days; after which he was never more heard of. The infidels became maſters of the field, over-ran the greateſt part of *Spain* in about eight months time, which afterwards took up almoſt as many centuries to recover from them.

THE Chriſtian princes, who contributed to the ſhaking off the *Saracenian* yoke, were thoſe that follow:

1. *Pelagio*, of what extract is uncertain, who became ſo powerful in *Biſcay* and *Aſturias*, that he gave the infidels ſeveral ſignal overthrows, and recovered ſeveral dominions in the mountainous parts from them; for which he was raiſed to the royal dignity, and reigned nineteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

2. *Favila*, who reigned but two years, and left the crown to,

3. *Alonzo*, in whom it became hereditary, in right of his wife *Ermezenda*, the daughter of *Pelagio*. He reigned eighteen years, and won thirty-four battles againſt the *Saracens*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

4. *Fruela*, who killed fifty-four thouſand *Moors* in one battle, greatly inlarged his dominions, and, after a reign of eleven years, was baſely murdered by his brother,

5. *Aurelius*, who reigned ſix years, and was ſucceeded by,

6. *Silon*, who came to the crown in right of his wife *Adozinda*, the daughter of *Alonzo*, and enjoyed it nine years.

7. *Mauregat*, a baſtard ſon of *Alonzo*, ſeized on the throne, and held it five years, by the help of the *Moors*.

8. *Bermudo*, in *Latin Veremundus*, a prince of the royal blood, but whoſe father is not known, enjoyed it ſix years; from whom it paſſed to a ſon of *Fruela*, named,

9. *Alonzo* II. and ſurnamed *the Chaſte*, who, during a long reign of forty-eight years, gained very conſiderable advantages againſt the *Moors*, and was the firſt who ſtiled himſelf king of *Oviedo*. He died in 843. and was ſucceeded by the brave,

10. *Ramiro*, the ſon of *Bermudo*, who is ſaid to have ſlain ſixty thouſand *Moors* at the battle of *Clavijo*, and, after a ſeven years reign, left the crown to his ſon,

11. *Ordonno*, who likewiſe gained great advantages over the *Moors*, reigned twelve years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

12. *Alonzo* III. ſurnamed *the Great*, who reigned forty-eight years, and was ſtill more ſucceſsful againſt the *Moors*, and gained many victories over them.

13. *Garcia* his ſon ſucceeded him, and reigned only three years, and was ſucceeded by his own brother,

14. *Ordonno* II. This prince likewiſe gained ſeveral victories over the *Moors*, and made the city of *Leon* the capital of his kingdom, whence it had that name; but was at length defeated by them, as he was going to aſſiſt the king of *Navarre* (B). Upon which,

15. *Fruela* II. his brother, ſeized on the crown, and held it about fourteen months; after which, his nephew,

16. *Alonzo* IV. the ſon of *Ordonno* II. enjoyed it ſix years, and reſigned it to his brother,

17. *Ramiro* II. a very ſucceſsful prince againſt the *Moors*, of whom he is reported to have ſlain eighty thouſand in one battle. He reigned twenty years, and was ſucceeded, *anno* 950. by his ſon,

18. *Ordonno* III. who reigned five years, without doing any great feats, and was ſucceeded by his brother,

(B) This king was lineally deſcended from *Garcia Ximenes* I. who put himſelf at the head of ſome *Pyrenean* mountaineers; and, after ſeveral ſignal ſucceſſes, was by them proclaimed king of *Navarre*. His dominions were about the *Pyrenees*, and within little compaſs; but were much inlarged by his ſucceſſors, who ſtill retained the title of kings. The time of his inauguration is uncertain; but he died *anno* 758.

Near about the ſame time we begin to read of the earls of *Caſtille*; the firſt of whom that we meet with, was called *Rotheric*, and lived in the reign of *Alonzo the Chaſte*. Theſe earls were at firſt created by, and ſubject to, the kings of *Leon*, till, growing too powerful, they aſſumed the ſovereign authority, and from earls raiſed themſelves to the royal title.

Much the ſame was done ſoon after by the kings of *Barcelona* and *Arragon*. The former of them owed their riſe to *Lewis* the ſon of *Charlemagne* king of *France*, who, having taken the city of *Barcelona* from the *Moors*, created one *Bernard*, a *Frenchman*, firſt earl of it, *anno* 815. whoſe ſucceſſors in time made themſelves independent and abſolute.

And about the ſame time it was, that *Garcia* king of *Navarre* made one *Aznar* earl of *Arragon*, whoſe deſcendents likewiſe raiſed themſelves to the regal title and dignity (6).

(6) *De his vide Marian. hiſtor. gener. de Eſpanna. Mendez. Sylv. catalogue genealog. Garibai. compend. hiſt. Hiſpan. Vaſei paralip. & al.*

19. *Sancho*,

19. *Sancho*, ſurnamed *the Groſs*, or *Fat*. This prince had been for ſome time baniſhed by *Ordonno* II. the ſon of *Alonzo the Great*; but now recovered the crown by the aſſiſtance of the *Moors*, and was the firſt who exempted the *Spaniſh* gentry from taxes. He reigned twelve years, and was at length poiſoned. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

20. *Ramiro* III. who reigned fifteen years, and was ſucceeded by,

21. *Bermudo* II. ſurnamed *the Gouty*, and ſon to *Ordonno* III. He ſuffered many great loſſes from the *Moors*, aſſiſted by the treacherous earls of *Caſtille*; inſomuch that they deſtroyed ſeveral conſiderable cities of his kingdom, particularly his capital of *Leon*, and *Compoſtella* in *Galicia*; yet did he at length overcome them, and reigned ſeventeen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

22. *Alonzo* V. who gained many victories over the *Moors*, recovered the city of *Leon*; but was at length ſlain at the ſiege of *Viſco* in *Portugal*, *anno* 1028. after a reign of twenty-nine years.

23. *Bermudo* III. lived in peace with the *Moors*; but, having no children, was compelled by *Sancho* king of *Navarre* (who had ſeized on the earldom of *Caſtille*, in right of his wife *Nunna*, eldeſt daughter of *Garcia* earl of that country), to give his ſiſter *Sancha* to his ſon *Ferdinand*, now declared king of *Caſtille*, in order to give him a title to both crowns. This marriage did not hinder *Bermudo* from renewing the war againſt him, in which he was killed, after a reign of nine years.

24. *Ferdinand* then ſeized on the kingdom of *Leon*, in right of his wife; and, being a warlike prince, gained many ſignal victories againſt the *Moors*, took many conſiderable places from them, and overthrew his elder brother *Garcia* king of *Navarre*. He died at the end of a glorious reign of twenty-eight years, and divided his dominions between his three ſons.

25. *Sancho* the eldeſt had *Caſtille*; *Alonzo* VI. *Leon*; and *Garcia* III. *Galicia*; but *Sancho* expelled them both: ſoon after which, he was ſlain at the ſiege of *Zamora*, *anno* 1073. after he had reigned almoſt ſeven years, and was ſucceeded in all his dominions by his next brother,

26. *Alonzo* VI. king of *Leon*, and I. of *Caſtille*, a very warlike and ſucceſsful prince, who gained many places from the *Moors*, particularly the city of *Toledo*, which he made his reſidence. He reigned thirty-five years, and was ſucceeded by,

27. *Alonzo* VII. before king of *Arragon*, but now likewiſe of *Leon* and *Caſtille*, in right of his wife *Urraca*, ſiſter and heireſs to *Alonzo* VI. but ſhe being a lewd woman, and he

forced

forced to divorce her, his title to the two laſt, which then ceaſed, devolved to her again. But,

28. *Alonzo* VIII. her ſon by her firſt huſband *Raymund*, earl of *Burgundy*, having forced her to reſign it to him, after a reign of fiften years, cauſed himſelf to be crowned emperor at *Toledo* (C). He took many towns from the *Moors*, and reigned thirty-four years, and was ſucceeded, *anno* 1157. by his ſon,

29. *Sancho*, who had only the kingdom of *Caſtille*, that of *Leon* being given to his brother *Ferdinand*. He reigned one year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

30. *Alonzo* IX. ſurnamed *the Good*, and *the Noble*, who married the princeſs *Eleanor*, daughter to our king *Henry* II. He was a warlike prince, and, by the aſſiſtance of the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, gained ſeveral conſiderable victories againſt the *Moors*, particularly at the battle of *Nabas de Toloſa*, wherein he ſlew two hundred thouſand of them, and by that means recovered many cities and ſtrong places from them. He reigned fifty-ſix years, and died *anno* 1214. and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

31. *Henry*, who was killed by the fall of a tile from an houſe, in the fourteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years. He was ſucceeded by,

32. *Ferdinand* III. ſurnamed *the Holy*, his ſiſter *Berengaria*'s ſon, in the two kingdoms of *Caſtille* and *Leon*. This prince was likewiſe very brave, and ſucceſsful againſt the *Moors*, from whom he took the cities of *Cordoua*, *Murcia*, *Jaen*, *Seville*, and many others, and reigned thirty-five years. He died in 1252. and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

33. *Alonzo* X. ſurnamed *the Learned*, for his great knowlege in aſtronomy, and other ſciences. He was choſen emperor of *Germany*; but met with ſo many troubles from his rebellious ſubjects, that, though he accepted of the imperial title and dignity, yet he could not go out of *Spain* to be put in poſſeſſion of it. He reigned thirty-two years, and died *anno* 1284. and left his *Spaniſh* dominions in no ſmall confuſion: for,

34. *Sancho* IV. ſurnamed *the Brave*, and ſecond ſon of *Alonzo*, ſeized on the crown; ſo that much blood was ſhed between him and his two nephews *Alonzo* and *Ferdinand*, the ſons of his elder brother *Ferdinand*: but he got at length the

(C) It was during his reign, that *Alonzo*, the ſon of the earl of *Burgundy*, whom *Alonzo* VI. had made earl of *Portugal*, uſurped that dominion, and took upon him the title and dignity of king of that country, which he left to his poſterity (7).

(7) *Idem ibid. Vide & Far. Souza Europ. Portugueza. Duarte deſcript. Portug. et al.*

better

better of them, and, after a reign of eleven years, left his crown to his ſon, *anno* 1295.

35. *Ferdinand* IV.'s reign proved no leſs troubled than his father's, on account of his bad title to the crown. He ſuppreſſed the knights templars, and, having unjuſtly condemned two of them to death, they, at their execution, ſummoned him to anſwer it before CHRIST's tribunal in thirty days; upon which he was ſurnamed *the Summoned*, and died accordingly on the thirtieth day after, *anno* 1312. having reigned ſeventeen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

36. *Alonzo* XI. a valiant and ſucceſsful prince, in whoſe reign all the *Spaniſh* monarchs united their forces againſt the *Moors*, of whom two hundred thouſand were ſlain at the battle of *Tariffa*. He gained ſeveral places from them, and reigned thirty-eight years. He died *anno* 1350. and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

37. *Peter*, ſurnamed *the Cruel*, who was haraſſed with continual broils by his diſcontented ſubjects during a reign of nineteen years, and was at length murdered, *anno* 1369. by his baſtard brother,

38. *Henry*, the natural ſon of *Alonzo* XI. who, after an uſurpation of ten years, left the crown to his own ſon,

39. *John*, who married *Beatrix*, the heireſs of *Portugal*, and was engaged in a war, to aſſert his right to that crown, againſt *John* the baſtard of king *Ferdinand*, who held it from him. He was at length killed by a fall from his horſe, *anno* 1390. after a reign of eleven years, and ſucceeded by his ſon,

40. *Henry* III. ſurnamed *the Sickly*, who married the lady *Catharine*, daughter to *John* of *Ghant* duke of *Lancaſter*, and grand-daughter to *Peter* king of *Caſtille*. He reigned ſixteen years, and left the crown to his ſon,

41. *John* II. then an infant (*anno* 1406.) on which account the rebellious nobility would have beſtowed the crown on his uncle *Ferdinand*; but that prince not only generouſly refuſed it, but maintained his nephew on the throne, till he was called to that of *Arragon*. However, his reign, though forty-eight years long, proved very full of inteſtine troubles. He died *anno* 1454. and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

42. *Henry* IV. who was no leſs barbarouſly treated by his rebellious ſubjects, who attempted to ſet up his younger brother *Alonzo* on the throne; but he dying in the mean time, part of them ſubmitted to him, whilſt the reſt offered the crown to his ſiſter *Elizabeth*, and at length obliged him to declare her his heireſs, though he had a daughter of his own, named *Joanna*. He ended his troubleſome reign *anno* 1474. after it had laſted twenty years. Upon which,

43. *Fer-*

43. *Ferdinand*, ſon to *John* king of *Arragon*, having married the princeſs *Elizabeth*, or, as ſhe is commonly called, *Iſabella*, made heireſs of *Caſtille* by *Henry* above-named, in wrong to his own daughter *Joanna*, united the two crowns of *Arragon* and *Caſtille* in himſelf and ſucceſſors, as will be more fully ſhewn in the modern hiſtory of that monarchy. Thus much ſhall ſuffice for the ſeries of the antient governors and monarchs of *Spain* [d].

[d] De his vide auct. ſupra citat. ſub not. (B) et (C), et al. mult.

CHAP. XXV.

The antient State of the Gauls, *to their Conqueſt by* Julius Cæſar, *and from thence to the Irruption of the* Franks.

SECT. I.

The Origin of the Gauls, *and Extent of their Country.*

Their origin, names, &c.

THE *Gauls* were certainly deſcended from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, as has been fully ſhewn in ſome former volumes [a], or, to ſpeak more properly, were the ſame people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by ſome of their neighbours, whilſt they ſtill retained their primitive one of *Gomerai*, or deſcendents of *Gomer*, as thoſe do, who ſtill keep up their antient language in its purity, eſpecially the northern *Welſh*. Other names they were known by, ſuch as they either ſeem to have aſſumed upon ſome particular occaſions, or ſuch as other nations thought fit to give them; of all which the reader may ſee a ſpecimen in the following note (A). The name therefore of *Gaul*, *Galli*, and

[a] See vol. i. p. 375. vol. vi. p. 11, et ſeq.

(A) Of the firſt kind we may reaſonably reckon all thoſe which are of *Celtic* extraction; ſuch as thoſe of *Celte* and *Gaul*, which ſignify *brave* and *warlike*, *Armoric*, *maritim*, and the like. Even that of *Belga*, which ſignifies *fierce* and *quarrelſome*, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original fierceneſs, from which the reſt had poliſhed themſelves by their commerce and intercourſe with other nations; thoſe of *Cis*, *Trans*, and *Subalpine*, from their ſituation on either ſide of the *Alps*; that of *Celto-Scythians*, from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with, that nation; that of *Celtiberians* to thoſe that were ſeated on the other ſide the *Pyrenees*.

As they ſpread themſelves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue

PART of IRELAND
PART OF GREAT BRITAIN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITISH OCEAN
Streights of Britain
AQUITAN OCEAN
ANCIENT GAUL
PART OF SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GULF OF GAUL
ADRIATICK SEA
LIGUSTIC SEA
CORSICA
PART OF GERMANY
GERMANY
GALLIA CISALPINA
HELVETIA
Antona fl.
Venta
Villa Faustini
London
Thames R.
Dubris
Novus Portus
Morini
Portus Iccius
Gesoriacum
Atrebates
Nemetacum ats Nemetacenna
Ambiani
Samarobriva
Veloca sses
Piduna
Sarnia
Alaunium
Vellocasses
Bibracassium
Sequana R.
Rotomagus
Belsovaci
Suessones
Cosedia
Biducasse
Gociatonum
Lexovii
Noviomagus ats. Lexovii
Ingena
Abrincatui
Medu ana
Eburovices
Medio lanum
Parisii
Bibrax
Catalaunum
Matrona R.
Lutetia
Metiosedum
Uxantos I.
Vorganium
Aletum
Briwates
Ossismii
Melodunum
Tricasses
Rhedones
Condate
Gobæum Promont.
Curiosolita Cariosuelites
Veneti
Darioritum
Nannetes
Andes
Condivincum
Vindana Porto
Venetica Insulæ
Diablindi
Cenomani
Galatrum ats. Aurelium
Tricassium
Agendicum
Senones
Carnutes
Mandubii
Cæsarodunum
Turones
Antissiodorum
Alesia
Ligeris R.
Pictones
Pictavium
Bituriges Cubi
Noni dunum
Bibracte
Augustodunum
Avaricum Biturigum
Argantomagus
Aedui
Boii
Lemovices
Lemovicum
Portus Santonum
Santones
Ratiastum
Mediolanum
Arverni
Segusianorum
Augustonemetum
Arpenæ Forum
Antros I
Noviomagus
Petroco
Vesunæ ue et Petrocorii
Gergovia
Duranius R.
Burdegala
Bituriges
Cosio
Vasates
Oltus R.
Deveoma at Divona
Gebenna M.
Cadurci
Aginnum
Uxellodunum
Tarbelli
Lactoratum
Ruteni
Aquæ Tarbellæ
Elusates
Elusa
Tolosa
Garumna R.
Albiga
Tolosates
Benearnus
Auscii
Tarbe
Pyrenees M.
Aquæ Onesiæ
Conuenæ
Lugdunum Conuenarum
Volcæ Tectosages
Veneris Fanum
Volcæ Arecomici
Atax R.
Narbo Martius
Agatha
Arelate
Illiberis
Rhone R.
Isara R.
Vienna
Valentia
Segalauni
Vocontii
Arausio
Cauares
Avenio
Druentia R.
Salyi
Massilia
Antipolis
Nicæa
Telo Martius
Olbia
Forum Iulii
Alpes Maritimæ
Genua
Glanatcua
Vinaum
Ligauria
Savona
Arar R.
Lingones
Rauraci
Rauracorum
Rhine R.
Argentuaria
Vogesus M.
Sequani
Vesontio
Dubis R.
Jura M.
Gabilanum
Aventicum
Lemanus L.
Colonia Equestris
Geneva
Rhone R.
Octodurum
Allobroges
Lugdunum
Segusiani
Mosa R.
Toxandri Aliorum
Menapii
Aduatici
Nervii
Atuatica
Namon
Fanis Lungrorum
Arduenna Silva
Augusta Trevirorum
Treviri
Mosel R.
Divodurum
Mediomatrici
Nemetes
Tribocci
Vangione
Magunuacu Manus R.
Lonus R.
Bonna
Colonia Agrippina
Ubii Germaniæ
Sicambri
Gelduba
Novesium
Vetera
Luppia
Luppia R.
Sata R.
Also R.
Fulda R.
Chauci ats
Chauci minores
Frisii majores
Amisius R.
Chamavi
Agrivari
Bructeri
Batavodurum
Batavorum I.
Renus
Arenacum
Batavi
Helvetii
Borbetomagus
Noviomagus
Argentoratum
Tullum Leuci
Acronius Lake
Vindonissa
Rauraci
Adula Mons
Lemanus L.
R. Adige
R. Adda
R. Ticinus
R. Mincio
Veneti
City of the Gauls
Vicentia
Padua
Adiat. R.
Mantua
Verona
Brixia
Bergamo
Como
Milan
Insubres
Novara
Ticinum
Gremona
Laudi
Placentia
Turin
Tricorii
Modena
Bologna
Bononia
Ravenna
Lugi grois
Ariminum
Pisæ
R. Arno
Luca
Volaterræ
HETRURIA
TUSCIA
Vindana Porto

and *Gallia*, is not only a foreign one, but of a recenter date, as are likewiſe thoſe other appellatives, by which *Julius Cæſar* [b], and other antient authors, diſtinguiſh one part of their country from another. Such are thoſe, for inſtance, of *Ciſalpina* or *Citerior*, *Tranſalpina* or *Ulterior*, and *Subalpina*, which was ſituate at the foot of the *Alps* [c]. The inhabitants, however, were formerly better known by the name of *Celtes* [d], and the country, in the whole, by that of *Celto-Gallia* [e], of which name we have given, in a former volume [f], the beſt etymon we could find. *Cæſar* afterwards diſtinguiſhed the whole country under the three following names; to wit, *Belgia*, *Aquitania*, and *Gallia Propria*, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the *Celtes* or *Gauls* (B). This

[b] Comment. lib. i. c. 1, &c. [c] PLUT. in Cæſ. et Marcell. PLIN. hiſt. lib. xvi. c. 11. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER. et al. [d] See PAUSAN. in Attic. c. 3. [e] PTOL. lib. ii. c. 7. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xxxix. et alibi. [f] Vol. vi. p. 58, et ſeq. paſſ. and notes.

tongue ſpread itſelf into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became ſo numerous, and ſo vaſtly different from it, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their fountain-head. We ſhall therefore venture no farther, than upon ſuch ones as carry a kind of certainty of their extract, and refer ſuch of our readers, who are curious of ſuch etymons, to the authors quoted below (1). He may likewiſe read that vaſt variety of names in *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Cæſar*'s commentaries, *Diodorus Siculus*, and other antient authors; particularly thoſe that follow, which are the moſt known, to wit, 1. The *Bituriges*. 2. *Senonenſes*. 3. *Arvernians*. 4. *Ædui*. 5. *Ambarrenſes*. 6. *Carnuti*. 7. *Aulerci*. 8. *Inſubri*. 9. *Salii*, or *Salyenſes*. 10. *Cenomani*. 11. *Salluvians*. 12. *Boii*. 13. *Lingones*, and *Veneti*. All their antient language and cuſtoms;

which are recorded to have paſſed over into, and ſettled in, *Italy*; or rather to have ſent colonies thither, whilſt the reſt continued in their reſpective *Gauliſh* territories; beſides a number of others, of which thoſe antient hiſtorians make no mention (2).

(B) His words are theſe (3): "The whole country of *Gaul* is "divided into three parts; the "firſt of which is inhabited by "the *Belgæ*, the ſecond by the "*Aquitani*, and the third by "thoſe whom we call *Gauls*, "but, in their own tongue, are "called *Celtes*. All theſe have "their language, manners, and "cuſtoms different." The meaning of which words is generally taken to be, that he ſpeaks here of thoſe parts, which remained as yet unconquered by the *Romans*, and which retained ſtill

(1) *Bochart. phaleg. Scalig. theſ. temp. Cluver. introd. Pezron. antiq. des Celtes. Rowland. Mona antiq. Pelloutier hiſt. des Celtes. Hottoman. Franco-Gall. & al. mult.* (2) *Vide Doujat. ſupplement to Patercul. p.* 235. (3) *Cæſar, bell Gall. lib. i. c.* 1.

This laſt was further diſtinguiſhed into *Comata*, whoſe inhabitants wore long hair; *Brachata*, from their wearing breeches; and *Togata*, from the *Roman toga* being worn there (C).

We

ſtoms; whereas thoſe which were already ſubdued, had altered both by that time, to ſuch a degree, as to appear to him different from the reſt. Such was, for inſtance, that part which was called *Togata*, from their having taken up the *Roman* dreſs, and, in all likelihood, ſeveral other of their cuſtoms, and, by their intercourſe with them, might have very much altered their dialect from the reſt.

One thing is very remarkable, that *Cæſar* makes this province, which he likewiſe calls *Ciſalpina*, to begin at the foot of the *Alps*, and to have extended itſelf along the *Po*, as far as the *Adriatic* ſea, and the *Rubicon* (4); whereas *Strabo*, who quotes his commentaries (5), and *Diodorus Siculus* (6), plainly intimate, that the *Gauls*, or *Celtes*, inhabited all thoſe parts from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*; and we ſhall ſhew by-and-by, that they extended even beyond the latter, and poſſeſſed the greateſt part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as we have already hinted in the foregoing chapter.

However, the moſt that can be inferred from the paſſage quoted out of *Cæſar*, is, that he found *Gaul* ſo divided at his coming thither; and that, by this time, their language, manners, *&c.* were grown very different, tho' originally one and the ſame, as they were originally one and the ſame people.

(C) We ſhall endeavour to ſettle the limits of each of theſe in the following paragraph, and refer our readers, for the other names by which it was occaſionally diſtinguiſhed; ſuch as that of *Armorica*, from its lying along the ſea-coaſts; of *Aquitania*, from its abundance of water; *Cis* and *Tranſpadana*, or on either ſide of the *Po*; and ſome others; to the account given of them at the entrance of the *Roman* hiſtory above-quoted (7). All that needs be added here is, that the words *Celte* and *Gaul*, ſignifying, in the antient language, *brave* and *warlike*, that of *Belga*, *fierce* or *quarrelſome*, that of *Armoric*, *maritim*; theſe names were, in all probability, given them by other nations. As for thoſe of *Cimerians*, *Cimbrians*, *Cumbrians*, and the like, they are plainly a corruption of their original one of *Gomerians* or *Gomerai*, as thoſe of *Galatians* and *Celto-Galatians* were of *Celto-Gaul*.

As for the *Galatia*, or *Celto-Græcia*, of *Aſia Minor*, in which theſe *European Gauls* were ſettled by *Nicomedes*, who had called them thither to his aſſiſtance, we ſhall, as much as we can, refer our readers to what has been ſaid of them in ſome preceding volumes (8), to avoid unneceſſary repetitions. All that need be added here is, that this province had *Cappadocia* on the eaſt; *Bithynia* on the weſt; *Pamphylia*

(4) *Bell. Gall. lib.* iv. *Mel. lib.* iii. *c.* 2. (5) *Strab. lib.* v. (6) *Diod. Sic. lib.* v. (7) *See vol.* xi. *p.* 208, *& ſeq.* (8) *See vol.* ix. *p.* 192, *& vol.* xi. *p.* 349.

on

WE have already shewn in the history of the antient *Celtes* [g], that they were possessed of the greatest part of *Europe*. There is scarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left some evident monument of themselves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, promontories, and such-like. In every part of it, where either the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, or *Romans*, sent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by antient writers to have found the *Celtes* or *Gauls* already settled [h]: not that they expresly mention them by those two names; for we have just observed on what account they had several other appellatives given them, but yet such as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, customs, *&c.* to have meant one and the same nation. However, we will not venture to say, that they were all of the same *Celtic* extract that inhabited those parts of *Europe*, either towards the sea-side, such as *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *French* coasts, along the *Mediterranean*, or towards the north-east, where they seem to have been so blended with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that it is next to impossible to assert their boundaries on that side. All that we pretend to conclude from those antient authors, who have written most clearly and knowingly on this head, is, that the *Celtes* or *Gauls* plainly appear to have been the first that peopled and possessed themselves of, or claimed a dominion over, this country.

The extent of Gaul.

[g] Vol. vi. p. 5, & seq. [h] Vide DIODOR. SIC. lib. v. LUCAN, lib. vi. SIL. ITAL. lib. iii. APPIAN. PTOL. & al.

on the south; and the *Euxine* on the north. Here St. *Paul* founded a church, to which he directed that epistle, which is still known by the name of the epistle to the *Galatians*, and was written to reduce them from those *Jewish* observances, into which some false teachers of the circumcision had debauched them, and to confirm them in the true gospel liberty which had been preached to them. We know little else of these *Galatians*, besides what has been said in the two volumes last quoted, except that we read, in the second book of *Maccabees* (viii. 20.) of a signal overthrow which the *Jews* gave them in the province of *Babylon*, where there, with a small army of eight thousand men, defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thousand of the former. The text says nothing further concerning this signal victory, nor about the time in which it happened; so that we are left in the dark, whether *Judas* speaks there of the *Galatians* settled in the province lately mentioned, or, which is more probable, of the *Gauls* themselves, who had by this time, if not long before, spread themselves all over *Asia*; for it must be observed here, that the name of *Galatai* was indifferently given, especially by *Greek* authors, to the one and to the other.

Gauls *in* Spain *and* Portugal.

THE greateſt difficulty, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, is to prove the *Gauls*, or *Celtes* rather, to have been ſettled in *Spain* and *Portugal* before any other nation; firſt, becauſe they were here called by the name of *Iberians*, or, at moſt, *Celtiberians*; from which ſome are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the firſt inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the *Celtes*, who came over the *Pyrenees*, and ſettled amongſt them. And, ſecondly, becauſe *Varro* [i] mentions no leſs than five different nations, that were found there, when the *Romans* firſt invaded that country. Theſe were, according to him, the *Iberians*, *Perſians* (D), *Phœnicians*, *Celtes*, and *Carthaginians*. As to the firſt, we have formerly ſhewn, that the word *Iberian* ſignified, in the antient *Celtic*, any people, country, or place, that was ſituate over, or on the other ſide of, a ſea, river, ridge of mountains, and the like [k]: ſo that theſe might be naturally called *Iberians*, on account of their ſituation over the *Pyrenees*, by thoſe that lived on this ſide; and *Celtiberians*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe nations they were blended and intermixed with there. As to what is objected out of *Varro*, we have had occaſion to hint, in the hiſtory of antient *Spain*, that neither the *Tyrian* or *Phœnician* colonies, nor thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, came thither till a long time after the *Celtes* or *Gauls* had been ſettled there, and peopled a great part of that country. All this ſeems ſelf-evident, firſt, from the conſentient teſtimony of antient authors, the greateſt part of whom expreſly affirm it [l], and make theſe inhabitants to be of the ſame extract with thoſe that filled the hither parts of *Europe*, to all whom they give the ſame common name of *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and ſometimes the more antient one of *Cymmerians* and *Cymbrians* [m]. And, ſecondly, from thoſe traces and monu-

[i] De re ruſt. vid. & PLIN. nat. hiſt. lib. iii. c. 1. Vide & LUCAN. APPIAN. DIOD. &c. ubi ſupra. [k] Vol. vi. p. 7 et ſeq. [l] HERODOT. lib. ii. c. 33. lib. iv. c. 49. & alibi. EPHOR. apud Strab. lib. iv. Vide et PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. lib. i. c. 4. [m] STRAB. ubi ſupra. SICUL. lib. v. et al.

(D) As it doth not appear from any antient author, that the *Perſians* ſent any colonies into this country, it is ſomewhat difficult to gueſs who theſe were, whom our author mentions with the other four. If we may be permitted to offer our conjecture, the name being of *Celtic* extract, and ſignifying *ſevered* or *divided*, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was given to ſome tribe or canton of this nation, on account of their rupture or difference from the reſt, either in their cuſtoms, laws, and ſuch-like, or for retaining their old ones, whilſt theſe had altered theirs, in complaiſance to the other nations they were intermixed with.

ments

ments they have left in almoſt every canton and province of that country; ſuch as the names of ſeas, rivers, mountains, cities, and the like, all which are manifeſtly of *Celtic* extraction.

In Italy.

IT ALY cannot be ſuppoſed to have been long unpoſſeſſed by them, if they were not the firſt peoplers of it, concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid on that head in ſome former volumes [n]. It was, indeed, too fair a ſpot not to invite ſuch a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been ever ſo well peopled beforehand; but, we think, we have made it at leaſt very probable, that they came thither ſooner than any other; for if the *Humbri* or *Umbri* really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been [o], the *aborigines* or antienteſt people of *Italy*; and they were deſcended from the *Celtes* (E), as their name, and other concurring circumſtances, ſeem plainly to intimate [p]; then it will ſcarcely be doubted, that they muſt have entered and peopled that country very early, when we recollect what dreadful devaſtations the *Hetrurians* made among them, and how many hundreds of their towns and cities they deſtroyed in that invaſion which they made upon them, and for the further particulars of which we refer our readers to a former volume [q].

Umbri, *antient inhabitants of it.*

Germans, &c. *of* Celtic *extract.*

WE ſhall ſhortly come to ſpeak of the *Germans*, and other northern nations, as well as of the iſles of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, *Iceland*, and others leſs conſiderable; all which plainly appear to have been firſt diſcovered and peopled by the *Gauls* or *Celtes*. As for the *Germans*, they were ſo like the *Celtes* in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, except, as *Strabo* obſerves [r], their retaining ſome of their original fierceneſs, which was doubtleſs owing to their vicinity and intermixture with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that they ſeem to have been one and the ſame nation; and this our author thinks to be the oc-

[n] See vol. vi. p. 8, et ſeq. et vol. xi. p. 214, et ſeq. [o] FLOR. lib. i. c. 17. PLIN. DION. HALICAR. & al. [p] Compare vol. vi. p. 11, et ſeq. and vol. xi. p. 224, et ſeq. [q] Vol. vi. ubi ſupra. [r] Lib. iv. & vii.

(E) *Pliny* derives their name from the *Greek* ομβρος, which ſignifies a *ſhower*; becauſe they had been diſlodged from their country by a flood, occaſioned by violent ſhowers (9). But this etymon is far-fetched and forced, unleſs we will admit, that it carried the memory of their eſcaping the univerſal deluge with it; in which caſe it muſt be ſuppoſed, that they came early into thoſe parts, and ſet up ſome monuments of their deliverance there. But as to the name of *Umbrians*, or *Humbrians*, it ſeems rather a ſoftening of the original one of *Gomerians* or *Cimbrians*.

(9) *Nat. hiſt. lib.* iii. *c.* 4.

caſion of their being called *Germans* (F). We ſhall find a much properer etymon for that name in the ſequel. What made us mention it here, was as a proof, that *Germany* was part of the *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* territories, at leaſt as far as the *Rhine* [s], if not as far as the *Danube* [t], though, as we have already obſerved, all that inhabited the countries between theſe two great rivers, were very much intermixed with the *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, and other northern (G) nations. All that needs be added here is, that the *Helvetii*, *Rhætii*, *Norici*, and *Pannonians*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume [u], are ſometimes called *Celtes*, and ſometimes *Gauls*, indifferently; and that their troops were ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Celtic* and *Gauliſh* legions in *Aurelian*'s time [w], as were alſo thoſe that lived along the foot of, or upon, the *Alps* themſelves.

How they came firſt into Europe.

In the mean time it will not be improper, before we come to fix them according to that epocha, to inquire, how this antient nation came at firſt to ſpread itſelf, as we have ſhewn they did, all over *Europe*; that is, whether they advanced by gradual ſteps from the place of their firſt diſperſion, which we formerly fixed in *Phrygia* [x]; or whether they came thither by ſea, and, landing at firſt on ſome of the *Italic* or *Mediterranean* ſhores, dilated themſelves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypotheſis has its difficulties. If that of *Beroſus* and his followers could be credited, that *Gomer*'s ſons ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of *Spain* and *Italy* ſo early as an hundred and forty-two years after the flood, the gradual migrations will hardly be thought quick enough to have

Beroſus's account confuted.

[s] Diodor. l. xxxviii. et ſeq. Ptol. lib. ii. c. 9. [t] Tacit. German. c. 1. Ptol. lib. viii. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. iv. c. 12. [u] See vol. xii. p. 452, et ſeq. ſub not. (D), (E). vol. xiii. p. 517, et ſeq. ſub not. [w] Zos. lib. li. c. 2. Liv. lib. xxi. c. 30, et ſeq. Polyb. lib. iii. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. iii. c. 20, et alibi. [x] Vol. i. p. 375, et ſeq. vol. vi. p. 9, et ſeq.

(F) The word *Germanus* was that by which the *Romans* diſtinguiſhed brothers by the ſame father and mother from thoſe which were only by the one or the other, whom they termed *uterini* or *conſanguinei*. And though the etymon itſelf be certainly falſe with reſpect to the *Germans*, yet it ſhews the great affinity which that author obſerved between them and the *Gauls*.

(G) Such were the *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Sicambri*, *Burgundi*, *Quadi*, *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Baſtarnæ*, the *Rhætii*, *Norici*, *Pannonians*, *Mæſians*, *Thracians*, and many more, whoſe names and ſituation the reader will find in the ſeveral maps at the head of this hiſtory; and for the deſcription and particulars of which we refer him to the general index at the end of this work.

extended

extended themſelves to ſuch vaſt tracts of ground in ſo ſhort a time; and it will be more natural to ſuppoſe, that they ſailed thither from *Leſſer Aſia*. But then it will be equally difficult to imagine, how they could, in the ſhort ſpace of an hundred and forty-two years, become ſuch expert mariners, as this ſuppoſes them to have been; and, if we allow them a longer ſpace for making themſelves ſo far maſters of navigation, they may be as reaſonably thought to have extended themſelves thus far by ſuch gradual migrations, as either want of room, curioſity, or deſire of change, may be ſuppoſed to have led them to (H).

The Gauliſh boundaries ſtreightened.

THE ſame fate having attended them, not only in *Italy*, but likewiſe on this ſide of the *Alps*, where the provinces of *Noricum*, *Helvetia*, *Rhætia*, and that whole tract which lies between thoſe mountains and the lake of *Geneva*, were taken from them, as we have ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory [y], the whole *Gauliſh* extent came then to reach no farther than from that lake to the *Pyrenees*, having ſtill the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth, the *Rhine* on the north, and the *Britiſh* chanel on the weſt; for, by this time, the *Britiſh* and other iſlands were detached from the inlands, and lived under princes of their own, though, in matters of religion, they ſtill kept a kind of conformity with, if not rather a kind of juriſdiction over them, as we ſhall ſee under the next article. This was the ſtate of *Gaul*, and theſe its limits, when *Julius Cæſar* firſt came into it, as we have ſeen in a former volume, where we likewiſe

[y] Vol. xiii. p. 250.

(H) That they began betimes to navigate, or to coaſt at leaſt, not only the *Mediterranean*, *Atlantic*, and other ſeas, but even on the main ocean, we ſhall preſently have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of their arts, commerce, *&c.* But it is ſcarcely to be believed, all things conſidered, that their rude ſkill in this art could bring them thither ſo ſoon as the others could get thither by land. However, ſince ſome antient authors have affirmed, that the firſt inhabitants of *Spain* came thither by ſea, ſome ſay from *Aſia*, and others from *Afric*, the moſt reaſonable opinion ſeems to be that, which allows theſe to have indeed come thither from thoſe parts, and to have ſettled in thoſe countries, though not till ſome conſiderable time after they had been diſcovered and peopled by thoſe, who came thither by land, and by gradual migrations. And this will further account, both for that great variety of names, dialects, and cuſtoms, which ſuch an intermixture muſt, of neceſſity, be ſuppoſed to produce, and for the loſs of that whole country in proceſs of time, when the *Gauls* were partly driven out of it, and the reſt ſubdued by their conquerors, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter.

took notice of ſeveral other changes which were made in their boundaries, and new diviſions of their provinces and diſtricts by the conquering *Romans*, particularly by *Auguſtus*, and to which we beg leave to refer our readers, to avoid repetitions and prolixity [z].

FOR the ſame reaſon we think it ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here of its natural or artificial rarities, or to ſpend any longer time in deſcribing a country ſo near, and ſo well known to us. We have deſcribed its antient ſtate in a former volume [a], and there given an account of its moſt conſiderable rivers, lakes, mountains, *&c.* We have there likewiſe taken notice of the fertility of the country, and how early it had begun to be cultivated and improved, even as far back as the times of *Mercury*, who is affirmed by a learned modern, and not without ſome ſubſtantial proofs, to have reigned in *Gaul*, when it was in its full extent, and by his wholſome laws, and indefatigable pains to promote its trade and commerce into foreign countries, to have raiſed the *Gauliſh* nation to a ſurpriſing height of power and glory [b]. This reign hath indeed been very much ſuſpected by ſome other authors, who have written ſince [c], as fabulous and imaginary; but we do not think it as yet confuted by any thing that has been offered either againſt it, or in favour of the *Cteſian* hiſtory, which, we hope, we have, notwithſtanding all its many and learned advocates, ſufficiently confuted, in our *Aſſyrian* hiſtory [d]. But, waving that intricate and controverted point, it is generally allowed, that this country was in as flouriſhing a condition when the *Romans* firſt invaded it, as any in *Europe*, and their lands, commerce, arts, *&c.* cultivated and improved by its induſtrious inhabitants, in a manner altogether anſwerable to its excellent ſituation and climate, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel (I).

Its fertility, &c.

SECT.

[z] Vol. xi. p. 209. vol. xiii. p. 159, & ſeq. p. 520, & ſeq. & alibi paſſ. vol. xiv. paſſ. [a] Vol. vi. p. 12, & ſeq. [b] PEZRON. antiquit. des Celtes, c. 15. See vol. vi. p. 33, & ſeq. p. 52, & ſeq. [c] FOURMONT. Vide & PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. ſub indic. auctor. BEDFORD. chronol. & al. [d] Vol. iv. p. 250, & ſeq.

(I) However, it muſt be obſerved here, that theſe improvements were of much later date than their firſt ſettlements; and that, if we except *Spain*, *Italy*, and the ſouthern parts of *France*, the reſt of their territories were too cold and diſcouraging to a nation that chiefly delighted in war, hunting, and ſuch-like exerciſes, and at a time when agriculture was, as it were, in its infancy; and it is moſt probable, that the fruitfulneſs of the warmer climates firſt put the northern inhabitants upon endeavouring to ſupply,

SECT. II.

The Religion of the Gauls.

WE have already given an account of the religion of the antient *Celtes* in a former volume [a]; and as the *Gauls* were deſcended from them, as we have ſhewn under the laſt article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongſt them, in the ſame manner and form as they received it from them, till their intercourſe with other nations, or perhaps rather their ſubjection to them, gave birth to thoſe changes and intermixtures which it afterwards underwent. To come therefore at a tolerable notion of true *Gauliſh* religion, we ſhould ſeek it amongſt thoſe *Gauls* who were leaſt converſant with other people, and had leaſt occaſion or

Their religion derived from the Celtes.

[a] Vol. vi. p. 25, & ſeq.

ſupply, by art, the defects of their ſoil and climate; for even in the times of the *Roman* emperors, we do not find, that they had either vines, olives, or any other fruit or grain, except corn (1); and moſt authors, who have written on this ſubject, ſeem to attribute it wholly to the extreme cold to which they were expoſed. It is indeed very likely, that thoſe authors, being uſed to warmer climates, have ſomewhat exaggerated the coldneſs of theſe, which experience ſhews are nothing ſo ſevere as they have repreſented them (2); but it is, at the ſame time, far from improbable, that they are become much warmer than they were in thoſe antient times, either by deſtroying a vaſt number of foreſts, which ſtagnated the air, and intercepted the warmth of the ſun; or by the draining many ſtanding waters, and marſhy grounds; and by cheriſhing it with warm manure, and other improvements, which are obvious to every naturaliſt. The *Romans* themſelves ſeem to have been ſenſible of this change, though they attributed it to ſome favourable alteration in the poſition of the earth, pretended to have been even foretold by that famous *Greek* aſtronomer *Hipparchus* (3). But, however that be, it is plain, that theſe countries are ſo far from being conſtantly covered with ice and ſnow, and their great rivers from being always ſo hard frozen, as to ſerve them inſtead of bridges, for croſſing whole armies over them in their winter excurſions, that we look upon it now as a kind of wonder, whenever any of them chance to be frozen at any ſuch rate.

(1) *Excerpt. ex Appian. de Celt. Var. de re ruſtic. lib.* i. *Diod. Sic. lib.* v. *Strab. lib.* iv. *Cic. de conſuet. prov. Petron. ſat. & al.* (2) *Vide auct. ſupra citat. & Herod. lib.* v. *Plin. jun. panegyr.* cxii. *Amm. Marcell. lib.* xix. *c.* 2. *lib.* xxxi. *c.* 9. *Ovid. de triſt. eleg.* x. *ver.* 8, *& al.* (3) *Vide inter al. Columell. de re ruſtic. lib.* i. *c.* 1.

neceſſity of receiving or adopting any thing from them; inſtead of having recourſe to that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, from whom whatever they might, in proceſs of time, borrow, that might cauſe a kind of reſemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almoſt all other reſpects, as black from white. Much worſe have they ſucceeded in this point, who have transformed the *Gauliſh* deities into *Greek* and *Roman* ones, and ſpent a deal of time and pains to no purpoſe, to prove them to have been ſuch [b]; whereas we hope, in the ſequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of *Celtic* extraction. For the ſame reaſon we muſt be very wary how we depend too much on thoſe few antient authors, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, who have occaſionally ſpoken of them (A). Theſe few ſcraps they have left us of *Gauliſh* religion, ſufficiently ſhew, that they knew little of it; and that, even in thoſe points in which they do not claſh againſt one another (B), they

Not borrowed from other nations.

[b] Sched. biblioth. hiſt. Franc. p. 29. Vide relig. des Gaul. pref. p. 4.

(A) The moſt conſiderable of theſe are, *Julius Cæſar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*; and they have written of it in ſuch a vague and yet conciſe manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and, if theſe pages were to be reduced to their juſt value, would loſe one half of their bulk (1); whether it be, that theſe authors have but juſt copied one another, or only deſigned to ſay the ſame things.

(B) According to thoſe quoted in the laſt note, both the religion and cuſtoms of the *Gauls* are drawn in ſuch colours, as would incline one to ſuſpect them of innate partiality, or rather hatred, to that brave nation. *Diodorus*, among the reſt, makes no ſcruple to tell us, that their ferocity was in nothing more remarkable than in their religious rites, in which, ſays he (2), nothing could be more impious than the victims which they offered, nor more inhuman than the manner in which they offered them. And, if we may believe *Procopius* (3), it ſeems as if this barbarous cuſtom had been ſtill in vogue ſome centuries after their embracing Chriſtianity.

A modern writer, however, has been at the pains to quote other authorities, to diſculpate them from a great deal of this pretended inhumanity (4), and to prove, that they were famed for their virtue and morality. It is well, if both ſides have not exaggerated in their turns. But, at the worſt, the *Gauls* do not appear to have much outdone thoſe other nations, who cry out ſo bitterly againſt them, in theſe execrable cuſtoms of offering

(1) *Relig. des Gaul. pref. p.* 2. (2) *Hiſtor. lib.* v. (3) *Gother. lib.* ii. *c.* 25. (4) *Vide Lewis, hiſtor. Britan. s.* 2. *& auctor. ab eo citat.*

human

they have betrayed ſuch a fondneſs and partiality for their own, as if they had looked upon it as the mother, and the other as the offspring of it. Upon which account *Joſephus* makes no ſcruple to affirm [c], that all that the beſt of theſe had written of the *Gauls*, was without any foundation, and owing to an itch of ſaying ſuch things of them, as no man had ever ſaid before, or, indeed, could ſay. And, in fact, it could hardly be otherwiſe, conſidering that the *Gauls* made it a conſtant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a ſettled maxim amongſt them, that it was more glorious to perform noble deeds, than to ſpeak and write well [d]. Beſides, had they laid more open to their neighbours than they really did (C), yet could theſe have received no great intelligence concerning their religion, ſince their druids or bards

Carefully concealed from ſtrangers;

[c] Cont. Apion. lib. i. [d] See Cæs. comment. lib. vi. Sallust. bell. Catilin.

human victims to their gods, of murdering ſome captives in their auguries, and ſuch-like. On the contrary, we have ſhewed in ſome former parts of this work, that not only the antient *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, &c. but even the *Romans*, *Carthaginians* (5), and others, made a common practice of them; and thus far their religions bore a reſemblance, whichſoever of them were the inventors of theſe bloody ceremonies, concerning which we have nothing to add to what we have ſaid in the volumes above-quoted.

(C) *Joſephus* (6) tells us accordingly, that their country was, in ſome meaſure, inacceſſible, becauſe nature had fortified them on all ſides with a kind of impenetrable ramparts, ſuch as were the *Alps*, the *Pyrenees*, the ocean, and *Mediterranean*, the *Rhine*, &c. and with ſtrength and courage to defend their frontiers.

It is no leſs improbable, that their religion was brought in amongſt them, either over any of theſe then inacceſſible mountains, ſeas, or rivers; becauſe, on the one hand, the nations that antiently inhabited over the *Pyrenees*, *Alps*, and on the other ſide the *Rhine*, *Danube*, &c. were, as we have ſhewn, of the ſame *Celtic* extract with the *Gauls*, and had received the ſame religion, laws, and cuſtoms, with them from their anceſtors; ſo that we muſt, of courſe, ſuppoſe, that it was ſettled and practiſed amongſt them ſome ages before they either thought of making excurſions out of, or were invaded in, their own territories. On the contrary, it appears from ſome authors, that even the *Romans* did not make any attempt on them till about four hundred years after they were known to be ſufficiently fixed in their religion, government, and diſcipline (7).

(5) *See an account of the religion of theſe nations, in the vols.* i. ii. *& ſeq. of this work.* (6) *Bell. Jud. lib.* ii. *c.* 16. (7) *Pauſan. in Phocic. Vide reching. des Gaul. lib.* i. *c.* 3.

and even from their laity.

made it a main part of their policy to conceal it, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable points of it, even from their own laity, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel (D).

Worſhip the ſupreme Deity.

WHETHER the *Gauls*, or antient *Celtes* rather, were the firſt introducers of theſe hypotheſes, or whether they adopted them in imitation of other antient nations, is a knot too hard for us to untie. However, it is plain they antiently adored a Supreme Being under the name of *Eſus*, which ſeems only a corruption of the old *Celtic* word *Dhew*, from which the *Greeks* probably borrowed their Θεὸς and Ζεὺς, and the *Romans* their *Deus*. This notion was religiouſly preſerved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to pleaſe the people, whoſe impetuous deſire after this novelty they could not reſiſt, ſuffered the worſhip and images of theſe gods to be introduced amongſt them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever the laity might be indulged to do in proceſs of time; but the worſhip of the true GOD was ſtill carefully kept up, and the oak eſteemed the ſymbol of the Deity, as fire was among the *Perſes*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume [e]. To frame therefore a right notion of the religion of this, or any other nation, we muſt not judge of it by the corruptions introduced into it by a mad populace, and winked at by the prieſts and philoſophers, but as it was believed and profeſſed by thoſe who had the care of it. And in this caſe we ſhall perhaps find the moſt material difference between that of the

[e] See vol. v. p. 149, et ſeq.

(D) It will appear ſtill more unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the *Gauls* received any part of their religion from either the *Greeks* or *Romans*, if we conſider, beſides what has been hinted at the the end of the laſt note, that their gods and goddeſſes, and their very names, plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extract, and exactly anſwering ſome eminent part of their character, not as gods and goddeſſes, but as heroes and heroines, famed for ſome peculiar excellency, and as ſuch deified, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, by the courteſy of their deſcendents; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not adopt, much leſs challenge them for their own, till many ages after; that is, as a learned author ſeems rightly to ſuppoſe (8), not till the former had been ordered by the oracle of *Dodona* to adopt the deities of the barbarians (9), and the latter made it a ſtanding law not to invade any nations, till they had implored the favour of their gods, and promiſed to build them temples, and eſtabliſh their worſhip amongſt them (1).

(8) *Relig. des Gaul. lib.* i. *c.* 3. (9) *Plin. lib.* xxviii. *c.* 3. (1) *See this farther explained in ſect.* 4. *under note* (I).

Gauls

Gauls and that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, even in thoſe points in which they ſeem moſt to agree, we mean the worſhip of the ſame gods, with reſpect to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them, the latter ſeeming calculated to ſooth the moſt inordinate paſſions, and authorize the worſt of crimes, and the former rather quite oppoſite to it: and this is what the modern author laſt quoted has taken no ſmall pains to ſhew, in two main inſtances; to wit, from the contrary notions which theſe entertained of their gods, and from the moral doctrines of their druids (E).

We

(E) It is indeed no hard matter to imagine how the religion and precepts of *Noah* (and theſe were free enough from all idolatry, and the ſuperſtitious traſh, which crept in afterwards among his deſcendents) ſhould be preſerved for a conſiderable time in the family of *Japheth*, upon which that patriarch had pronounced and intailed a peculiar bleſſing (2): but we cannot be ſo ſanguine in favour of thoſe druids, as to believe with that author, that they preſerved them ſo pure among themſelves during ſuch a ſeries of ages, as he ſeems to ſuppoſe. If they did, they were guilty of a very ſhameful remiſſneſs and condeſcenſion to the laity, in ſuffering them to run themſelves into ſuch vile idolatries, horrid ſuperſtition, deteſtable rites, and corruption of principles and morals, as they muſt be owned to have done, in ſpite of all falſe gloſſes that have been uſed to palliate their degeneracy, or the ſuppoſition of their having been too much miſrepreſented by *Greek* and *Latin* authors. We have, on the contrary, ſhewn in a former volume (3), that the antient *Celtes*, even in the times of their primitive ſimplicity of life, and when they were as yet freeſt from luxury and other corruptions, had yet adopted many inhuman ceremonies into their worſhip, auguries, *&c.* Even the *Scythians*, a younger branch of *Japheth*'s family, who lived ſtill in a much greater ſimplicity, and were more unmixed, and had leſs intercourſe, with other nations, did yet exceed the *Celtes* in the barbarity of their religion and cuſtoms (4): and it will evidently appear from what follows, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other northern people, did not only copy after, but even outdo them in it; ſo that though they muſt be allowed, for reaſons hinted more than once, to have been little known to, and, in great meaſure, deſignedly miſrepreſented by, thoſe authors who have written of them, yet they cannot, without manifeſt partiality, be diſculpated from the charge of having had many bloody and inhuman rites, many abſurd and unſocial principles, as well as corruption of morals, in common with other nations, though not in the ſame degree with

(2) *Geneſ.* xix. 27. *See Mona antiqua, p.* 43, *et ſeq. p.* 98, *et ſeq. p.* 105, *et ſeq.* (3) *See vol.* vi. *p.* 28, *et ſeq. alibi paſſ.* (4) *Ib d. p.* 69, *et ſe_. :* 72, *et ſeq. et*

them.

The Gaulish *religion the mother of all the northern ones.*

WE think ourselves obliged to be the more particular in our inquiry into the religion of the *Gauls*, as it is the source and foundation, not only of the antient *Germans*, and other more northern nations, but likewise of that of the antient *Britons*, who, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, were descended, and had received their religion, laws, customs, &c. originally from them; so that what is said on that subject in this chapter, will serve as a clue to that of those other nations we shall have occasion to speak of in the following ones; by which means we shall avoid many needless repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to those points, in which they differed from this their common mother, or in such cases, where there appears a necessity to shew the affinity they bear to each other. As for those of the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. who became intermingled with the *Gauls*, the reader will find the former already done in a preceding volume [f], and the rest will come in their turn in some of the subsequent chapters. And here we shall, for order-sake, begin with an account of the different deities worshiped by the antient *Gauls*, and the particular ceremonies and sacrifices used to each of them, not as they were transmitted to them from their *Celtic* ancestors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been said in their history, but as they were found in the times of the *Romans* invading of, and becoming first acquainted with them.

In Spain *and* Italy.

Esus *the supreme Deity.*

WE have already hinted, that they antiently worshiped the supreme Deity, under the name of *Esus* or *Hesus* (F), and the symbol

[f] Vol. xi. p. 220, et seq. p. 296, et seq.

them. Let therefore the private doctrines of their druids have been what they would, and they be supposed ever so averse and opposite to the general practice of the people, nothing can be said for their countenancing, if not encouraging, those abominable ceremonies; such as their offering up of human victims to their gods by way of expiation; their auguries from the reeking blood and entrails of their captives; and others of the same nature, of which we shall speak in due time.

(F) There have been various conjectures concerning the etymon of this word, besides that which we offered a little higher, and which to us seems the most natural, because the *Celtic Dh* being pronounced with a kind of preceding aspiration, and not unlike our softer *th* in such pronouns as *thee*, *thou*, &c. foreigners, who were unused to it, could not well express the sound of the word *Dhew*, but by the letters *Esu*. As for the final *s*, it might be superadded by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, according to their way of terminating the masculine gender in *us* and *os*, as they did likewise in the plural *Esi*, *Aisoi*, as they may be seen in *Hesychius*.

The antient *Etruscans*, according

ſymbol of the oak; and it will not be thought ſtrange, that this notion of a Supreme Being ſhould have been preſerved among

cording to *Suetonius* (5), called the Deity *Æſar*; for he obſerves there, that, among the other prodigies which preceded *Auguſtus*'s death, a flaſh of lightning having eraſed the *C* from the word *Cæſar*, as it ſtood ingraved on a pedeſtal which ſupported his ſtatue, the diviners told him, that the *C* being a numerical letter, ſignifying an hundred, the omen portended, that he had but ſo many days to live, after which he would be deified; becauſe *Æſar*, or the remainder of the word, ſignified God in the *Etruſcan* language. If we might therefore be allowed a far-off conjecture concerning theſe two names, *Eſus* among the *Gauls*, and *Æſar* among the *Etruſcans*, it would be, that they might be both of *Hebrew* extract; and we have elſewhere ſhewn, that the old *Celtic*, with which the *Etruſcan* has a vaſt affinity, appears viſibly to have been a dialect of the *Hebrew* (6). The word גבר *hezus* ſignifies *ſtrong* and *mighty*, and is given to God in many places, particularly by the Pſalmiſt (7); and עזר *ezer* ſignifies *help*, or *helper* (8); and is likewiſe given to him, as he is emphatically ſo, when all other helps fail. The patriarch *Abraham*, and his deſcendents, knew him by the name of אל-שדי *el-ſaddai*, *the mighty* or *ſelf-ſufficient* God, till he made his peculiar name *Jehovah* known unto them (9); and it is remarkable, that the *Thracians*, a branch of the *Celtes*, did, according to *Macrobius*, call the god, to whom they had erected a temple on mount *Zilmiſſus*, *Sabazius*, which is a plain corruption of the *Hebrew* word *Tzabaoth*, eſpecially conſidering, that, in their religious rites to *Bacchus*, they were wont to cry out, *Evohe Sabbai*, which is the *Elohe*, or, if you pleaſe, the *Jehovah Tzabbaoth* of the *Hebrews*, as God is emphatically called by the Pſalmiſt in the pſalm above-quoted, and ſignifies *Lord of hoſts*; a title that well ſuited the martial *Thracians*. As theſe therefore were rather attributes, than the names of the Godhead, each nation may be ſuppoſed to have choſen that which ſuited their genius beſt; and the *Gauls* that of *Heſus*, as ſuiting moſt with their warlike ſpirit.

That not only the names of the deity, but this way of worſhiping him under oaks, and in oaky groves, was common to all the deſcendents of *Noah*, we have undoubted proof out of the Old Teſtament, as we ſhall preſently ſhew; and we only mention it here, to confute the notion of thoſe who ſuppoſe the *Eſus* of the *Gauls* to have been the god *Mars*; for neither he, nor any other inferior deities, were worſhiped under theſe oaks, or with the ſame rites with *Eſus*; and therefore *Pliny*, in his deſcription of the ceremony which they uſed in gathering the miſleto of thoſe ſacred oaks, has theſe words, which plainly ſhew, that theſe trees were dedicated to the Deity itſelf: "The druids, ſays

(5) *In vit. Auguſt. inter al. Pſal.* xxiv. 8. *Exod.* vi. 3.

(6) *Vol.* vi. *p.* 25, *et ſeq. p.* 31, *et* (B).

(7) *Vid.*

(8) *Gen.* ii. 18.

(9) *Con. Gen.* xvii. 1. *et*

"he,

Worshiped by other antient nations.

among the descendents of *Japheth*, when we find such lively traces of it even among the idolatrous *Syrians*, *Midianites*, and even the *Canaanites*, as in the family of *Laban* [g], of *Jethro* [h], and of the two *Abimelechs*, kings of *Gerar* in the times of *Abraham* and *Isaac* [i], and some others we could name, particularly the *Gibeonites* in *Joshua*'s time [k], *Adonibezek* in the time of the judges [l], and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon* [m]; who all not only retained the notion of the Deity, notwithstanding their idolatry, but had likewise a peculiar name for it, distinct from those of their other gods (G). To this we must add, that, in the midst of those heathenish superstitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, the *Gauls* never erected any either temples or idols unto this *Esus* or Supreme Deity; so that he seems to have been acknowleged by them much in the same manner that the *Athenians* did the unknown God mentioned by St. *Paul* [n]; which notion was far enough from being peculiar to them. Others had their unknown God as well as they, and owned themselves his offspring, though their notion and worship of him were very imperfect, and, in many cases, too unworthy of him, as even the *Gauls*

No temples erected to him by the Gauls.

[g] Genes. xxxi. 48, & seq. [h] Compare Exod. ii. 21, & seq. and xviii. 9, & seq. [i] Genes. xxi. 3, & seq. xxvi. 8, & seq. Josh. ix. 9, & seq. [l] Judg. i. 7. [m] 1 Kings v. 7, & seq.
[n] Acts xvii. 23.

" he (1), believe, that the misleto " is a sign that God hath chosen " that tree to himself;" and a little lower, after having particularly described their manner of gathering it, he adds, " that they " offered up victims and prayers " to God, that he would bless " and prosper his own gift to " them that receive it." It is plain from it, that he neither speaks here of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, or any other of their gods, but of the Deity itself.

(G) To this let us add, with respect to the *Gauls* we are now speaking of, that the natural fondness, which they had for the religion and customs of their forefathers, the contempt they entertained of other nations, the recluse and solitary life of their druids, who were the keepers and teachers of their theology, and their strict and constant practice, founded upon it, of sacrificing, and performing their other religious rites, under the oak only, as consecrated to that Supreme Being, were most effectual means to preserve that fundamental notion still uppermost amongst them, whatever other superstitions might be, in process of time, introduced among them; for we must here observe, that they kept constant to this custom, or rather, as seems, law, of performing their religious worship under that tree, or, more properly, in groves of it, even after they had adopted that long regiment of deities, of which we are about to give an account.

(1) *Hist. nat. lib.* xvi. *c.* 44.

did,

did, when they came to intermingle the *Roman* theology with their own. However, antiently they ſeem to have entertained ſome ſublime notions of him; to confirm which, we need but add what *Tacitus* ſays of the *Senones*, who were a branch of the *Celtes*, and had the ſame religion: They, ſays that author [o], have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unleſs he carries a chain, in token of his dependence on, and owning the ſupreme dominion, which GOD has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none muſt dare to help him up; but he muſt either roll himſelf, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion conſiſted in an acknowlegement, that the Deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and ought to obey him. *Strabo* ſays much the ſame of the *Celtiberians*, another branch of the *Celtes*; and adds, that they worſhiped the GOD without name, and danced every full moon, before their houſes, all the night, in honour of him [p]: and might it not be upon this account, as an ingenious author obſerves [q], that *Lucan* raillies the *Maſſilian* druids, when he tells them [r], that they were the only ones of all men, to whom it was given to know, or not to know, the gods they adored? And then, ſpeaking of their groves, ſays, that their ignorance of the deities they worſhiped under them, was the cauſe of that veneration they paid to thoſe ſturdy and ſhapeleſs trees. He ſpeaks there indeed of deities in the plural, *Roman* and poet like; but that he did not intend thereby, that any more than one was worſhiped in thoſe groves, is plain from what he ſays at the end of his deſcription of the *Maſſilian* grove (H); to wit,

Worſhiped in groves.

Their ſublime notions of him.

[o] De mor. German. [p] Geogr. lib. iii. [q] Relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. c. 2. [r] Luc. Pharſal. lib. iii.

(H) This deſcription, though disfigured with ſatire and ridicule, being curious, and pertinent to our preſent ſubject, we ſhall give the ſubſtance of it to our *Engliſh* readers. It is as follows: There is without the walls of *Marſeilles* a ſacred grove or wood, which had never been touched by ax from the creation. The trees of it grew ſo thick and interwoven, that they ſuffered not the rays of the ſun to come through their branches; but a perfect damp and darkneſs reigned through the place. Neither nymphs nor ſylvan gods could make their abode in it, it being deſtined for the moſt inhuman myſteries. There was nothing to be ſeen there but a multitude of altars, upon which they ſacrificed human victims, whoſe blood turned the very trees of an horrid crimſon colour. If antient tradition may be credited, no bird ever perched upon their branches, no beaſt ever walked under them, no wind ever blew through them, nor thunder-bolt did ever touch them.

wit, that the prieſt or druid, woo officiated there, was afraid of meeting *Dominum luci*; by which he could mean nothing elſe but the Deity worſhiped there, a notion probably common to them and the *Jews*, as we have ſhewn in the laſt note.

Their veneration for the oak.

ANOTHER remarkable thing in their religion was, their great veneration for the oak. This ſeems likewiſe to have been common to them and the old patriarchs and *Jews*, among whom that tree was in high eſteem, though not in the ſame ſuperſtitious degree. *Abraham* is recorded to have pitched his tents under ſome famed oaks, ſuch as thoſe of *Mamre*, of *Moreh* [s]; which, though our verſion, and ſome others, have transformed into plains, yet, in the original, plainly ſignify an oak, or oaky grove [t]. He is ſaid moreover to have planted

Whence probably derived.

[s] Geneſ. xii. 6. xiii. ult. et alibi paſſ. [t] Geneſ. xxi. 33. See alſo the margin of our bibles, and the generality of commentators.

Theſe ſtately oaks, as well as the black water that winds about through the place in different chanels, fill one with horror and dread. The figures of the god of the grove are a kind of ſtanding, rude, and ſhapeleſs trunks, covered over with a diſmal yellow moſs. It is the genius of the *Gauls* (continues he) to feel no veneration for the gods, unleſs they be thus repreſented, in a manner quite oppoſite to the raſte of other nations; for which reaſon, their fear and regard for them increaſes, in proportion to their ignorance of thoſe gods which they worſhip.

There is a report, that this grove is often ſhaken, and ſtrangely moved, and that dreadful ſounds are heard from its caverns; that the yews, if thrown or cut down, grow up again of themſelves; that the grove is ſometimes in a blaze, without being conſumed; and that the oaks are twined about with monſtrous dragons. The *Gauls* dare not live in it, out of reſpect to the Deity that inhabits it, and to which they intirely abandon it. Only at noon and midnight, a prieſt goes trembling into it, to celebrate its dreadful myſteries; and is in continual fear, leſt the Deity, to which it is conſecrated, ſhould appear to him. Thus far our poet.

We have already obſerved, that tho' he expreſſes himſelf in the plural, in ſpeaking of the *Gauliſh* gods, rather as a poet and a *Roman*, yet his laſt words plainly ſhew, that he intended to ſpeak of one Deity here. All that we would further obſerve of the prieſt's dread of ſeeing that Deity, ſeems plainly a relic of that notion, which even the patriarchs and antient *Jews* had, that no man could ſee GOD, and live (2). As for the dreadful deſcription of the grove, and its horrid apparatus, if it is not, in a great meaſure, the fiction of the poet, to ridicule the *Gauliſh* worſhip, might it not be that of the druids themſelves, to prevent their laity, as well as ſtrangers, from entering, and prying too curiouſly into it?

(2) *Vid. int. al. Geneſ.* xxviii. 16, *et ſeq. Judic.* vi. 22. xiii. 22, *et ſeq.*

groves

groves of them; and, where-ever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the LORD, and to have given ſome ſignificant name to the place, ſuch as that of *Beerſheba* [u], *Bethel*, and the like (I). The *Gauls*, in particular, improved upon this patriarchal cuſtom, the origin of which ſeems rather owing to what we hinted in the laſt note, than to any ſanctity or extraordinary virtue, which either *Abraham*, or any of his anceſtors or ſucceſſors, could imagine to be in thoſe trees; whereas, among both *Celtes* and *Gauls*, the oak was looked upon and reverenced as an emblem, or as the peculiar reſidence, of the Deity. The fruit of it, eſpecially the miſſoldine, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was uſed as a kind of panacea for man and beaſt, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contuſions, and cuticular ailments, and alſo for inwards diſeaſes, and even barrenneſs and abortion, in men, women, and cattle (J). The leaves, or

The miſſeto.

[u] Gen. xxi. 31. Vide & Gen. xxviii. 19, & alib.

(I) It muſt be obſerved, that the original word *alon* ſignifies both an *oak*, and a *grove* or *thicket of oaks*. Theſe were, at firſt, choſen in thoſe hot countries, for the ſake of coolneſs and ſhade; and where the plains were well watered, and fit for paſture, but wanted ſuch woods or groves, they planted them, as *Abraham* is recorded to have done at *Beerſheba*. Theſe, in time, came to be in great eſteem by his deſcendents, not only on account of their extreme uſefulneſs, and long duration, but out of regard to thoſe patriarchs who had dwelt and ſacrificed under them. *Jacob*, we read, buried his beloved *Rachel*'s nurſe under an oak, which he called *The oak of mourning*. He buried all the idolatrous traſh, which he found in his houſhold, under another (3). This laſt became famous among the *Shechemites* (4), probably becauſe *Joſhua* reared a ſtone or pillar under it, in memory of the covenant which he renewed juſt before his death between GOD and the *Iſraelites* (5).

This regard, by degrees, dwindled into downright ſuperſtition, not only among the *Jews*, but even among Chriſtians, *Mohammedans*, and other nations. As to the former, they became infamous for their ſacrificing and burning incenſe in their high places and groves, and at length, as they are juſtly upbraided by the prophets, under every oak and green tree (6), notwithſtanding GOD's prohibitions, and ſevere threatenings. As for the latter, we are told, that the oaks under which *Abraham* dwelt, were ſtill ſhewn in *Conſtantine*'s time, and reſorted to with great devotion by Chriſtians, *Turks*, and even heathens (7).

(J) *Pliny*, who has given us this account more accurately

(3) *Geneſ.* xxxv. 4, 8. (4) *Judic.* ix. 6. (5) *Joſh.* xxiv. 26.
(6) *See* 2 *Kings* xvi. 4. *Iſai.* lvi. 5, *et ſeq. Jerem.* ii. 20. *Hoſea* iv. 13. *Judith* iii. 8. (7) *N. Damaſc. Joſeph. & al.*

or ſome ſmall boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were conſtantly performed, as we hinted above, under thoſe trees, or in oaky groves. Theſe, if we may gueſs from the few fragments we have left of them in hiſtory, and from ſome carneads or heaps of ſtones ſtill ſtanding in ſome of our iſles, eſpecially that of *Angleſey* [w], and which may be ſuppoſed to have been cinctures

Their groves for worſhip.

[w] See Mona antiqua, p. 91, et ſeq. KEYZLER. antiq. ſeptentrion. p. 77, et in addend.

than any other author, tells us (8), that they called the miſleto, as well as the particular day or feſtival on which they gathered it, by a name which ſignified *cures all.* We ſhall quote the whole paſſage, as it is both ſuccinct and curious:

" The druids, ſays he, who " are among the *Gauls* what the " magi are elſewhere, *hold no-* " thing ſo ſacred as the *miſſol-* " dine, and the tree that bears " it. This is conſtantly the oak, " for which they have ſuch an " high eſteem, that they do not " perform the leaſt religious ce- " remony, without being ad- " orned with garlands of its " leaves. It is, in all likeli- " hood, from the *Greek* name of " the oak, that the *Gauliſh* " prieſts are called druids. Theſe " philoſophers believe, that eve- " ry thing that grows upon that " tree, comes from heaven; " and that it is an evident proof, " that GOD hath choſen it above " all others.

" The miſſoldine of the oak " being ſcarce, and rarely found, " when any of it has been diſ- " covered, they go, with great " ceremony and reſpect, to ga- " ther it. This is always done " on the ſixth day of the moon, " a day ſo eſteemed among them, " that they have made their " months and years, and even " ages, which conſiſt but of " thirty years, to take their be- " ginning from it. The reaſon " of their chooſing that day is, " becauſe the moon is, by that " time, grown ſtrong enough, " though not come to the half of " its fulneſs; and this day they " call by a name, which, in " their tongue, ſignifies *curer of* " *all ills.*

" When the druids have got " ready, under the oak, all the " apparatus for the ſacrifice, and " the banquet which they uſual- " ly make, they tie, for the firſt " time, two white bulls to it by " the horns. Then one of the " prieſts, cloathed in white, gets " up the tree, and, with a gold " ſithe, cuts off the miſſoldine, " which is received in a white " *ſagum*; which done, they be- " gin to offer their ſacrifices. " and pray to GOD to give a " bleſſing to his own gift, unto " them that are honoured with " it. He adds, that the water " of the miſſoldine gives ferti- " lity to man and beaſt, is a ſpe- " cific againſt all kind of poiſon; " an eminent inſtance, ſays he, " that human religion has often " no other object than frivolous " things."

(8) *Nat. hiſt. lib.* xvi. *c.* 44.

or

or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees, except where it was left open to the comers, and, not unlikely, guarded by ſome inferior druids, to ſtop all ſtrangers from intruding into their myſteries; we ſay, if we may gueſs at them by theſe few antient helps, theſe groves were of different forms, ſome quite circular, ſome oblong, and more or leſs capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the largeneſs of the diſtrict or canton to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompaſſed with ſeveral rows of theſe oaks, ſet very thick and cloſe. Within the large circle were ſeveral ſmaller ones, ſurrounded, as is ſuppoſed, with large ſtones, which ſerved for the ſacrifices, and other moſt ſolemn part of their worſhip. In the centre, or near it, of theſe ſmall circles, were placed ſolid ſtones of a large ſize, and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, diſſected, and offered up. Each of theſe being, as we imagine, a kind of altar, was ſurrounded with another row of ſtones, the uſe of which cannot be eaſily gueſſed at, unleſs it was to keep the people at a due diſtance from the prieſts that officiated. Some of theſe interior circles are likewiſe thought to have ſerved, one or more, for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or aſſembly, or for ſuch other purpoſes as can only be gueſſed at [x]; though we very much doubt, conſidering the vaſt reverence that was paid to thoſe groves, as they were conſecrated to religious rites, whether their druids would ſuffer any ſecular matters to be tranſacted in them. We are rather inclined to think, that theſe cinctures might all ſerve for the ſame religious ends, one for human victims, another for thoſe of beaſts, a third for auguries, and ſuch-like; not but they may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have had other groves, deſigned for ſuch ſecular purpoſes as we juſt now mentioned, and theſe might probably enough be of oaks, as the others were, that the ſacredneſs of thoſe trees might ſtrike theſe courts and councils with due awe, and prevent ſuch quarrels and indecencies, as might otherwiſe happen. And this conjecture (and the contrary one is no more than gueſs-work) ſeems more agreeable to what we have lately quoted of their worſhip out of *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Lucan*. How conformable the religion of the druids was to that of the patriarchs, in the moſt eſſential points, is what we ſhall now endeavour to ſhew (K).

Their form.

Altar.

Cinctures.

I. THE

[x] KEYRLER. ibid.

(K) How the *Eſus*, or Supreme Deity of the *Gauls*, came afterwards to be transformed into, or give place to, *Jupiter*, which, if we may believe *Lactantius*, did not happen till about

Affinity between the Celtic *religion and that of the patriarchs and* Jews.

1. THE *Gauls* had a ſovereign pontif or head of the druidiſh order, to whom both theſe, and the whole nation, paid the higheſt regard. The ſame we find among the *Jews*, to ſay nothing of *Melchiſedek*, to whom *Abraham* paid tythes of the ſpoil he had lately gained.

2. THE druids, under this their head, had ſuch an uncontroulable power and ſway, that whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their deciſions, not only in religious, but civil matters (even to the putting an immediate ſtop to an engagement, when both parties were ready for the onſet, if the druids did not like the prognoſtics), was interdicted from aſſiſting at their ſolemnities, which was looked upon by the *Gauls* as the moſt grievous puniſhment [y]. The *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, at the head of the ſanhedrin, was looked upon as the dernier appeal in all cauſes; and excommunication, the greateſt puniſhment among the *Jews*, was to be the lot of thoſe, who refuſed to abide by their deciſion [z].

3. THE druids were obliged to aſſemble themſelves in the territories of *Chartrain* once a year. The *Jews* had their three grand feſtivals, on which their males were obliged to repair to *Jeruſalem*.

4. THE druids wore white garments. The ſame did the *Jewiſh* prieſts.

5. THE druids lived in woods and groves. The ſame did generally the patriarchs, the ſons of the prophets, and the *Eſſenians*, a kind of monks among the *Jews* [a]. The *Gauls* had

[y] DIOD. SIC. lib. v. CÆS. comment. lib. vi. [z] See vol. iii. p. 70, & ſeq. p. 124, & ſeq. [a] See a full account of them, vol. x. p. 478, et ſeq.

the fourth century at ſooneſt, we ſhall endeavour to account for in the ſequel. But, by what we have ſaid of him, and his worſhip, and of the oaks and groves conſecrated to him, *&c.* the reader cannot but have obſerved a great deal of conformity between the *Gauliſh* and the patriarchal and *Jewiſh* religion, tho', if this had been all, we ſhould hardly have inſerted this remark; neither could *Celſus* have had ſo much reaſon to oppoſe the antiquity and wiſdom of the druidiſh religion, and its conformity to that of the antient *Jews*, againſt the novelty of the goſpel (9). We ſhall therefore beg leave, in ſpeaking of the other branches of the *Gauliſh* religion and ceremonies, to obſerve to him the ſame conformity running through very many other particulars, as they have been collected in one view by a very diligent author often quoted under this head (1); and from which we may be able to ſatisfy ourſelves, that they could never be owing to mere chance, but that both plainly appear to have flowed from the ſame ſource.

(9) *Vide Origen. contra Celſum.* (1) *Relig. des Gaul. lib.* i. *p.* 53, *& ſeq.*

their

their female druids, propheteſſes, and aruſpices. The *Jews* had *Miriam*, *Aaron*'s ſiſter, *Deborah*, *Huldah*, and other propheteſſes [b], to ſay nothing of other women, who kept familiar ſpirits. Some of thoſe females were in high repute among the *Gauls*, and bore a great ſway in the government. And *Deborah* was a famed judge in *Iſrael*.

6. THE *Gauls* vowed to *Mars* ſome parts of the ſpoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The ſame was among the *Iſraelites* with reſpect to thoſe cities and kingdoms, which were ſubject to anathema, as in the caſe of *Jericho*. The reſt they divided among themſelves, according to certain laws and cuſtoms ſettled amongſt them. *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *David*, made alſo laws on the ſame head, what portion ſhould be offered to GOD, what given to the prieſts, and how the reſt ſhould be divided between the combatants and thoſe who guarded the camp and baggage.

7. THE *Gauls* worſhiped a braſen bull. And the *Iſraelites* golden calves.

8. IN public calamities they offered an human victim, on whom they threw all the curſes that threatened them. The *Jews* did the ſame by their ſcape-goat [c].

9. THE *Gauls* had power of life and death over their ſervants. The ſame had the patriarchs and *Jews*, and the former even over their families, as one may conclude from the inſtance of *Judah* and his daughter-in-law *Tamar* [d].

10. THEY began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and *Jews* did; and, like them, diſtinguiſhed the year only into three ſeaſons, to wit, ſpring, ſummer or harveſt, and winter. The autumn was ſo unknown to both, that they had no name for it. The ſame is affirmed likewiſe of the *Egyptians* by *Diodorus Siculus*.

11. THEY gave ſignificant names to their children, to places, *&c.* as theſe did.

12. THE *Gauls* believed the immortality of the ſoul; ſo that no people under heaven could ſhew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and *Jews*, if we except the upſtart ſect of the *Sadducees*, were famed for looking on this life only as a mere paſſage into a better.

13. WHEN their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own ſervants [e]. We have an inſtance of this in *Jephthah*, one of the *Iſraelitiſh* judges, and his raſh vow [f], though it was more common among the *Phœnicians*, and other antient nations.

[b] See vol. iii. p. 235, et ſeq. [c] Ibid. p. 46, et ſeq. et not. (V), et CÆS. comment. lib. vi. [d] Geneſ. xxxviii. 24. [e] Comment. ubi ſupra. [f] Judg. xi. 30, et ſeq. See alſo what hath been ſaid of it, vol. iv. p. 12, et ſeq. & not. (O).

14. THE *Jews* had the waters of jealouſy to aſſure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives [g]. The *Gauls* had ſome kinds of ordeals or tryals to the ſame ſenſe; and *Julian* the emperor tells us, that the waters of the *Rhine* had ſome ſecret virtue to puniſh thoſe wives, who had gone aſtray (L).

15. THE druids made it a conſtant maxim not to commit any thing of their laws, philoſophy, or hiſtory, to writing; but to couch them in ſet poems and canticles, to be learned by heart, and ſung at proper places and ſeaſons. Theſe ſongs were, it ſeems, ſo multiplied in *Cæſar*'s time, that it took up ſome druids (for they were all obliged to it) near twenty years in learning them [h]. We do not find but that this was the antient cuſtom of the patriarchs, and other nations in *Canaan* before *Moſes*, who quotes ſome of thoſe canticles, and compoſed ſome of them himſelf, as did other prophets after him, in memory of ſome ſignal victories, deliverances, and the like.

16. SOME *Gauliſh* nations carried their gods along with them to the war, as did the *Iſraelites* their ark, and their apoſtates the tabernacles of *Moloch*, *Chiun*, and *Remphan*.

17. THE *Gauls* perſonified and deified their rivers, lakes, woods, *&c.* and might not this be a corruption of that laudable elegance of the ſacred poets, who called upon thoſe, and all other creatures, to praiſe GOD?

18. IN all probability, their offering human victims, common likewiſe to other nations, and even to the apoſtate *Iſraelites*, in imitation of them, ſeems to have had its riſe from the example of *Abraham*'s readineſs to ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac*, concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to what we have ſaid in a former volume [i]. We ſhall now give our readers a ſhort account of this inhuman rite, as it was practiſed among the

[g] See before, vol. iii. p. 137, et ſeq. [h] Comment. ubi ſup.
[i] See vol. iii. p. 335, et ſeq.

(L) This is not a proper place to ſpeak of thoſe ordeals and other trials, that paſſed, in all probability, from *Gaul* into *Great Britain*, and which might, in all likelihood, have their riſe from the *Jewiſh* waters of jealouſy. But that which the apoſtate *Julian* mentions concerning the *Rhine*, can ſcarcely be owing to any thing elſe.

He tells us (z), that, when a *Gaul* ſuſpected his wife of infidelity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they ſunk, the woman was deemed guilty, and put to death. If they ſwam, and moved towards the place where ſhe ſtood trembling at a convenient diſtance, and ready to receive them, ſhe was cleared, and reſtored to her huſband's favour.

(z) *Orat.* xvi.

Gauls,

Gauls, and leave our readers the pleaſure of diſcovering, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, many more inſtances of that conformity we have been ſpeaking of, which we are forced to omit, to avoid being tedious.

Human victims how offered.

As to this bloody cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims, which began ſo early with the *Gauls*, and which, if we may believe *Procopius* [k], did not end till ſome centuries after their embracing Chriſtianity, we can only ſpeak of it as it was tranſacted out of their groves, or places of worſhip; for, as to what was done within them, no ſtranger being made acquainted with, much leſs admitted to ſee it, we muſt be wholly in the dark about it, as their druids committed nothing of it to writing. Concerning thoſe unhappy ones, that were offered abroad, *Cæſar* and *Plutarch* give us the following account:

The occaſion of ſome of them.

" When a man's life is in danger, either through ſickneſs or " other accident, they immediately ſacrifice, or at leaſt make " a vow ſo to do, ſome human victims; for, beſides that they " think them the moſt perfect, and pleaſing to the gods, they " believe, that one man's life cannot be redeemed, but by that " of another, without which no ſatisfaction could be made to " them for their goodneſs to men. And theſe are the cere-

How performed.

" monies eſtabliſhed amongſt them upon all ſuch occaſions [l]: " They erect an huge hollow pile of oſier, which they fill " with theſe unhappy wretches, who are quickly ſuffocated " by the ſmoak, and reduced to aſhes ſoon after. They ima- " gine, however, that criminals of any kind are much more " acceptable victims; but, where they are not to be had, the " innocent muſt go in their ſtead.

At funerals.

In their funerals, which " are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every " thing that the deceaſed delighted in, even to living crea- " tures; and it is not long ſince they threw likewiſe into it " all his favourite ſervants and ſlaves. Some of his near rela- " tions (continues *Cæſar*) likewiſe flung themſelves into " the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next " world." This cuſtom was exactly like that of burying the *Jewiſh* kings, except the burning of living and human creatures, as the reader may ſee in a former volume, where we have given an account of that ceremony [m].

In their auguries, and other ſuperſtitions.

We lately hinted at their imitating, in ſome meaſure, the *Jewiſh* ſcape-goat, by devoting ſome vicarious victims to death, and praying, that all the curſes due to them might fall upon it. The *Maſſilians*, among the reſt, are reported to have, in times of peſtilence, made choice of ſome indigent perſon, that offered himſelf voluntarily, whom they took care to fat-

[k] Goth. lib. ii. c. 25. [l] Comment. lib. vi. PLUT. de ſuperſtit. [m] Vol. iii. p. 171, et ſeq. et not.

ten

ten with the daintieſt fare during a whole year; after which, they dreſſed him with garlands, and other rich ornaments, and led him through the ſtreets, loaded with the bittereſt imprecations, to his death [n]. We have formerly had occaſion to account for this cuſtom, which was likewiſe common to other nations, as well as the *Gauls*, and had its riſe from the ſame ſource [o]. However, if the *Gauls*, in ſuch calamitous times, could procure any of the handſomer and nobler ſort to offer themſelves to ſuch a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them by large rewards and encomiums. Theſe were led, like the poorer ſort, out of the city, and ſtoned, and the former thrown down from ſome high precipice. The common notion among them was, that ſuch a ſpontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth intitled them to a rank among the gods. In other caſes, they either tied or nailed them to ſome tree or poſt, and ſhot them to death with arrows: others they burnt, with a number of beaſts, on a pile of hay [p]. It was alſo cuſtomary among them to reſerve their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in ſacrifice with the firſt-fruits of their ground [q]. The ſame author adds, that they threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold, and other rich things, which it was death for any one to meddle with afterwards [r]. As for their brute victims, they were left, in ſome meaſure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers of them, and always officiated in white garments [s], both in this, and all other parts of their worſhip: only the horſes, which they took in battle, or at leaſt part of them, they burnt, with the bodies of the ſlain [t]. All theſe ſacrifices were occaſional, and unlimited, except thoſe which *Lucan* calls national, and which were conſtantly performed at noon, and at midnight, as we have hinted above. As the *Gauls* were addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition (M), they uſed to be exceeding watchful of the ſinging and

Offered in all calamitous times.

How choſen, and put to death.

Brute victims.

National ſacrifices how performed.

[n] Petron. ſatir. ad fin. Vide et Serv. comm. in Æn. iii. ver. 58. [o] See the note (V), in vol. iii. p. 49, et ſeq. [p] Strab. lib. iv. [q] Diodor. Sicul. lib. vi. c. 9. [r] Ibid. lib. v. [s] Comment. ubi ſupra. Vide et Keyzler antiq. ſeptentr. p. 305, et 459. Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celtes, Relig. des Gaul. et al. [t] Tacit. German.

(M) According to the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, the *Gauls* exceeded all other nations in cruelty and ſuperſtition; and yet, if we compare them together, even according to their own writings, we ſhall ſcarce perceive any difference between them, but what is on the oppoſite ſide. It muſt be owned, however, that ſome of the *Gallic* nations were very famed for their

and flight of birds, and other ſuch kind of ominous traſh. They never undertook any thing of conſequence, without the advice of their aruſpices, who were, for that reaſon, in high requeſt among them. Theſe carefully examined the entrails, blood, *&c.* of their victims; and, when they offered any human one, as they conſtantly did before they held a council, whether of the nation or diſtrict, they ſtabbed him behind with a cutlaſs, a little above the *diaphragma*, watched the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left ſide, or on his face, how the blood flowed at the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the caſe be what it would, or the appearances be ever ſo much againſt it; inſomuch that they have come to the head of an army, and ſtopped the fight, which was juſt going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to contravene them upon any account [u].

Superſtitious obſervations and ceremonies.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves had ſome large ſtones, which were ſuppoſed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are ſtill extant in ſeveral parts of *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the iſle of *Angleſey*, and are of ſuch a monſtrous

Their altars.

Reliques of them ſtill extant.

[u] Strab. lib. iv. Just. lib. xxiv. c. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. c. 9. Comment. lib. vi.

their ſuperſtition, ſince *Alexander Severus* is upbraided with having even outdone ſome of them, to wit, the *Vaſcones* or *Gaſcons*, in it (3).

Our deſign is not to extenuate thoſe inhuman and abominable practices of the *Gauls*, but to obſerve how little reaſon other authors, eſpecially the *Romans*, had to blacken them above all other nations, when they themſelves outdid almoſt all that ever went before or ſince. We have given a ſufficient number of inſtances of it in their hiſtory under ſeveral of their emperors, eſpecially *Severus* above-mentioned, *Nero*, and *Julian*; and we ſhall cloſe this note with another, which happened juſt upon the breaking out of the war between the *Gauls* under *Viridomarus* and them, when, as *Plutarch* tells us (4), they thought themſelves obliged to obey certain oracles, which they found in the *Sibylline* books, and to bury alive in the beef-market two *Gauls*, and two *Greeks*, a man and a woman of each nation, to whom, ſays he, they ſtill offer ſome private ſacrifices in the month of *November*, which the people are not allowed to be preſent at; which very ſacrifices, we are told by two of their own authors (5), were ſince repeated at the ſame place on ſeveral occaſions, eſpecially at the firſt opening of the *Punic* war, which immediately ſucceeded that of the *Gauls* above-mentioned.

(3) *Lamprid. in Alexand. Sever.* (4) *In vit. Marcel.* (5) *Tit. Liv. lib.* xxii. *c.* 57. *Plin. lib.* xxviii. *c.* 2.

ſize,

ſize, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the ſuperſtitious inhabitants, to have been the work of thoſe demons, that were ſuppoſed to attend on that kind of worſhip, eſpecially conſidering that, as it is pretended, there were no quarries of ſuch ſtones within any reaſonable diſtance from the place where theſe altars ſtood (N).

THE antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent in their accounts of thoſe altars, and other piles of huge ſtones, which are to be met with in almoſt every kingdom and province of *Europe*, together with ſuch other monuments, as deſcribe thoſe ſacrifices that were offered upon them, and the apparatus and inſtruments that were uſed in them; but they generally deal ſo much in conjectures, and agree ſo little with each other, that it is no wonder that kind of ſtudy has been ſo diſreliſhed by the far greater part of the learned; ſo that it would be loſt time for us to enter further on this ſubject; and all that we think worth adding to it is, that the *Gauls* are affirmed by the generality of authors to have conſtantly aſſiſted at theſe ſacrifices armed cap-à-pé, and to have carried ſome ſmall thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands [w], after it had been offered up, or had been led to the altar.

How the Gauls *aſſiſted at theſe ſacrifices.*

They had no temples till long

TEMPLES, we have already hinted, they had not before the coming in of the *Romans*, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after *Cæſar*'s conqueſt of them. An author, who lived

[w] CÆS. ubi ſupra, DIOD. SIC. MEL. lib. iii. et al.

(N) Of theſe one that is to be ſeen in the confines of *Alſace*, meaſures about thirty-ſix feet in circumference, twelve feet and an half in breadth, and four feet and a quarter in thickneſs. It is reared on a parcel of other ſtones, about three feet and an half from the ground (6). Some of theſe altar-ſtones were round, others oval, ſome ſquare, others oblong, and ſome triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of workmanſhip either of bas-relief or inſcriptions, others to have been quite plain; but whether originally ſo, or by time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow or baſon on the ſurface, ſuppoſed to have been deſigned to receive the blood or entrails of the victims (7). One of theſe is recorded to have had a hollow kind of naſty paſſage under it, through which they made thoſe ſtrangers, whom they deſigned for ſacrifices, to paſs, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that paſſage is, it ſeems, called to this day *cunnus dæmonis*, *duvels-ſkut*, or *devil's hole* (8).

(6) *Keyzler. ubi ſupra, p.* 41, *& ſeq.* (7) *Cæſ. comment. ubi ſupra.*
(8) *Schoen. de ſedib. Franc. apud Matth. analect. & Keyzler. ubi ſupra.*

long

long after him, tells us expreſly, that they had not any other ſtatue of *Jupiter* but a tall oak [x]; which could hardly be ſuppoſed to be growing in a temple, any more than thoſe coloſſean piles of hay, and other combuſtibles, in which, we are told by other authors [y], they uſed to burn their numerous human victims, can be imagined to have been reared in any ſuch cloſe places, much leſs ſtill the trees, on which they faſtened thoſe whom they pierced with arrows. Their groves, ſuch as we have deſcribed them, were much fitter for thoſe ceremonies; and this appears to have been one main difference between the *Gauls* and the *Greeks* and *Romans* [z]. *Mars*, as we have formerly ſhewn, was only worſhiped under the figure of a naked ſword, that was repoſited upon an altar in one of thoſe groves; but as they had then a cuſtom to vow to him what ſpoil they took from their enemies, *Cæſar* tells us, they generally depoſited it in any place where they chanced to be. There they ſacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the reſt of the plunder in vaſt heaps in the open country; which were, nevertheleſs, held ſo ſacred by the people, that none dared to touch any part of it, though there were amongſt them great quantities of gold and ſilver, and other rich ſtuff; for he tells us, that thoſe conſecrated heaps were to be found in moſt cities in *Gaul* [a]. This ſeems likewiſe another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who choſe to ſhut up thoſe treaſures in their temples, as in places of greateſt ſafety; whereas the *Gauls* left them expoſed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or, at moſt, in ſome lakes and groves, which were on that very account eſteemed ſacred (O).

after Cæſar.

Mars *how repreſented and worſhiped.*

Even

[x] Maxim. Tyr. ſerm. xxxviii. [y] Cæs. comment. Diod. Strab. ubi ſupra. [z] See Voss. in Maimon. Aboda Zara, c. 1. n. 2. Reines. apud relig. des Gaul. p. 119, et ſeq. [a] Cæs. comment. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sic. lib. v. c. 2.

(O) It muſt be owned, however, that ſome of theſe authors give to theſe places the name of temples or oratories; and *Cæſar* is affirmed to have rifled them to ſupport his army (9); but then they ſpoke like *Greeks* and *Romans*, among whom it was cuſtomary to depoſit ſuch ſacred treaſures in their moſt famous temples, and even to call ſuch conſecrated places by the names of ἱερὸν and *templum*. Thus *Tacitus*, though he affirms, that the *Germans* had no temples, tells us, that their goddeſs *Hertza* uſed ſometimes to come out of her grove or *Caſtum nemus*, to air herſelf; and, when ſhe was weary of rambling, was carried back, and placed in her own temple, which, the ſame author tells us afterwards, was no more than a lake within the wood where that goddeſs reſided (1).

The ſame may be ſaid of that

(9) *Sueton. in Cæſar.* (1) *De morib. German.*

famed

Britons *the standard of the* Gauliſh *religion.*

Even among the *Britons*, who certainly had ſome ſuch temples, if any other *Gauls* had, becauſe they were the ſtandard of the *Gauliſh* religion, from whom all the others received it (for we are told [b], that theſe uſed to croſs over in great numbers into *Britain*, or, as ſome think, into the iſland of *Angleſey* [c], and to ſpend there ſome years in the ſtudy of their religion and myſteries, as it was indeed the ſeat and nurſery of it, and the reſidence of the grand druid, or chief pontif, and conſequently of all the learned doctors of the *Gauliſh* religion); when *Tacitus* ſpeaks of the deſcent of the *Romans* into this iſland [d], he tells us, that their firſt care was to deſtroy thoſe groves and woods, which the druids had polluted with the

[b] Comment. ubi ſupra. p. 53, et ſeq. p. 78, et ſeq.

[c] See Mona antiqua, ſect. 8, et ſeq.

[d] Annal. lib. xiv. c. 3.

famed one of *Thouloufe*, upon whoſe account the *aurum Tholoſanum* became famous, even to a proverb, on account of the vaſt quantity that was repoſited in it. This place *Strabo*, ſpeaking of it, calls a temple: There was, ſays he, a very famous temple at *Thouloufe*, the veneration and credit of which made it grow immenſely rich, becauſe none dared to touch any part of what was conſecrated in it (2); and yet the ſame author, when he accounts for the vaſt quantities of gold that were found there, from ſome rich mines which he ſuppoſes to have been in the neighbourhood, and which, joined to the plain frugal way in which the inhabitants lived, made it increaſe upon them to ſuch a ſtupendous height, he adds, that they had other treaſures in many ſuch-like places, which, ſays he, were depoſited and conſecrated in whole ingots, in lakes, as in ſo many ſacred *aſyla*. So that this *Thouloufan* temple, and thoſe other lakes he ſpeaks of, were, in all probability, the ſame thing, or meant, at moſt, but ſome more ſacred and private part of the lake, to which he gives the name of temple, only on account of the deity to whom that metal was conſecrated.

What confirms it ſtill more is, that *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the ſacrilege committed by *Cæpio* (3), mentions only the lake out of which this famous *Thouloufan* gold was taken (4); and *Juſtin*, ſpeaking of the *Tectoſagi*, whom he ſuppoſes to have brought it from the temple of *Delphos*, ſays, that, being returned to *Thouloufe*, and afflicted with a grievous plague, they were ordered by their augurs to fling their ill-gotten pelf into that lake. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of this *Thouloufan* treaſure, and its being expoſed to ſale, in the ſequel; and we only mention it here to ſhew upon what account *Strabo* called it a temple, though no more than a ſacred lake, with a σηκὸς or niche, with ſome emblem of a deity in the richeſt, and conſequently, moſt ſacred part of it.

(2) *See before, vol.* xii. *p.* 494.
(4) *Geogr. lib.* iv.

(3) *Vide relig. des Gaul. lib.* i. *cap.* 13.

blood

blood of so many human victims; and would they not, upon the same account, have done so by their temples, if any such had been in this country? And since all the other *Gauls* appear to have regulated their whole religion, and its rites, from these, it cannot be supposed, that they could, at least in *Tacitus*'s time, have had temples any-where else, whatever they did afterwards, more by force than out of choice, as we shall see by-and-by (P).

BEFORE we dismiss this point, it might not be thought unseasonable to make some further inquiry into those vast piles of stones above-mentioned, which remain to this day both in *England* and in other parts of *Europe*; concerning which so many different conjectures have been offered by learned antiquaries, and others, whilst some have maintained them to have been reared by the *Romans*, others by the antient *Gauls* and *Britons*; one sort taking them for monuments erected in memory of some famous battle or victory, others for burying-places, and a third sort, though with less reason, as we think, for temples, or places of worship. But since that famous one of *Stonehenge*, which has been seen by all the curious, and of which we have so many descriptions in many of our *English* authors, may be justly affirmed to exceed all the rest, as well

(P) Some statues they might have, and in all probability had, before *Cæsar*'s time; but it would be difficult to prove, that they bore any resemblance to those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, either as to their figure or design, or that they were set up by the priests, and not rather by the people, who are often hurried away by imitation, though contrary to the consent of their guides, who appear to have been most strict observers of the old patriarchal way of worshiping the Deity, without temples or images: we may add, that their great veneration and tenaciousness for their antient rites and customs, joined to the contempt they had for those of other nations, must have proved an effectual and lasting preservative against their introducing them. At least it is very probable, that these statues or images we are speaking of, if there were really any such among them, might be no other than monuments of some eminent persons and transactions, such as that which *Laban* and *Jacob* reared in memory of their mutual reconciliation, or that which the latter set up in the place where he buried his favourite *Rachel* (5); or perhaps to point out those sacred treasures which were consecrated in the manner and places already mentioned, and to deter people from profaning or seizing upon them; all which might be easily mistaken for statues and idols by those *Greek* and *Roman* authors who beheld or heard of them.

(5) *See Genes.* xxxi. 45, *& seq.* xxxv. 19, 20.

in

in the largeneſs of the ſtones as the perfection of its figure; and hath, by ſeveral antiquaries, and other learned men, been looked upon as an antient druidiſh temple [e], contrary to what we hope we have already ſufficiently proved in this ſection; we ſhall poſtpone the farther deſcant on that, and other ſuch ſtructures, till we come to the *Britiſh* hiſtory, in a ſubſequent chapter, where we ſhall give a ſhort account of them, and offer the moſt probable conjectures concerning their uſe and deſign [f].

[e] De hoc vide CAMD. Britan. INIGO JONES Stonehenge. Dr. CHARLTON choir Ghaur. HEYLIN. coſmogr. KEYZLER. antiq. ſeptentr. and more lately, the Rev. Mr. STUKELEY's Stonehenge, p. 1, 17, 60, et ſeq. [f] See hereafter, c. 27. ſect. 3.

SECT. III.

How and when the antient Gauls *introduced the Worſhip of inferior Deities among them.*

IT is plain, by what we have quoted out of *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and others, that though the *Romans* had had a conſiderable footing in *Gaul* before the coming of that conqueror, yet they had not been able to perſuade them to imitate them in their rearing of temples to any deity. If they had, *Cæſar* would not have failed hinting ſomething of it; it being one of the chief maxims of his republic, to ſpread their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, where-ever they came: *ſo that, if the Gauls* had ever been forced, or prevailed upon, to build any ſuch temples in their country, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he would have omitted mentioning it; he who took ſuch pleaſure to tell us how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the *Roman* intereſt, and to a fondneſs for ſome of their cuſtoms. Since then there is not the leaſt hint of it either in that or any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation, we may ſafely conclude they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign cuſtom, tho', could it be made appear, that any ſuch ſtructures had been reared then, yet would it not from thence follow, that it was done by the *Gauls*, but would appear more probably to have been done by the *Romans*, who, as we obſerved at the beginning of the laſt ſection, made it a part of their religion to adopt the gods, to vow temples and ſtatues, and afterwards to rear them in every country they conquered; whereas the *Gauls* made it a conſtant

When temples, altars, and ſtatues, began to be reared in Gaul.

ſtant maxim of theirs to wage open war againſt, to plunder and demoliſh all ſuch ſtructures, from a principle bred amongſt them, in common with the *Perſees*, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place; which made *Cicero*, who was not deeply verſed in the *Gauliſh* religion, ſay, that it chiefly conſiſted in a hoſtile contrariety to all others (A).

Polytheiſm how introduced.

WE cannot affirm with the ſame certainty, that they did not imitate the *Romans* in another part of their religion, the worſhip of a plurality of gods and goddeſſes, before their conqueſt. We are told, that they worſhiped *Mars* under the emblem of a naked ſword; and that *Mercury* was in the higheſt veneration among them all over *Gaul* [a], doubtleſs on account of the vaſt benefits and improvements which their trade, commerce, arts and ſciences, had received from him, and of which we have ſpoken in a former volume [b]. Here is indeed no mention of temples or altars, but only of ſtatues had, at that time, neither regard for the pretended gods of other nations, nor for the pretended ſanctity of their temples, but rather a ſingular contempt for the one, and abhorrence of the other; and this ſhews, that they had not as yet adopted any of the *Greek* or *Roman* rites into their religion, whatever they did afterwards.

One thing may be obſerved, that the general character which the authors of both theſe nations gave of the *Gauls*, is a continued contradiction, one while repreſenting them as people of no religion or principles, and at other times as the moſt addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition of any nation under heaven: all which can be only reconciled by allowing, that they actually had a religion of their own, of which they were ſo tenacious, that they deſpiſed all others for the ſake of it.

[a] Comment. ubi ſup. l. vi. [b] Vol. vi. p. 33, (D). p. 52, & ſeq.

(W) Whether it was his ignorance or contempt of their principles, or done out of a deſign to make his client's cauſe appear more juſtifiable (1), he expreſſes himſelf in theſe virulent terms againſt the *Gauls*; that they profeſſed no other religion than that of waging war againſt thoſe of all other nations, and againſt the very gods themſelves. He accuſes them of having left their native ſoil, and croſſed immenſe tracts of land, merely to go and attack the *Delphic Apollo*, and plunder the oracle of the whole world. This, continues he, is that holy nation, which had the boldneſs to beſiege our capitol, and even the great *Jupiter* himſelf in it.

We ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, to explode the greateſt part of this charge, for which that orator ſo foully inveighs againſt them. All that we ſhall obſerve here is, that they

(1) *Orat. pro M. Fonteio.*

reared to them; and probably that worſhip might, at firſt, be no more than a civil one, though it grew up, in time, into downright idolatry and polytheiſm. Theſe two deities, as well as *Uranus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Diana*, &c. being all of *Celtic* extraction, as has been formerly ſhewn, it was much more natural for the *Gauls* to deify them, as having formerly reigned over that nation, than for the *Romans* and *Greeks* to adopt or challenge them from others as their own, and, in proceſs of time, to ſtrive to outvie them in thoſe divine honours which the reſt of the world paid to them. This will, in ſome meaſure, lead us to the motives of that great change, which they ſuffered to be made in their antient religion, for thoſe temples which they erected, and for thoſe ſacrifices which they offered to all thoſe deified monarchs, till at length they ſunk down into the ſame abſurd notions concerning them with the reſt of the idolatrous world, and the notion of *Eſus*, or Supreme Deity, was ſwallowed up in that of a *Jupiter*, as it had been every-where elſe: yet this might reach no farther than the vulgar, whilſt the druids and wiſe men among the *Gauls*, as well as the philoſophers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſtill preſerved the notion of one Supreme Being, and either pitied, or perhaps laughed and winked at, the reſt of the pretended deities, heathen theology, and fooliſh ſuperſtition.

Their gods of Celtic *extract.*

The Supreme Deity obliterated.

BUT neither is this account altogether ſatisfactory, conſidering the averſion and contempt which the *Gauls* had for all other religions; and this extraordinary change will perhaps be better accounted for, if we can ſhew, with any probability, that they were rather forced to it by thoſe under whoſe tyranny they came afterwards to groan, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of reſpect for their deceaſed princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to ſuch a brave and warlike nation as the *Gauls*, among whom one conſtant maxim was univerſally followed, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, to prefer the worſt of deaths to the loſs of liberty, the *Roman* yoke muſt appear intolerable; and that they could not be expected to ſubmit to it longer than they were compelled by the ſuperior power of their tyrants: and as theſe made it their conſtant practice to introduce, either by fair or foul means, their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, where-ever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, could not but be extremely averſe to all ſuch changes, and uſe all their power and authority, which was ſtill very great, and almoſt uncontroulable (B), either to oppoſe them, or to prevail on the people

The druids forced to ſubmit.

Their Roman *tyrants.*

Strenuous oppoſition againſt it.

(B) It plainly appears, that this high power of theirs, except what related to religion, was not of very antient date; and that they raiſed

people to ſhake off the yoke. This their hiſtory will ſhew they did upon all favourable opportunities that offered; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity for the *Romans* to find out ſome plauſible pretence to ſtrip them of their great ſway, and force them to a blind and thorough ſubmiſſion. Accordingly we find, that ſeveral emperors took an effectual method to ſuppreſs the druidiſh power, by iſſuing out ſome ſevere edicts againſt their bloody cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices. *Auguſtus* was the firſt who iſſued out a decree againſt them, and at the ſame time introduced a cenſus among the *Gauls*; upon which the whole nation was juſt ready for a revolt. But by the addreſs and authority of *Druſus*, who was left there by him, they were not only prevented from riſing, but prevailed upon to aſſiſt at the dedication of *Julius Cæſar*'s temple, and to build an altar to *Auguſtus* [c]. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there; and the druids, by this time in leſs authority with the people, might buy it off,

Their power ſuppreſſed by Auguſtus. *His cenſus in* Gaul.

[c] See vol. xiii. p. 527, et ſeq.

raiſed themſelves to it in proceſs of time, by the help of the people's ſuperſtition. Antiently the women ſeem to have had a greater ſway in all civil matters, and even about making peace and war. This privilege they had even before their firſt expedition into *Italy*; and it appears that they held it ſtill, when *Hannibal* paſſed through *Gaul* to croſs the *Alps*; for, in the treaty they made with him, it was agreed, that, if a *Gaul* offered any injury to a *Carthaginian*, he ſhould be tried before the court of the *Gauliſh* women (2). The reaſon of this great ſway is variouſly accounted for: ſome think, that they were looked upon as inſpired; others think, it was owing to their having ſhewn a ſuperior degree of wiſdom in quenching a civil war, which the men had kindled among themſelves. The *Germans*, according to *Tacitus* (3), allowed them the very ſame privileges; and we find ſomething like this practiſed by the *Elians*, who, having in vain ſued for ſatisfaction from *Demophoon* tyrant of *Piſa*, agreed with the *Piſans*, after his death, to ſubmit their difference to a court of ſixteen women, to be choſen out of ſixteen cities of the *Elians*. Our author adds (4), that their deciſion ſo pleaſed both parties, that they appointed a perpetual college of ſixteen matrons to preſide over the *Junonian* games, and to aſſign the prize to whom they thought worthieſt of it.

However, with reſpect to the *Gauliſh* women, though we cannot aſcertain the time when they loſt this their authority, yet it is plain, by what *Cæſar* ſays of that extenſive one (5), which the druids had in his time, that they had found means to ſtrip thoſe heroines of theirs.

(2) *Plut. de mulier. Polyæn. ſtrat. lib.* vii. (3) *Hiſt. lib.* iv. *c.* 61.
(4) *Pauſan. Eliac.* (5) *Comm. lib.* vi.

Claudius's decree against the druids.

by rearing the above-mentioned altar to him: and this is the reason why *Claudius* renewed it against them. But, whatever the pretence of those edicts might be, it is scarce credible, that religion had any hand in them; and they might as well have fallen foul upon all other nations under their empire, nay, and upon their own, since none was exempt from this barbarous custom, much less the *Romans*, as the reader may infer from what we have observed in several parts of their history, and elsewhere [d] (C).

How and when introduced.

The exorbitant power of the druids

FROM all this it appears very probable, that these edicts against the druids, and their bloody rites, were not so much issued out to abolish their sect and religion, as to intimidate them, and suppress their exorbitant power, which, somewhat before this time, was grown to such an height, that they overruled in all courts and councils, raised whom they liked to the highest dignities, and even to the crown, and often aspired to and obtained it for some of their own order. They directed in the making of peace and war, and, even after they were conquered by the *Romans*, could stir up the people to a general revolt; and so jealous were they grown of their usurped authority, that they punished, as we have hinted a little higher, all that disobeyed or disputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more suitable to the *Roman* policy, than to use all possible means to suppress and crush so dangerous a set of men; and since religion was the common pretext to all their exorbitant sway, so that there was no possibility of pulling down the one without abolishing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to use all their power and address to bring about such a thorough change, and introduce their religion amongst them;

[d] See vol. xv. p. 146, (I). 181, 182, (B). 306. 354, (K). vol. xvii. p. 262. 292, 293.

(C) However that be, it doth not appear, that even these took any more effect against them than that of *Augustus*, since we find them still not only in high vogue some centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors *Severus*, *Aurelian*, and *Diocletian*. They subsisted still, even down to the times of *Solinus Polybistor*, and of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* (6), and much longer still in their chief abode in the province of *Chartrain*, where whole towns continued in their antient paganism, even down to the fifth century (7). Neither did those edicts suppress the practice of human victims amongst the *Romans* themselves, among whom they continued to the time of *Constantine the Great*, and even down to that of *Gratian*, who gave the finishing blow to it (8).

(6) *Polybist.* c. 21. *Præp. evang. lib.* iv. c. 17. (7) *Vide relig. des Gaul. lib.* i. c. 32. (8) *See vol.* xv. *p.* 181, 182, (B).

them;

them; and there might not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period offered them, when the *Gauliſh* nation, groaning under a double, and, we may add, a divided tyranny, that of their conquerors, and that of their druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no ſmall eaſe to be rid at leaſt of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, ſeemed the moſt intolerable of the two; for it muſt be remembred, that the *Romans* ſeldom made uſe of force, when they could gain their ends by cajoling and flattery, by fair promiſes, or even bribes and rewards; whereas the druids, if we may believe the *Roman* authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontrouled ſway, till, being overpowered by their enemies, and forſaken by their own people, they were at length forced to ſubmit to, and exchange their religion and rites for thoſe of their conquerors.

inclines the people to a change of religion.

THIS at leaſt appears, by ſeveral concurring circumſtances, to have happened about the time of theſe edicts; for, in *Cæſar*'s time, who left the *Gauls* to the free enjoyment of their rites, and even of many of their laws and cuſtoms, there was not as yet any temple built, or any place of worſhip, but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the *Lugdunenſes* building a ſtately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to *Auguſtus*, then on the throne, and a profeſſed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his ſucceſſor *Tiberius*, their chief deity *Eſus* is transformed into *Jupiter* the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it ſhould ſeem, divides his worſhip with him for a while (D). Both are worſhiped at firſt in groves,

Gaul *at length over-run with* Roman *idolatry.*

Jupiter *ſubſtituted to* Eſus.

(D) This is inferred from ſome antient bas-reliefs found in the great church of *Paris*, in which both theſe deities are carved one cloſe to the other, the inſcription of which is indeed to *Jupiter*; but the ceremony of the oaky miſleto, with the words *Senani Veilo*, ſhews, that *Eſus* was looked upon ſtill as the chief godhead there repreſented.

We would not rely too much upon theſe dark and enigmatic monuments, which every antiquary wreſts according to his own favourite hypotheſis. Sure it is, that, in the time of *Maximus Tyrienſis*, who lived about an hundred years after *Tiberius*, *Eſus* was already transformed into *Jupiter*, and worſhiped under the type of a large oak (9). The author of the life of St. *Boniface*, biſhop of *Mentz*, tells us, that that prelate found no better expedient to bring his people from their old ſuperſtition to chriſtianity, than by cutting down an oak of a very large ſize, called the oak of *Jove*, and the ſtrength of *Jove* (1). The ſame is ſaid to have been done, with like ſucceſs, by ſtill later preachers (2). So long did this vene-

(9) *Maxim. Tyr. ſerm.* XXXviii. (1) *Henſch. apud relig. des Gaul. lib.* ii. c. 5. (2) *Bzovii annal. jub ann.* 1233. *apud eand.*

Temples erected everywhere.

groves, and under oaks; and at length the former is quite ſwallowed up in the latter, and temples, altars, and ſtatues, are erected to him after the *Roman* manner over all the conquered parts of *Gaul*. After a few reigns more, during which they were ſtill greatly oppreſſed, and made ſeveral vain attempts to regain their liberty, eſpecially under *Caligula* and *Claudius* [e], who ſucceeded *Tiberius*, the whole country is filled with *Roman* temples, all their deities adopted and worſhiped, and ſcarce any traces left of their antient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to theſe new deities, and perhaps alſo in their auguries; which occaſioned the above-mentioned decrees againſt them. To theſe we may add the great veneration which they ſtill retained for their oaks, notwithſtanding their multiplicity of temples, and which continued, according to ſome authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of theſe was dedicated to an hundred deities, as appears by the inſcription ingraven on a neighbouring column, which the reader will find in the note (E). However, the ſluice thus broken, an inundation of ſuperſtition and idolatry enſued, which nothing could reſiſt; and the *Gauls*, having once ſhaken off the yoke of their druids, became ſo enamoured with the pageantry of polytheiſm, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marſhes, and even fountains, to all which they aſcribed ſome peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was looked upon as the higheſt ſacrilege to fiſh in them, to draw or drain them, and eſpecially to lay hands on any treaſures that were committed to their care and protection (F). To all theſe changes the druids found

Gauls run into all kinds of ſuperſtition.

[e] See vol. xiv. p. 293, et ſeq. et alibi paſſ.

ration for thoſe trees continue, as one may ſay, in the heart of chriſtianity. We may add, that the name of *Jupiter* doth not appear to have been adopted by the *Gauls*, but only that of *Jove*, which we have already ſhewn is of *Celtic* original 3).

(E) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. *Severus*, the inſcription ingraven was to preſerve the memory of it; ARBOREM DIVUS SEVERUS EVERTIT CENTUM DEORUM. Our author adds, that, in rooting it up, they found an head full of gold and ſilver, which was laid out by that ſaint in the building of a church ſince dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (4).

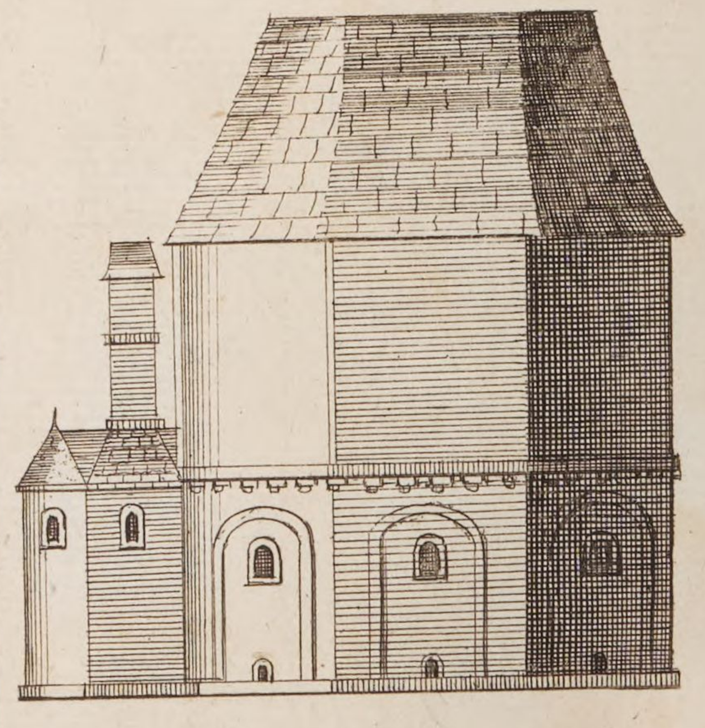
(F) Of theſe lakes, fountains, *&c.* ſome were dedicated to one deity, ſome to another. *Tacitus* pretends to give us the reaſon why the *Gauls* deified them; becauſe, ſays he, they were nearer heaven, and conſequently nearer

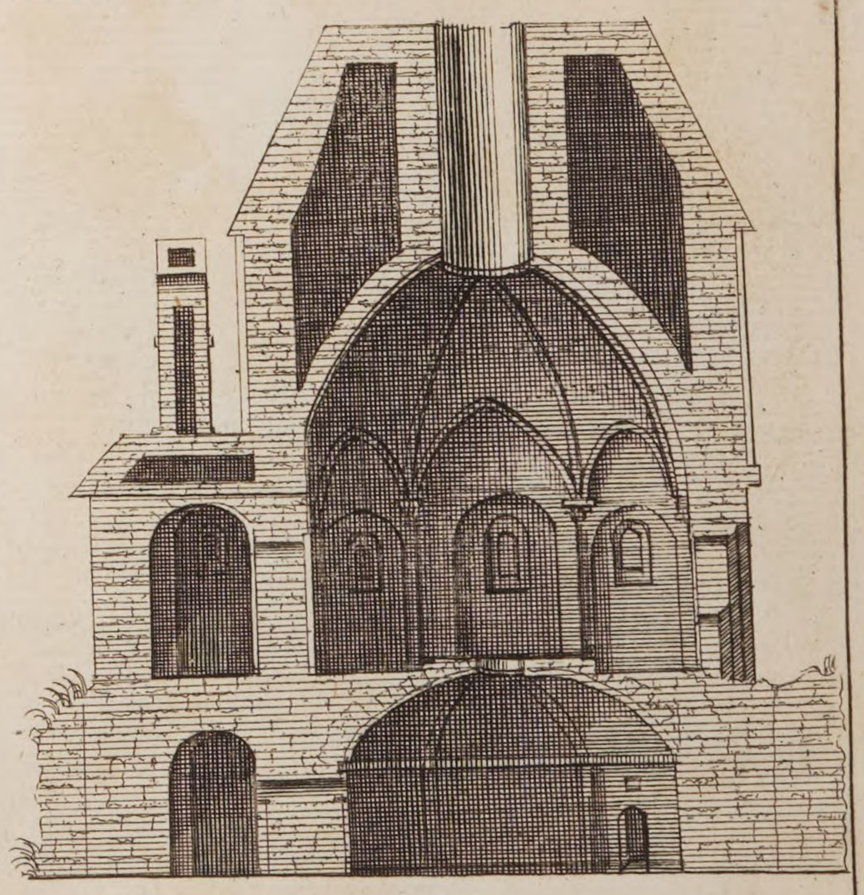
(3) *See before, vol.* vi. *p.* 47, *& ſeq. &* (P).

(4) *Jo. de Boſc. antiq. Vien. p.* 4. *Tableau des prov. Franc. tom.* ii. *p.* 107, *apud eund.*

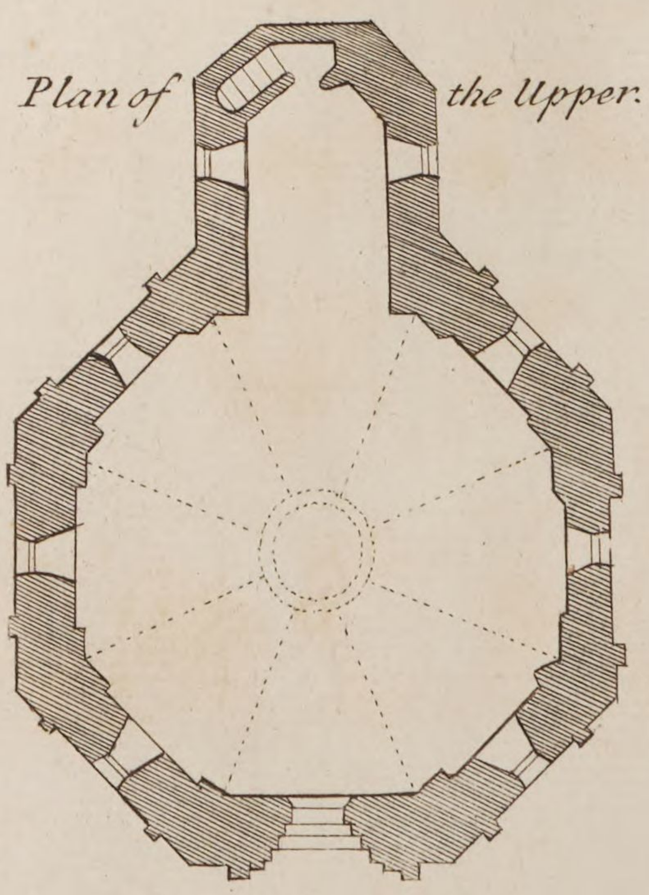
the

PLAN OF THE FAMED TEMPLE OF MONTMORILLON BOTH ABOVE AND UNDER GROUND.



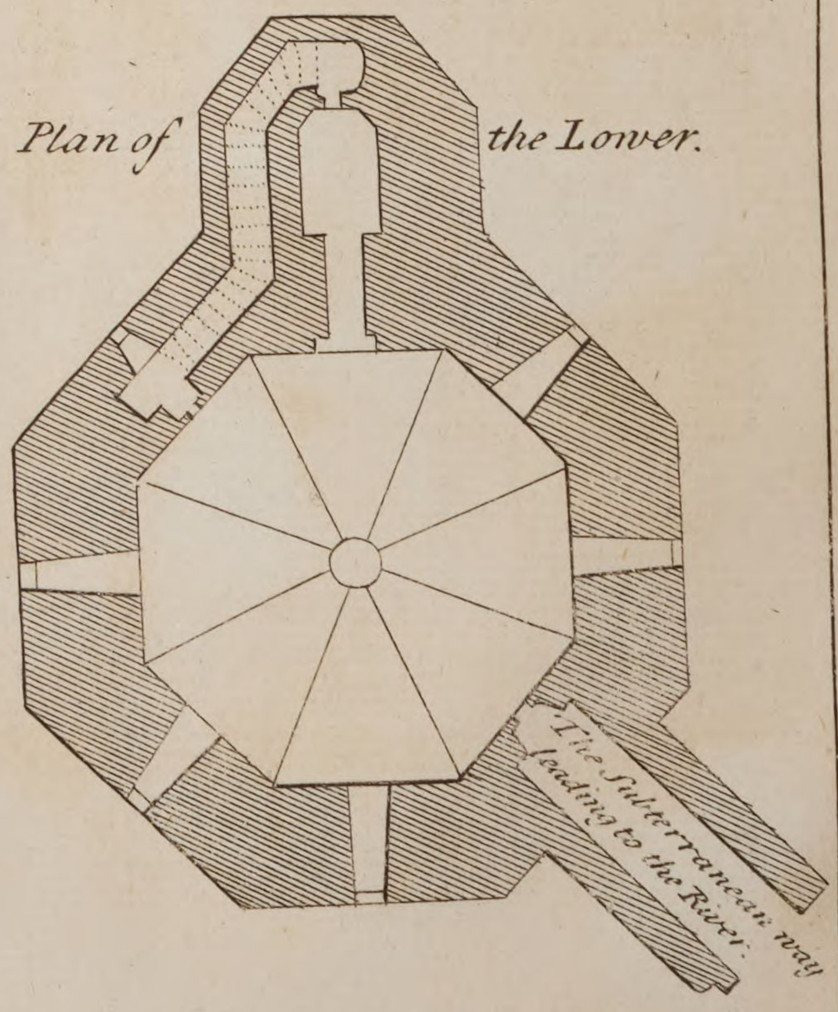


Plan of the Upper.



The side on w.ch the eight figures stand over the Temple gate.

Plan of the Lower.



The Eight Figures over the Gate of the Temple.



stand over the Temple gate.

The Eight Figures over the Gate of the Temple.



found themſelves obliged to ſubmit, to avoid the penalties of thoſe edicts; and ſo compliable did they ſhew themſelves, that, from that time, whether to make their court to the *Romans*, or to take off the odium which their name laid them under, they exchanged it for that of *Senani*, which, in their language, ſignified the ſame as *elder* or *venerable* with us. From hence we may date their downfal, though not their total abolition till ſome ages after; for, being once reduced to ſuch a low ebb of authority, and become ſuch ſervile creatures to their new and potent maſters, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe would ever ſuffer them to recover it again; but, if they ſtill permitted them to make a gain of religion, it ſhould be only in the worſhip and rites of thoſe new deities, which they had now obliged them to adopt (G).

The power of the druids curtailed.

THIS

the ear of thoſe deities, to whom they pray from thence (5). This is a very jejune one; and it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they fanſied thoſe deities to be more immediately preſent there. However, ſuch regard they had for them, that the ſame author tells us, that the *Hermonduri* and *Catti* waged a bloody war againſt each other for the property of one of theſe fountains, which was a ſalt one; and that the former at length gained their point againſt the latter, by a vow which they made to ſacrifice their enemies, and all their ſpoil, to *Mars* and *Mercury*: which was accordingly done; the *Catti* were all maſſacred without mercy, together with their horſes, cattle, and all their ſpoil, and flung into the lake (6).

However, unleſs it be upon ſuch bloody devotements, we do not find, that they offered any victims to them; but abundance of gold, ſilver, rich cloaths, and other coſtly things, they flung into them, which it was ſacrilege to touch. We have ſpoken of the famous lake of *Thouloufe* dedicated to *Apollo*, whoſe treaſures, eſpecially in gold and ſilver ingots, and maſſy utenſils, amounted to immenſe ſums, and was continually increaſed by freſh offerings (7). But as theſe places became liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as perhaps by their neighbours, they began to repoſit thoſe ſacred treaſures in their temples, of which they had ſoon after a vaſt number.

(G) This was an effectual means to induce them to give into all kinds of *Roman* and *Greek* ſuperſtitions, or even to outdo them in it, ſince it would open a new door to their intereſt, inſtead of the old one, that had been ſtopped up. We have taken notice, in the laſt note, of the immenſe treaſures which were flung into their conſecrated lakes, rivers, and afterwards into their temples; and who can imagine thoſe druids and prieſts to have been as ſcrupulous as the ſtupid laity, of converting any part of it to their own uſes? But

(5) *Annal. lib.* xv. (6) *Ibid. ſub fin.* (7) *Oroſ. lib.* v. *c.* 15. *Cic. de nat. deor. lib.* iii. *Aul. Gell. lib.* iii. *c.* 9.

Multiplicity of temples, ſtatues, &c.

THIS multiplicity of deities, or rather of lakes, marſhes, *&c.* conſecrated to them, did not hinder them from building temples, altars, and ſtatues to them, after the *Roman* manner, and not only in great number, but ſome of them very ſtately, and in the grand taſte, as we may infer from ſome remains of them, and other monuments of that nation; but yet in theſe they commonly ſacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered their vows and rich donatives in them; but, as to human ſacrifices, they ſtill offered them, it ſeems [f], under their

[f] See relig. des Gaul. lib. i. c. 15.

this we muſt ſubmit to our readers, who will be better able to judge of it, if we ſubjoin here ſome few more inſtances of their ſuperſtition; for it were endleſs to mention them all, they were grown to ſuch number and variety.

One lake they had in ſome part of *Gaul* neareſt the ocean, which received its name from two white ravens, with whitiſh wings, which conſtantly kept about it. Incredible wonders were told of it (8). Amongſt others, it was much reſorted to in matters of controverſy between parties. Each of the contenders brought a kind of cake, and laid it at the end of the ſame plank, which was ſet afloat on the lake, to be expoſed to theſe ravens, whoſe cuſtom, it ſeems, was to devour one of the cakes, and to crumble and ſcatter the other; and this laſt gave the cauſe to its owner.

Another we read of at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood of *Savoy*, dedicated to the moon, under the name of *Helanus*, which ſignifies *ſplendor*. It was reſorted to by all the neighbouring people once a year, who threw into it ſome cloaths, linen, fleeces of wool; others bread, cheeſe, wax, and the like, according as they could afford it. Here they kept a ſumptuous feaſt, which laſted three whole days, a ſufficient quantity of proviſions being brought in waggons to the place. On the fourth day, we are told (9), when they were ready to return home, there conſtantly aroſe ſuch ſtorms of wind, thunder, rain, and hail, as made them afraid for their lives.

We have taken notice how they uſed the waters of the *Rhine* to diſcover the fidelity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their iſſue. They ſeem to have had a much greater veneration for this river than for any other. The oblations and ſacrifices offered to it were of a peculiar kind: whole armies called upon it for help and victory, and the ſight of it, or of any of its waters, inſpired the ſoldiers with courage and bravery (1). Each river, fountain, lake, or pool, was looked upon as inhabited by ſome deity, and had ſome peculiar and extraordinary virtues aſcribed to it, for the ſake of which the credulous people reſorted to them in ſhoals, and with proper offerings, every one according to their ability.

(8) *Strab. lib.* iv. *ad fin.* (9) *Greg. Tur. glor. conf. c.* 2. (1) *Tacit. hiſt. lib. v. c.* 18.

oaks, and in their groves; but whether they did it for privacy, or for fear of the *Romans*, and to avoid the penalty of their edicts, or ſtill retained their antient notion of that Supreme Being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, we will not determine (H). To give our readers a ſpecimen of theſe new buildings, we are told, that the ſtatues of theſe gods, ſuch as *Pennin*, *Mercury*, *Diana*, &c. of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, were placed ſometimes on a pedeſtal, which ſerved likewiſe for an altar, ſometimes on a column of a prodigious height [g]. In ſome they were expoſed to the open air, and in others ſheltered by an edifice of poliſhed ſtones, in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no leſs rich and magnificent, witneſs that famed one called *Vaſſo* at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered, on the outſide, with carved ſtones, and, on the inſide, with ſmall ones, nicely wrought and poliſhed, and, on the top, incruſtated with marble, and compartments of moſaic work. The pavement was likewiſe of marble, and the top covered with lead [h]. A learned *French* antiquary mentions eight of theſe ſtately fabrics of an octagonal form, and whoſe eight faces were adorned with a number of *Gauliſh* deities, generally eight in number, in thoſe which he himſelf obſerved; which made him ſuſpect, that this combination of numbers contained ſome druidiſh myſteries, which are now quite out of our reach [i] (I). We ſhall, for brevity's ſake, refer

Their temples deſcribed.

Octagonal form.

[g] Greg. Tur. lib. viii. c. 15. Sulp. Sever. dial. lib. iii. c. 9, & ſeq. Guich. hiſt. des ſcavant. ap. relig. des Gaul. ubi ſupra.
[h] Iidem ibid. [i] Supplement de l'antiq. tom. ii. See alſo relig. des Gaul. ubi ſupra, c. 16, & ſeq.

(H) The former ſeems the moſt probable, becauſe they likewiſe choſe to offer theſe victims in caves, rocks, precipices, and other deſert and unfrequented places, which they pitched upon ſometimes by mere chance, and as they fell in their way; at other times by their auguries and lots. All which ſeems to intimate, that they avoided being ſeen at theſe bloody ceremonies by any other people (2), eſpecially the *Romans*, who had ſo ſtrictly forbidden them.

(I) The author of the religion of the *Gauls* has however diſproved the conjecture of that learned antiquary, by ſhewing (3), that this octagonal form was common among the *Romans*, as well as the *Gauls*; and that the latter had temples of different forms, ſome round, ſome oblong, ſome decagonal, without any apparent myſtical deſign. The thing is not worth diſputing at this diſtance; and it does not appear, that the *Gauls* had any ſuch regard for the number eight.

(2) *Vide Burchard. decret. lib.* x. *c.* 10. *Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentr. apud relig. des Gaul. lib.* i. *c.* 15. *ad fin.* (3) *Ibid. c.* 16.

They

refer our readers to the two authors laſt-quoted for a further account of thoſe famous edifices, and content ourſelves with giving them a ſhort deſcription of one of the moſt curious of them in the next note (K), and figure, by which they may frame an idea

They had indeed a greater one, if we may believe *Pliny* (4), for the number ſix, which was held ſo ſacred amongſt them, that they overturned the order of months, years, *&c.* in honour of it; but on what account they did ſo, doth not appear.

(K) This octagonal ſtructure ſtands at *Montmorillon*, in the province of *Poitou*, and conſiſts of two temples, one above ground, and the other under it, ſomewhat like our St. *Faith* and St. *Paul*, the loweſt of which is much narrower than the upper, and its wall as thick again. The upper received its light from eight windows, in form of portals, under the arch of each of the eight faces; but now walled up, except that over the gate or entrance into the fabric; and another which leads to a kind of wing or portico, which projects from the fabric on the oppoſite ſide. The great overture in the centre of the roof, which reſembles that in the *Rotonda* of *Rome*, gives likewiſe ſome light to the building, tho' not much, becauſe it deſcends through an hole in the roof, like a cylinder, of twenty-four feet in length, and about ten in breadth. The rain that falls through it, gathers itſelf to the centre of the pavement, which is made with a proper declenſion, and empties itſelf through another, and much leſſer hole, into the lower temple, and is ſucked up by the earth, this laſt having neither ſink nor pavement.

The wing, at one of the ſides of the octagon, is equal to it; that is, eighteen feet in breadth without and within. That which leads into the lower, is much narrower than that which leads into the upper building; and at the end of the former is a ſtair-caſe, that leads up to the latter. This place appears to be of the ſame age and ſtructure as the octagon, and has, on the top, a kind of ſquare tower of about the ſame height with the roof of the inner temple; but whether it had a bell in it, as ſome think, who imagine it to have been ſince turned into a church, is not eaſy to determine. This advanced building ſeems to have ſerved for a kind of veſtry to the prieſts and druids. Juſt over-againſt this, acroſs the temple, is the gate that leads into it; and on the one ſide of it, in the ſubterranean temple, begins a covert way above ſix feet broad, and about ſix hundred in length, which leads to the neighbouring river, to which, it is ſuppoſed, the druids went to waſh themſelves, and their victims, whenever they performed the prieſtly function.

Over the gate of the temple were eight human figures, coarſly carved, ſuppoſed to have been ſo many *Gauliſh* deities. Of theſe ſix are of the male kind, three in a group or nich, and the two others, one at each end, are fe-

(4) *Idem, lib.* xvi. *c.* 44.

males.

idea of the *Gauliſh* taſte in architecture. All that we ſhall add here is, that, by the multitude of niches that appear in ſome of

males. The former are differently dreſſed. Thoſe that face you, and ſtand fartheſt out, have a kind of antique mantle; the others have on a kind of tunic. One has a long gown quite down to his feet, and open from top to bottom, and all of them are girdled up. In one groupe, the figure that faces you is ſhod, and the other two on each ſide are barefooted. In the other groupe, that which faces you is unſhod, and the other two ſhod. In the one they appear old men, with long beards; in the other, all young and beardleſs; ſo that in the firſt there are two old men unſhod, and one ſhod; and in the other two young men ſhod, and one unſhod. This odd contraſt, doubtleſs, was not without ſome myſterious meaning.

Of the two women, which ſtand on at each end, the one had a long head of hair plaited hanging on each ſide before her, and is dreſſed ſomewhat in the modern form, that is, in a kind of ſtiff-bodied gown. She holds her hands on her ſides, and has a kind of mittens which cover about one half-way her arms. That, which ſtands on the oppoſite ſide, is quite naked, and has two ſerpents twiſted one round each leg, and both, twining between her thighs, rear their heads up to her breaſts, as if they were ſucking at them, whilſt ſhe holds them by her hands, as it were, cloſe to the ſides of her belly. From this combination of eight figures over the gate of an octagonal temple, our learned author infers, that that number was looked upon by the *Gauls* as ſacred to the gods, as we hinted a little higher.

The intablature over it was not without its ornaments, which chiefly conſiſted of a great variety of heads oddly variegated; the meaning of which, if it was done with any, is not eaſy to gueſs. As to the figures themſelves, this is the conjecture of our author, for the proofs of which we ſhall refer our readers to the place quoted below (5): The naked woman, with two ſerpents, he ſuppoſes to have repreſented the moon, to whom therefore he concludes the temple to have been dedicated. The three old men he takes to have been three druids, and the three young men to have been their diſciples, and the number ſix to have been deſigned to ſignify the ſacredneſs in which it was held by the *Gauls*, it being on the ſixth day of the moon that they performed their grand ceremony of gathering the miſleto, as we have already hinted. The ſerpents, ſucking at her breaſts, may ſignify properly enough the virtue which that planet imparted, not only to that plant, but to all other vegetables, as the ſnakes are ſaid to renew their age with their ſkins. As for the other woman, he ſuppoſes her to have been deſigned for *Venus*, becauſe ſuch a kind of figure had been dug up at *Chalons*, with her treſſes plaited ſomewhat like this. If ſo, we would rather ſuppoſe the three young men, which ſtand

(5) *Idem, lib.* i, *c.* 21.

Multiplicity of ſtatues.

of them, they ſeem to have had a vaſt number of ſtatues in them, which are ſince moſtly demoliſhed, upon their converſion to Chriſtianity; and ſome of them, ſince dug up out of their ruins, are ſo broken and mangled, that it is hard to gueſs, whether they were *Gauliſh* deities, or ſtatues of any other kind. Our two authors differ in their judgment about them; but, ſince the *Gauls* were grown ſo fond of multiplying their deities, as to dedicate one oak to an hundred of them, as we lately hinted, why may we not believe, with *Montfaucon*, that they might ſhew the ſame fondneſs for multiplying their idols in thoſe temples, in imitation of the *Romans*? A great many of theſe edifices have been preſerved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of Chriſtianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were then demoliſhed, of which there are ſtill ſome fragments remaining, and may be ſeen more fully deſcribed in the authors above-quoted.

The gods worſhiped by the Gauls.

WE are now come to ſpeak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worſhiped by the *Gauls*. We have already ſeen, how their antient *Eſus* came to be changed into *Jupiter*, at firſt indeed under the ſymbol of an oak, and even of a ſhapeleſs ſtump of a tree; but at length, as they gave wholly into the *Roman* ſuperſtition, they came to erect altars and ſtatues to him, and to repreſent him after the *Roman* manner: thus, in ſome antient ſtatues and bas-reliefs, he is carved with a lance in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and boſom bare; his head is ſometimes ſurrounded

Jupiter.

with a radial crown; his name of *Jupiter* is never met in any of his inſcriptions, but only that of *Jou*, or *Jovis*, which, being of *Celtic* extract, was deſignedly retained by them, inſtead of the *Roman*. He is likewiſe ſurnamed *Taran*, which, in the ſame tongue, ſignifies *thunderer*. We would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this laſt name is the *Taramis*, or *Taranis*, of *Lucan*, or that the *Gauls* did not give it to any other god but the great *Jupiter*; but we may be well aſſured, that that of *Jovis* was peculiar to him, and has been preſerved

next to her, to have been deſigned for her prieſts. But if the naked one, ſuckling two ſerpents, ſignifies the new moon, may not the other, which is dreſſed in a cloſe-bodied gown reaching up to her neck, have been deſigned to expreſs the old one, and to ſignify, that, after ſhe is paſt the full, ſhe ceaſes to communicate her influence? for the druids, being well verſed, for thoſe times, in aſtronomy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and much addicted to aſtrology, it was natural for them to think, that as the increaſe of that planet did daily approximate her virtue to the earth, ſo her decreaſe did divert and elongate it from it. But whither are we running with our conjectures?

not

not only by the antient *Gauls* and *Welſh*, but is ſtill retained by the *French* in many of their compound words (L). In that part of *Gaul* nearer the *Alps*, he was called *Peninus*, and thoſe high mountains *Peninæ*, from the *Celtic* word *pen*, which ſignifies an *head*, an *height*, a *ſummit* (M). He was repreſented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of mount *St. Bernard the Leſs*, by *L. Lucilius*, and is ſtiled *Optimus Maximus*; whence it is concluded, that he was the ſame with the *Gauliſh Jou*, or *Jove*. What ſeems to confirm this beyond all queſtion is, that the column, on which it ſtood, is indifferently called the column of *Jove*, and of *Peninus*; and the carbuncle, that was placed on it, the eye of *Jove*, and the eye of *Peninus* [i]. But, ſince by the eye of *Jupiter* was meant the *Sun* from all antiquity [k], and the carbuncle was a proper emblem of this laſt deity, why may we not as well ſuppoſe this ſtatue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it, rather than to *Jupiter*? However that be, as this laſt ſucceeded their great *Eſus*, they paid much the ſame worſhip to him, and, in particular, offered human victims to him, as the *Romans* did to their *Jupiter Latialis*; ſome inſtances of which we have given in the laſt ſection of this chapter, and ſeveral parts of their hiſtory.

THEIR next deity was *Mars*, whom they eſteemed as the Mars chief protector of the *Gauliſh* nation. Their invincible war-

[i] GUICHENON. hiſtory of Savoy, tom. i. lib. i. c. 4. Vide relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. c. 29. [k] Vide MACROB. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21.

(L) Particularly in thoſe that follow; *Joudy* or *Jeudy*, *Thurſday*, or day of *Jove*; *Joumont*, *Joubarb*, the mount of *Jove*, a mountain ſo called by the *Romans*; and the beard of *Jove*, an herb ſo called, from its reſemblance to it; and many more of the like nature. As for that of *Taran*, which is ſtill kept in many words which expreſs any loud and fearful noiſe, and from which we take the *Greek* ταραχὴ and ταράττω to be derived, it is not unlikely, that it may have been alſo given to *Mars*, on account of the thundering noiſe which the *Gauls* made upon their ſhields, when they invoked him, either before an onſet, or after a victory.

(M) This deity is called *Apenina* by *Cato* the elder, who derives it from *Apis*, the firſt king of *Italy*, with whom, according to him, ended the golden age (6). *Servius* (7) calls her *Penina*. But the figure and inſcription which *Guichenon* has given us of it, ſhew it to have been erected to a male deity. The inſcription is, LVCIVS LVCILIVS DEO PENINO OPTIMO MAXIMO DONVM DEDIT. The column was of marble, and about fourteen feet high.

(6) *Apud Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21.* (7) *Comment. in Æneid. x.*

like

like temper inſpired them with ſuch a veneration for, and confidence in him (N), that, whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their poſſeſſions, and, about the time of the onſet, they vowed to him all the plunder [l]. If they came off with victory, they frequently ſacrificed their priſoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their ſlain enemies about the necks of their horſes, in token of their valour. They even incloſed ſome of the moſt conſiderable ones in frames of cedar, and, upon proper occaſions, ſhewed them to ſtrangers, and at no rate could be prevailed upon to part with them [m]. Another barbarous cuſtom they are juſtly branded with, of poiſoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig tree, but of a quite deadly quality [n]. In times of ſickneſs, or imminent danger, they immediately ſacrificed ſome human victims to *Mars*, or vowed to do it, as ſoon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common with them, in preſſing dangers, to vow all their enemies to that deity, and to maſſacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or diſtinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worſhiped under the emblem of a naked ſword, and under the name of *Mars*, or *Mavors*, or *Mawr-ruiſc*, which ſignies *warlike*, or *powerful*. Since then we find him repreſented in the habit of a *Roman* warrior, with a ſpear in one hand, and a ſhield in the other, and with the ſurname of *Camulus* (O). We are told,

Their cruel vows to him;

and other barbarous cuſtoms.

[l] Ulp. fragm. tit. 21. Comment. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. c. 9. Athen. lib. iv. [m] Strab. lib. iv. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. [n] Rhodig. lib. xxiii. c. 12.

(N) *Julian* the apoſtate, among his many other chimerical notions, attributed all the bravery and ſucceſs of the *Gauls* to the influence which the providence of the Creator of all things had endued that deity with, when he put them under his protection (8). But it is far more reaſonable to think, that their natural bravery, joined to their hatred of the all-conquering and enſlaving *Romans*, directed them to the choice of that deity for their protector, and which they antiently worſhiped, not as a god, but as one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity, which ſquared moſt with their warlike temper, as we have had occaſion to hint in a former note (9).

(O) This appears from two inſcriptions which *Gruter* has given us, the one on a bas-relief, with figures of five gods; to wit, *Arduinne*, *Camulus*, *Jove*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*; all which have their names ingraven over their heads. The inſcription underneath ſhews it to have been

(8) *Cyril. Alexandr. lib.* iv. *contr. Jul.*

(9) *Before*, *p.* 543, *note* (F).

dedi-

told, that the *Accitani* of *Spain*, or the inhabitants of *Cadiz*, a *Gauliſh* colony, repreſented him ſurrounded with rays of light, becauſe, ſays our author °, the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal ſpirits, which are the cauſe of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the ſun. The variety of inſcriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, ſhews him to have been in the higheſt eſteem (P).

Apollo *worſhiped as the god of phyſic.*

APOLLO was another of their deities, and in as great veneration, on account of his being the god of phyſic, as *Mars* was that of war. The druids, who were as famed quacks as prieſts, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their *materia medica*, which chiefly conſiſted in vegetables, accompanied with a great deal of

° MACROB. Saturn. lib. i. c. 19.

dedicated to them by one *Quartinus*, who is there ſtiled *Civis Sabinus Remus*; from which that great critic, not obſerving that the laſt word ſhews him to have been a citizen of *Rheims*, miſtook thoſe deities to be of *Sabinian* extract, and *Camulus* to be the ſame as *Camillus* (1), one of the names which the *Sabines* gave to *Mercury*.

But there is another inſcription, of older date by an hundred years, which ſhews, that the *Rhemenſes* in *Gaul* worſhiped *Mars* under that title. It runs thus: MARTI CAMVLO OB SALVTEM TIBERI CLAUDI CÆS. CIVES REMI TEMPLVM CONSTITVERVNT (2). Hence it is plain, that if *Camulus* was known in that part of *Italy*, it was by means of this *Quartinus*, a *Rhemiſh* citizen, who dedicated this inſcription there to him, under the reign of *Antoninus*; whereas that city appears, by the ſecond inſcription, to have dedicated its temple in that of *Claudius*. So that, upon the whole, all theſe five deities here appear to have been *Gauliſh*, not only by their names, which are of *Celtic* extract, but from the reſemblance of their dreſs, attitudes, *&c.* to thoſe that have been found among the antient monuments of *Gaul*, eſpecially in the great cathedral of *Paris* (3).

(P) We took notice formerly, that all the treaſures and plunder that were vowed to him, were laid up in heaps in the next convenient place in the open fields, and were looked upon as ſo ſacred, that no *Gaul* dared to meddle with them. Some ſtones have been found, with eight or nine human heads buried under them, which, by the inſcription, appear to have been dedicated to him, and theſe heads to have belonged to thoſe human victims, which they were accuſtomed to vow to him in times of peril and ſickneſs. In ſome of theſe inſcriptions he is called plainly *Mars*; in others he has the title of *Segomen*; in others *Vincius* or *Britovius*, the meaning of which names can only be gueſſed at.

(1) *P.* 40. *n.* 9. (2) *Idem, p.* 56. *n.* 11. (3) *Relig. des Gaul. lib.* ii. *c.* 36.

That

of superstitious trash, which they used in the gathering, preparing, and administring (Q). The *Aquileians* and *Tectosagi* chose him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vast territory about *Tholosa*, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is supposed to be the same that is mentioned by an antient author P, on account of *Constantine*'s repairing thither, to give thanks for his late success, and the extraordinary presents he made to it; upon which occasion that author stiles it the finest temple of *Apollo* that was then in the world.

His stately temple at Tholosa.

P Eumenius, panegyr. Constant. sub fin.

That of *Segomen* appears to be *Celtic*, and signifies rich, or making rich. Hence the *Segones*, who inhabited the most fruitful part of *Gaul*, and were reckoned the most opulent, are thought to have had their name. That of *Vincius* seems to have been given him on account of his stately temple at *Vincia*, now *Vences*, in *Provence*; and, in all likelihood, that of *Britovius* from some other city, where he was more particularly worshiped; perhaps that of *Britonium* in *Galicia*, which was a colony of the *Gauls*, and became afterwards an episcopal see; but is now destroyed (4).

(Q) We have already given some hints of this, in speaking of their misleto, and their time and method of gathering it. It were tedious to follow them through all their other superstitious quackeries; but one instance we cannot omit, because it shews, not only their stupidity, but likewise their fondness for them; since this last continued in vogue, it seems, till the eleventh century.

They had an herb dedicated to *Apollo*, or *Belenus*, which they called, from him, *Belinuncia*, and the *Romans Apollinaris*; and is supposed to have been a kind of henbane. The *Spaniards* and *Hungarians* retain still the former of these names, the one calling it *Veleno*, and the others *Belend*.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women assembled themselves, and chose from amongst them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She stripped herself naked, and went, at the head of the rest, in search of this herb, which they then called *Bælisa*. When she had found it, she plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of her right hand, and tied it to a string, the other end of which was fastened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company then cut off each some boughs, and carried them in their hands after her, whilst she dragged the plant with her foot, towards the next river, and there plunged it in the water: the rest dipped, likewise, their boughs, and sprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they set out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (5).

(4) *Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat. c.* 5.

(5) *Idem ibid. Burchar. decret. lib.* xix.

world. The building was a decagon, in which there was a vaſt number of niches and ſtatues, and, among the reſt, that of *Apollo*, repreſented as a lively youth; upon which account, the panegyriſt compliments that monarch with joining to the youthfulneſs of the god the grandeur of an emperor (R).

He was generally repreſented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden treſſes [q]. In ſome antient buſtoes found of him, as well as in ſome antient coins, he is repreſented with a pole, or ring, and a link of a chain faſtened to his ſcull, by which he was, it is ſuppoſed, ſuſpended to the roof, in imitation of the ſun, whom they fanſied to be ſuſpended by a golden chain [r]. But, after all, might not ſuch hanging figures of that deity have been the effects of ſome vows, which the *Gauls* and others uſed to make to the deity in time of ſickneſs, and who, upon their recovery, hung up the promiſed figure in his temple, without any regard to the ridiculous notion abovementioned? One head of his was dug up at the caſtle of *Polignac*, which place is ſuppoſed to have been ſo called from *Apollo*, and is ſtill there to be ſeen againſt the wall that ſurrounds it. It is but ill carved, on a bluiſh ſtone, between four and five feet in height and breadth, and is ſurrounded, all over, with rays, which, when the ſun ſhines upon it, caſt a kind of golden or fiery luſtre, and ſhew, that thoſe rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open; from which it is concluded to be here repreſented as delivering his anſwer [s]. And, truly, the druids were, by this time, become ſuch zeal-

[q] Vide Euripid. Phœniſſ. Ælian. varior. lib. i. c. 20. [r] Iid. ibid. Vide & Anaxag. & al. [s] Simoni Limag. d'Auvergne, p. 123, & ſeq. Corneil. diction. hiſtor. Relig. des Gaul. lib. xi. c. 27.

(R) Some words he adds, which ſeem to imply, as if the oracle of the god had juſtly promiſed him the empire of the world; from which one might be induced to believe, that there had been, likewiſe, an oracle of that god there, in imitation of that of *Delphi*; and that *Conſtantine* had been conſulting it. But we would not lay too great ſtreſs on the ſwoln expreſſions of a panegyriſt. However that be, as *Apollo* was the ſame deity with the ſun, the *Gauls* worſhiped him under ſeveral names, and different forms. He is ſometimes called *Apollo*, *Belenus*, and *Abellion*, which ſignify *fair*; ſometimes by the *Perſic* name of *Mithras*; ſometimes that of *Penninus*, of which we have ſpoken under that of *Jupiter*; and at other times that of *Dolichenus*. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with diving for freſh etymons of all thoſe names, which may, perhaps, have riſen from the places where he was more particularly worſhiped, or from other circumſtances not now to be come at.

ous mimics of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that we need not doubt, but they had ſome one or more of theſe oracles among them, though we could not find any other footſteps of it (S).

Mercury *the god of trade, learning, &c.*

BUT the deity in greateſt veneration among the *Gauls* was *Mercury*. We have already given ſome reaſons for it in the *Celtic* hiſtory [t]. Other deities had particular cities and provinces, where they were more particularly worſhiped; but, after this deity was adopted the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was antiently eſteemed the author, and chief promoter, in *Gaul*, but likewiſe of arts and ſciences, of the highways and travelers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers, ſtatues, altars, and temples, were erected to him every-where throughout this country. He is called, by ſeveral antient authors, *Theutat*, and *Theutates* [u], the ſignification of which name we have given, as well as that

His various names whence.

[t] Vol. vi. p. 33, (E), 52, & ſeq. [u] LUCAN. pharſal. lib. i. LIV. decad. iii. lib. vi. c. 44. LACTANT. & al.

(S) There is an inſcription, in this temple of *Polignac*, out of which the head above-mentioned had been taken, which the antiquary above-quoted judges to have been put up by the emperor *Claudius*, who was of *Lyons*, and conſequently had lived in the neighbourhood of this caſtle, and had been there, perhaps, either to conſult the oracle, or, more probably, to pray to that god for the recovery of his health, as he was a very ſickly prince when he cauſed his name and titles to be ſet up there. For *Cæſar* tells us, that even in his time the *Gauls* looked upon *Apollo* as the god of phyſic (6); and another author adds (7), that the ſick perſons that addreſſed themſelves to him for health, uſed to ſend thither that part of their body where the ailment was, carved out in wood, or caſt in braſs. At *Marſeilles* was found a ſtatue like that of a *Roman* warrior, armed cap-à-pé, about eleven or twelve feet high, and ſtanding on the crupper of a bull, between the belly of which, and the pedeſtal on which it ſtands, is carved an eagle, as it were, ſitting ſquat; and on the pedeſtal an inſcription importing, that *Octavius Paternus* had dedicated it to the god *Dolichenus*. The bull and the eagle has made ſome antiquaries ſuppoſe that deity to have been *Jupiter*; but another author, often quoted in this ſection, has given ſome convincing proofs that it was *Apollo:* we ſhall refer the curious, for thoſe proofs, to the book itſelf (8), to prevent running into too great a length. All that needs to be added, with reſpect to this antique, is, that the name, which is a *Greek* one, and ſignifies, according to ſome, an hippodrome, according to others, the poſts that directed the races, ſeems to intimate, that *Apollo* was looked upon by the *Gauls* to preſide over thoſe exerciſes.

(6) *Cæſ. comment. lib.* vi. (7) *Greg. Turon. vit. patr. c.* 6. (8) *Relig. des Gaules, ubi ſupra.*

of

of *Mercury*, in a former volume; and we need not doubt but they both meant the same deity, or that he was worshiped under both by the *Gauls*, since both are of *Celtic* extract, and expressive of the excellent notion they had of him, upon both accounts (T). That of *Theutat* signifying the father of his people,

(T) To these two names, and those we spoke of in a former volume, we must add that of *Ogmius*, mentioned by *Lucian*, and which, though that author gives to *Hercules*, by mistake, yet, in all appearance, belonged to *Mercury*. The description he gives of him, as he saw it in *Gaul*, being curious, though the humour of it be somewhat exaggerated, we shall give our *English* readers the substance of it.

'The *Gauls*, says he, call *Hercules Ogmius*, and represent him 'as a decrepit old man, bald, 'wrinkled, and weather-beaten, 'like some old sailor. One 'would sooner take him for old '*Charon*, or any one else, than 'for *Hercules*. But if one con'siders him with his lion's skin, 'the bow and quiver in his 'left, and the club in his right 'hand, he looks quite like a '*Hercules*. What is most cu'rious is, that the good old man 'holds a multitude of people tied 'to him by the ear; the chains 'are of gold and amber, and, 'though very fine and slight, 'not one of them seems to strive 'to break them, or even un'willing to follow him. On the 'contrary, they seem so pleased, 'and the chains so loose, that 'there appears a visible eager'ness in them to keep close to 'him. His hands being both 'full, the painter has represent'ed those chains as fastened to a 'hole bored through *Ogmius*'s 'tongue, whilst he looks back 'smiling on his followers.'

Lucian, having expressed his surprize at the oddness of the picture, introduces a *Gaul* accounting to him for it, in words to this effect: 'You will cease 'to be surprised at it, when I 'tell you, that we *Gauls* make '*Hercules* the god of eloquence, 'contrary to the *Greeks*, who 'gave that honour to *Mercury*, 'who is so far inferior to him in 'strength. We represent him 'as an old man, because elo'quence never shews itself so 'lively and strong as in the 'mouth of old people. The re'lation which the ear hath to 'the tongue, justifies the picture 'of the old man, who holds 'so many people fast by his 'tongue: neither do we think 'it any affront to *Hercules*, to 'paint him with his tongue 'bored; since, to tell you all in 'one word, it was that which 'made him succeed in every 'thing; and that it was by his 'wisdom that he subdued all 'hearts unto him.' Thus far *Lucian*. And it is not easy to guess whether he was imposed upon by his *Gaul*, or whether he himself introduces this story as a burlesque upon the *Gaulish* nation, who depended so far on their strength and bravery, whilst they as much valued themselves upon their eloquence, as if they had excelled the world in it; and so expose them for their veneration for *Hercules*, rather than *Mercury*. It is plain, however that these slight and brittle chains, which held so many pleased cap-

people, they acknowleged him under that name, at firſt as their founder, and afterwards boaſted themſelves to be ſprung from him (U), in imitation of the *Thracian* kings, who were another branch of the antient *Celtes*. *Mercury* was with them the god of riches [w]; no man could attain them without his help: and hence he came to be confounded with *Pluto*, and to ſhare in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to gueſs nearer to the truth, *Mercury*, being dead, became *Pluto*, the god of riches, and of the lower regions: and hence both *Gauls* and *Thracians* claimed their deſcent from theſe two deities, after they had, by length of time, ſplit them into two,

Eſteemed the god of riches.

[w] Cæsar. comment. lib. vi.

tives faſt by the ear to the tongue of the god, could not belong to *Hercules*, in any caſe, but to *Mercury*, the god of eloquence; and are, accordingly, attributed to him by the generality of antient mythologiſts. On the other hand, the club, the quiver, *&c.* were indifferently given to *Mercury*, to whom, we are told, *Hercules* conſecrated them, after ſome ſucceſsful fight againſt the giants (9). Accordingly, we read, that the emperor *Commodus*, who affected to appear at public ſhews in the habit of *Mercury*, uſed to wear the caduceus in his hand, whilſt his officers carried the club, lion's ſkin, *&c.* before him. And in giving theſe to that god, the meaning was plainly this, that where-ever wiſdom and eloquence were, there could be neither ſtrength nor courage wanting, becauſe the former was ever able either to procure, or, at the worſt, to ſupply the want of the latter.

Many other reaſons might be aſſigned to prove, that this picture of *Ognius* repreſented a *Mercury*, and not an *Hercules*; however *Lucian* came to give it to the latter (1), wherein he has been followed by the multitude of antiquaries. As for us, we think it unneceſſary to dwell longer upon it, in a work of this nature; and thoſe who rather chooſe to follow that author, have a *Hercules* here as worſhiped by the *Gauls* under the name of *Ognius*, or rather, as joined into one with *Mercury* by them, as he was antiently by the *Egyptians*, and other nations. But it is plain *Lucian* had no mind to admit the latter amongſt the *Gauliſh* gods, when he makes him tell *Jupiter*, that he doth not know which way to ſummon theſe to the aſſembly, becauſe, as he was a ſtranger to their language, he could neither underſtand them, nor be underſtood by them (2).

(U) We are told, that the famed *Pythagoras*, having paſſed over into *Gaul*, to learn the myſteries of the druids, was ſo taken with this notion of theirs, that he boaſted the ſame deſcent, and that that god had promiſed to grant him whatever favour he ſhould aſk, except that of being made immortal (3).

(9) *Vide Pauſan. Corinthiac. Lil. Gyrald. hiſt. decr. ſyntagm.* ix. (1) *Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dion. in Commod.* (2) *Vide antiq. expliq. tom.* i. *Relig. des Gaul. lib.* ii. *c.* 11, *& ſeq.* (3) *Dial. Jupit. tragœd.*

in

in imitation of their neighbours. Some inscriptions shew, that not only *Mercury*, but even *Venus* and *Mars*, were reckoned among the infernal gods (W). As he was worshiped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in those statues and inscriptions erected to him, with the goddess *Postverta*, to assist women in labour. This goddess has much puzzled all mythologists, and may be only an epithet of *Proserpine*, whom, *Strabo* says, they worshiped as their mother [x] (X); or, perhaps, of *Diana*, who had the same office. According to all these distinctions, we may reckon three *Gaulish Mercuries*, or rather the same god worshiped under three different titles, and represented in three different forms.

Reckoned among the infernal deities.

As the god of eloquence, he was represented in the manner we have described him from *Lucian* in a late note, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travelers, he was represented naked, and without sex and beard, and with his winged cap, his caduceus, *&c.* He is under this head, likewise, represented with a purse in one hand, and sometimes with a cornucopiæ in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the messenger of the gods. In some statues, he has a crescent over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the *Gaulish* worship, and that, probably, upon these two accounts: First,

Mercury's *three-fold office*; 1. *As god of eloquence*; 2. *Of trade, highways*, &c.

[x] Lib. iv.

(W) Diis Infernis Veneri, Marti, & Mercurio *sacrum* (4). With relation to his being the god of riches, we find an antient witty inscription at *Lyons*, in *Latin*, to this effect; 'Mercury promises you gain 'here, *Apollo* health, and *Septumanus* a lodging; but he that 'brings his dinner with him, 'will fare the better. After this, 'stranger, you must look out 'where to lodge (5).' As this city was one of the most trading ones in *Europe*, the scarcity of inns in it, at that time, might make the opulent and generous *Septumanus* give strangers this odd invitation.

(X) As she was supposed to assist women in labour, the names of *Postverta*, and *Anteverta*, might be given her on account of her turning the child to the right position for the birth. Those who make two goddesses of them think, that the one had power to remedy what was past, and the other to prevent what was to come. In one of those inscriptions, under a double busto, one of *Mercury*, and the other of that goddess, she is called *Rosmerte*; in some others it is *Mercury*, and *Fort. Verte*, or *Fortuna Verte*, or happy return; as he is often stiled in others, *Mercurio Negotiatori, Nundinatori*, &c (6).

(4) *Clem. Alexand. strom. lib.* i. *Diog. Laert. lib.* viii. (5) *Hist. de l'academ. des inscriptions, tom.* iii. (6) *Menet, prép. à l'histoire de Lion, p.* 56.

as the one was the diſpenſer of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, ſecondly, as both preſided over the highways, upon which account the latter was called *Trivia*; and both protected the roads, the travelers, thieves, ſhepherds, and ſhepherdeſſes [y], as he is affirmed to have followed their life; upon which account theſe likewiſe offered ſacrifices to him [z]. As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been repreſented with a beard; his winged cap rather reſembled a diſk; and, inſtead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of ſceptre, and in the other a purſe. His body was ſurrounded with a kind of imperial mantle, or *paludamentum*, tied or faſtened by ſome ornament on one of his ſhoulders. This we infer from an antient monument, an account of which may be ſeen in the note (Y), in the inſcription of which he is ſtiled *Auguſtus* (Z). How

3. *As an infernal deity.*

[y] Porph. de abſt. lib. ii. Macrob. ſomn. Scip. lib. i. Auct. hymn. in Merc. verſ. 15, 290. [z] Eustat. Odyſſ. ξ. Iliad. ξ.

(Y) This appears, from a large bas-relievo, between five and ſix feet long, and about three in breadth, and near two in thickneſs, dug up out of a gentleman's vineyard, near one of the gates of the city of *Beauvais*. The inſcription is, *Sacrum Mercurio Auguſto C. Julius Healiſſus* V S L M. It is plain, from ſome other inſcriptions in *Gruter*, that a bearded *Mercury* was common in *Gaul*, though not among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and the title *Auguſtus*, which we find in ſeveral antient medals given to other gods and goddeſſes, or rather to emperors and empreſſes deified under their names, inclines us to think, that this monument was dedicated to *Mercury* after he had been deified by the *Gauls*, and reckoned among the infernal deities. Some diſtinction, doubtleſs, there muſt have been of his dreſs, &c. under this laſt denomination, and this ſeems the moſt likely to have been it; but it is here offered only as a probable conjecture.

(Z) There have been many other conjectures offered, both concerning this antient monument, and the title there given him, as well as ſome others, which are met with in thoſe old inſcriptions (7); ſuch as that of *Artaius*, *Ciſſonius*, *Arvernus*, and ſome others, which we ſhall not tire our readers with: we ſhall likewiſe paſs by ſome other dreſſes and attitudes with which the luxuriant fancies of the *Gauls* have repreſented him, and only add, that from what we have obſerved of thoſe mounds in which the *Gauls* and *Britons* buried their dead, ſuch as thoſe we ſhall deſcribe on *Saliſbury* plain, and what *Livy* ſays of ſuch a kind of *tumulus*, or ſepulcral mount, which *Scipio* took notice of in the neighbourhood of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and which the natives called *Mercury Teutat* (8), one may draw a probable conjecture,

(7) *See relig. des Gaul. lib.* ii. *c.* 17, *& ſeq.* (8) *Decad.* iii. *lib. vi. c.* 44.

How he was worſhiped by the *Gauls* under any of theſe three denominations, is hard to gueſs; only as he was, in imitation of the *Romans*, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may ſuppoſe they borrowed ſome of their rites from the worſhip which the *Roman* merchants paid to him there, and which is beautifully deſcribed by the poet [a], who cloſes his account of it with this reflection, that *Mercury* could not but be inclined to forgive all the cheats and perjuries of theſe his votaries, when he remembred how himſelf had been guilty of the like [b]. The chief victim, with which they concluded his feaſt, was a ſow with pig. Some other male deities they had likewiſe adopted, ſuch as *Mithras* from the *Perſians* (A), *Neptune*, *Erebus*, and *Orcus*, ſuppoſed both to be the ſame with *Pluto*, *Bacchus*, and ſome others, whom they took from the *Greeks* and *Romans*; concerning which we know very little, either of their worſhip, or of the notion which the *Gauls* had of them.

[a] Faſt. lib. v. ver. 663, & ſeq. [b] See hymn. in Merc. LACTANT. lib. vi. SUID. in voc. EUSTAT. Iliad. ξ.

that he was buried there. We have formerly ſhewn, that he reigned in *Gaul* (9), which comprehended then the greateſt part of *Europe*, and particularly *Spain*; and may be reaſonably therefore ſuppoſed to have been there interred, after the *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* manner. Other heaps of mounds there were, which likewiſe bore his name; but thoſe were of a different nature, and were either ſuch as the highways were cleared of, and laid in heaps at convenient places, or, as others think, were deſigned to remind people of the curſes which that deity inflicted on thoſe who miſled or abuſed ſtrangers (1).

(A) It appears from ſeveral antient monuments and inſcriptions, that *Mithras*, the ſun, and *Mercury*, were worſhiped among the *Gauls* as one and the ſame deity; at leaſt, *Mithras* being the ſun, among the *Perſians*, is often repreſented as conjoined with him, that is, with a ſun over his head, and ſometimes on his breaſt, and with this inſcription, *Mercurio ſoli ſacrum*. Hence the author of the *Gauliſh* religion has been at the pains to collect a number of other arguments to prove, that thoſe two deities were looked upon here as one and the ſame, or, at moſt, as aſſociated both in their virtues and in their worſhip. And might not this be on account of the great and conſtant nearneſs the two planets, which bear theſe names, have to each other (2)?

(9) *See vol.* vi. *p.* 52, *& ſeq. & chronic. Alex. Suid. Pezron. Relig. des Gaul. Pelloutier, & al.* (1) *Vide Gruter. ubi ſupra, & relig. des Gaul. lib.* ii. *c.* 18. *Nicander.* Ἑρμαν. *ſcholiaſt. Odyſſ.* iv. *Anyt. in epigram. Vide Theocrit. idyl.* xxv. *ver.* 2. *Albric. de deor. imagin. Huet. demonſt. evang. & al.* (2) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 36, *& ſeq.*

Goddesses. As to their goddesses, the chief of them were *Diana*, of *Luna*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Proserpine*, *Arduina*, whom we take to be the moon, and *Cybele*, a statue of which was dug up at *Paris*, with an head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, and was particularly in great veneration in the city of *Autun*, and whose priests were, it seems, all castrated in honour of her (B), and from thence called *Galli* (C).

Galli, who.

Before

(B) This appears from what we read in the acts of *Syphorianus*, a zealous Christian since fainted, who, being brought before the governor of that city, for refusing to worship her idol, on a day in which her statue was carried about in procession, alleged, among other reasons for his refusal, that he could not acknowlege a deity whose mysteries and worship consisted in a shameful and unnatural castration. But whether these *Galli*, or priests, were *Gauls*, or sent for from *Phrygia*, or elsewhere; or whether the *Gauls*, who appear to have had an abhorrence for all kinds of mutilations, allowed of these *Galli*; or whether they did not rather belong only to the *Romans*, as some authors believe (3); we shall examine in the next note.

(C) That *Cybele*, or the mother of the gods, as she is called, was a deity of *Syrian*, and not of *Gallic* extract, is universally acknowleged. So that if her worship was introduced into *Gaul*, it was either by force, or in imitation of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. If we consider their abhorrence of all mutilations, we shall hardly think, that they could willingly give into such a kind of worship as this, which required every priest, and encouraged every votary of the goddess to become an eunuch, as *Heliogabalus* is said to have done, in one of his mad fits (4). We are, moreover, told, that those *Galli* were had in such abhorrence, that no other people would converse with them; and that they were put upon the level with sorcerers, gladiators, and hangmen (5); so that they had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddess about, and begging charity for her sake; all which was most opposite to the genius of the *Gallic* nation.

Accordingly, St. *Jerom* has a passage, which plainly intimates, that the *Romans* forced this emasculated priesthood upon the *Gauls*, and called those eunuchs *Galli*, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and besieged their capitol (6). And we are told, by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, that no *Roman* took that office upon him, but that they had a *Phrygian* male and female to perform it. This might be true, in part; and if what is reported of *Heliogabalus*, who became one of them, be to be credited, it will only shew, that he minded the laws and customs of *Rome* no more in this case, than he did in all others (7).

Before we close this note, it will not be amiss to mention a

(3) *Idem ibid. lib.* i. *c.* 33, *ad fin. Pelloutier, Keyzler, & al.* (4) *Lamprid. in Heliogab. Victor. epitom.* (5) *Tertul. de resurrect. c.* 16. (6) *Comm. in Hos. c.* iv. (7) *See his horrid actions, vol.* xv. *p.* 350, *& seq.*

noble

Before we cloſe this ſection, it will be neceſſary to give our readers ſome account of the *Gauliſh* druids, bards, *&c.* and of ſuch of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at leaſt as far as we can gather them from antient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we ſhould know much concerning a ſet of men, who made a myſtery of their religion and philoſophy, and a conſtant rule never to commit any thing relating to either to writing [c].

Their druids.

We have already obſerved, that the order of the druids had the ſole care of all religious matters, which they ſo artfully and dextrouſly introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation [d]; and this abſolute ſway of theirs laſted till at leaſt ſome time after their conqueſt by the *Romans*. They were called by ſeveral names (D), beſides that of druid, of which we have given the etymon in a former volume [e]. Their antiquity

[c] Cæs. comment. lib. vi. & alibi paſſ. [d] See before, p. 562, 563, (B). [e] Vol. vi. p. 26, (A).

noble teſtimony which a *Roman* writer gives of this averſion of the *Gauls* to mutilation (8); where, having amply expatiated on their known valour and bravery, their contempt of difficulties and dangers, and even of death, he adds, 'We never find 'any of them do, as ſome of us 'do in *Italy*, who cut off their 'thumbs, for fear of going to 'the wars, and upon which ac-'count they call us, in deriſion, '*Murci*.'

To underſtand the ſting of this ſaying, it muſt be obſerved, that *Murcia* was reckoned, amongſt the *Romans*, the goddeſs of cowards and idle fellows; whence her infamous votaries were called *Murci* (9). And from this ſhameful cuſtom of cutting off their thumbs, to diſqualify them for ſervice, came the old *Gallic* word *poltron*, from *pollex* and *trunco*; which is ſtill retained to this day by many other nations beſides the *French*.

(D) One of them was that of *Semnothei* (1), given to them, doubtleſs, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowlege of, the godhead. *Diodorus Siculus* gives them that of *Saronides*, on account of their great regard to ſuch old oaks as were decayed, and ſtripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of that word, according to *Heſychius*.

The laſt name we ſhall take notice of, was, that of *Senani*, which we hinted above was, probably, taken up by them as more pleaſing to the *Romans*, it properly ſignifying a wife or venerable man; as their druideſſes were called *ſenoe*, and *ſenes* (2). This was probably done in imitation of the ſect of gymnoſophiſts, who agreed with them in many things, particularly, in

(8) *A. Marcel. in fin. lib.* xv. (9) *Vide Valer. Max. lib.* vi. *c.* 3. *Sueton. in vit. Auguſt. Arnob. lib.* i. *c.* 4. *Aug. de civit. lib.* iv. (1) *Diog. Laert. in proœm. Suid. in voc.* (2) *Mela, lib.* iii.

having

Conformity of their doctrines with those of the Brachmans, *&c.*

tiquity is looked upon of the same date with the brachmans of *India*, magi of *Persia*, the *Chaldees* of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, and, in a word, with the oldest sects of philosophers [f]. And, indeed, considering the surprising conformity of their doctrine, notwithstanding their vast distance from each other, we can noways account for it, but by supposing, that they all received it from the same hand, to wit, from *Noah*, and his immediate descendents, and carried it each to the different places of their dispersion; for they can never be imagined to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in those early times; at least the druids of *Britain*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and from whom the *Gauls* received all their religion and philosophy, cannot be supposed to have had it from any of these foreign sects, to whom they were utterly unknown (E).

Their excessive power.

AMONG other instances of the excessive power of the druidish tribe, *Cæsar* mentions one [g], by which we may guess at the

[f] Vide int. al. LAERT. in proœm. ORIG. cont. Celf. lib. v. CL. ALEX. strom. lib. iii. POLYHIST. apud eund. lib. i. CELS. apud Orig. ubi supra. [g] Comment. lib. vi.

having their societies composed of males and females, like the *Gaulish* druids, in studying philosophy, astrology, prying into futurity, living in celibacy, and the like (3). These were by the *Greeks* called *Semnones*; the *Gauls*, among whom the *mn* was, and is still, in many provinces, pronounced like *nn*, called them *Sennones*, and, in the *Latin* termination, *Sennoni* and *Sennani*.

(E) The *Gauls*, tenacious as they were till their conquest, of their religion, laws and customs, never belied their origin, but owned themselves to have received all from the *British* druids: thither they sent their own to be instructed. Here was the grand seminary where they received their instruction, and here was the seat of the archdruid, or head, and high-priest of their religion; to whom they appealed, as to their dernier resort, in all doubtful and controverted cases (4). It were, therefore, absurd to suppose, as some have done, either that these traveled into such vast remote parts to learn their doctrines from the *semnes* of *India*, or any other sects; or much less, as others too eagerly contend, that these traveled into *Gaul* and *Britain* to learn theirs from them. And it is much more reasonable to derive that great resemblance which is observed between them all, from those antient times, when they were, in some measure, but one people, or great family; and that each carried, and carefully preserved them in those parts of the world where they settled themselves.

(3) *Diog. Laert. ubi supra. Clem. Alexand. stromat. lib.* iii. *Relig. des Gaul. lib.* i. c. 21. (4) *Cæs. comment. lib.* iv.

rest;

reſt; to wit, that they choſe the annual magiſtrates of every city, who had, during that year, the ſupreme authority, and ſometimes the title of king; and yet theſe could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not ſo much as call a council [h]: ſo that, notwithſtanding their great pomp and ſtate, ſays another author, they were but the creatures and ſlaves of the druids [i]. They uſed the ſame arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other caſes, and were every-where eſteemed as the chiefs of every *Gauliſh* commonwealth, and had the ſole management and inſtruction of youth in every thing, but the training up in the art of war; for, in this laſt reſpect, the druids, and their diſciples, were not only exempt from going to war unleſs they pleaſed, but from all kind of tribute likewiſe [k]: and this did not a little increaſe their credit with the people, as well as the number of their diſciples; for their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of *Gaul*; but every man had power to ſtand candidate for it, and, if approved by the ſociety, was admitted into it. As for their grand druid, he was choſen from amongſt them by the plurality of votes; and, when any diſpute aroſe, it was often terminated here, as in other caſes, by the ſword, as we ſhall have occaſion to hint in the ſequel. We have already obſerved, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their myſteries and leaaning in verſe; and theſe, it ſeems, were multiplied in time to ſuch a number, that it took ſome of them twenty whole years to learn them all by heart. And *Cæſar* aſſigns theſe two reaſons for this cuſtom; to wit, that their doctrines might appear more myſterious, by being unknown to all but themſelves; and, ſecondly, that, having no books to recur to, they might be the more careful to preſerve them in their memory [l]: and what contributed much to this laſt was, their living in ſeparate ſocieties, chiefly in woods, and obſerving a conſtant celibacy.

Exempt from war, &c.

Grand druid how choſen.

Committed nothing to writing.

THE three grand fundamentals of their religion conſiſted, 1. In their worſhip of the gods. 2. In abſtaining from all evil. And, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all occaſions [m]. In order to enforce this laſt, on which they valued themſelves moſt, they taught the immortality of the ſoul, and a life after this of bliſs or miſery, according as they had lived: and this inſpired them with incredible courage, and contempt of

The three grand articles of their religion.

[h] CÆS. comment. lib. vii. Vide & DIO. CHRYSOST. orat. xlix.
[i] Comment. lib. vi. DIO, ubi ſupra. A. MARCEL. lib. xv. D. SIC. lib. vi. c. 9. LUCAN. lib. i. & al.
[k] LUCAN. ubi ſupra.
[l] Comment. ubi ſupra.
[m] DIOG. LAERT. lib. i.

death,

death, of which we shall give some pregnant instances in their due place (F).

Their great skill in astronomy, &c.

They also pretended to great skill in some branches of geography and astronomy; such as the knowing the bigness and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the stars; from which they assumed a knowlege of the divine will, to pry into futurity[n], and to foretel strange events. And if that passage, which *Diodorus Siculus* has preserved to us out of *Hecatæus*[o], and which the reader may find in the note (G), be to be depended upon, and that the druids of *Britain* (for that seems to be the island meant by that author) could, as with telescopes, shew the moon nearer, and discover therein mountains, rocks, *&c.* it cannot but be supposed, that they had made greater progress in these arts and sciences, than

[n] P. Mela, lib. iii. c. 1. [o] Lib. iii. c. 11.

(F) This notion of a future life was so firmly believed by the people, that we are told they used to fling the account-books of the deceased into his grave, or, if he was burnt, into the fire, that he might make such use of them in the next world, as would make his life more easy and comfortable there (5). Several other ridiculous customs are recorded of them, with respect to this notion of a future life, which can hardly be credited, and which, for that reason, we shall willingly pass by.

(G) This passage is to the following purport: That there is, according to that author, a northern island of considerable bigness, little less than *Sicily*, situate over-against the *Celtæ*, and inhabited by those whom the *Greeks* call *Hyperboreans*. It is fruitful, pleasant, and dedicated to *Apollo:* that god, for the space of nineteen years, used to come and converse with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could (as if they had the use of telescopes) shew the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains, *&c.* He concludes, that over their sacred grove and temple there presided a set of men, called (by the then *Greeks*, it is supposed) *Boreadæ*, who were their priests and rulers.

From the author's description and situation of this island, every body will easily perceive, that it could be no other but either *Great Britain* or *Ireland*; for the *Mona*, or *Anglesey* of *Rowland* (6), is vastly too small and inconsiderable to have been meant here. It is mentioned as known to the *Greeks*, as well it might, by means of the tin which the *Phœnicians* fetched from it, of which we shall speak in due time. The author adds, that one *Abaris*, who became afterwards a disciple of *Pythagoras* (7), went from hence into *Greece*, and contracted an intimacy with the *Delians*. And might he not be supposed to have followed that philosopher from *Gaul* thither? But we submit that to the reader.

(5) *Cæs. lib.* vi. (6) *Mona antiq. sect.* 8. *ad fin.* (7) *See bishop of Worcester's letter to Dr. Bentley, ap. cund. ibid.*

is

is generally imagined. The nineteen years converſe of *Apollo*, which is the cycle of the ſun, and the notion of the moon's opacity, of its mountains, rocks, *&c.* argue them to have been no bad aſtronomers; and, if they had really any inſtruments to draw the moon nearer, and make ſuch diſcoveries upon its ſurface, we may conclude them to have been pretty good artiſts for thoſe early times. *Pliny* adds, that they ſtudied natural philoſophy, and practiſed phyſic P. This laſt conſiſted chiefly in the knowlege and uſe of ſimples; but they ſoon found out a way to render it more intricate and myſterious, by intermingling aſtrology, and other ſuperſtitious traſh, amongſt it: the configuration of the planets muſt be conſulted; the herb muſt be gathered with one hand, and not with the other; the hand muſt be covered with the oppoſite lappet of the man's robe; he muſt be dreſſed in white; his feet waſhed, and unſhod, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe; but all which rather betrays that author's fondneſs of expoſing the *Gauls*, than to inform mankind. To give one inſtance for all, the reader needs but hear what he ſays of their ſerpent's egg, which, as it is related by him, would ſcarcely, upon any other account, be worth inſerting in this hiſtory, but that, whilſt we give him the ſubſtance of it in the note (H), we ſhall endeavour to ſtrike

Practiſe phyſic.

P Vide nat. hiſt. lib. xxiv. & ſeq.

(H) According to his fabulous account, this egg, which was unknown to the reſt of the world, was formed by the ſcum of a vaſt multitude of ſerpents twiſted and conjured up together. As ſoon as they began to hiſs, it was raiſed up into the air, and muſt be caught before it touched the ground; and he that caught it muſt immediately get on a fleet horſe, and ride for his life, from the fury of the ſerpents, which purſued him till a river ſtopped them ſhort. The egg was then to be flung into the water, with a golden ring, which they faſtened about it, and muſt ſwim on the ſurface with it. Its virtues were then almoſt as numberleſs as thoſe of *Fortunatus*'s cap, a great many of which our author mentions, as well as its colour and ſhape; and concludes with telling us, that the emperor *Claudius* cauſed a *Gauliſh* nobleman to be put to death merely for having been found with one of theſe eggs in his boſom, and which, it ſeems, he wore there with a view of gaining a lawſuit in which he was engaged (8).

What increaſes our wonder of this ridiculous credulity, is, that a modern author (9) has endeavoured to confirm, in a great meaſure, what *Pliny* has related, by aſſuring us, that in ſeveral parts of *Dauphiné*, eſpecially one place he names near the confines of *Savoy*, there is ſuch a prodigious concourſe of all kinds of ſerpents from the 5th of *June* to

(8) *Plin. lib.* xxix. *c.* 3.

(9) *Cherier. hiſt. du Dauphiné.*

the

ſtrike out a more probable and advantageous meaning of this pretended piece of ſuperſtition, than that author could, or was, perhaps, willing to do.

We muſt firſt take notice of an antient *Gauliſh* monument in the great cathedral of *Paris*, on which this ceremony of catching the egg is repreſented pretty near in the ſame manner as *Pliny* has given it. Another has been found in *Italy* [q], on which are carved two ſerpents, the one holding the egg in its mouth, and the other ſhaping and poliſhing it with its ſpittle. If the reader remembers what has been ſaid in the coſmogony of the world, at the entrance of this work [r], of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* looking upon the egg to be the principle of all things; that it was repreſented as coming forth out of the mouth of a ſerpent, the emblem of the Godhead, or perhaps rather of wiſdom; and if we add what *Plutarch* obſerves, that the theology of the antients aſcribed to the egg the priority of time, and the ſeed of all things; he will eaſily decypher a much ſublimer meaning in the mythology of this egg, than that *Roman* author could, or was perhaps willing to ſee in it, either from thoſe emblematic monuments, or fabulous reports, from which he took his ridiculous account: for it muſt be further obſerved, that the druids were very fond of wrapping up all their learning, and even their moral precepts, in ſuch kinds of myſterious and enigmatic figures (I). One doctrine, he

[q] Antiq. expliq. Relig. des Gaules, lib. i. c. 26. lib. iii. c. ult.
[r] Vol. i. p. 27, & ſeq. p. 34, & ſeq.

the 15th of *Auguſt*, that there is not one to be ſeen for the ſpace of ten miles round the place. He adds, that the ground where they aſſemble is left covered with a kind of ſcum, which fills one with horror. But he ſays, that no care had been taken to inquire after the ſtory of the egg, whether it was fact, or only an impoſture of the druids. If any thing could perſuade us, that the antient *Gauls* could give into ſuch ridiculous ſuperſtitions, it would be the ſeeing of them ſo eaſily ſwallowed by the modern ones.

(I) However, we would not deny but after their power came to dwindle, as it began to do from the coming in of the *Romans*, they might ſlacken apace from their antient purity, and make a trade of ſuch ſuperſtitious fooleries as they would have deſpiſed whilſt in the height of their wealth and ſway, when nothing could well tempt them to it. It is, doubtleſs, to theſe latter times, that we muſt ſuppoſe the antient comedy, called *Querulus*, or *Aulularia*, which expoſes the druidiſh knavery with ſo much wit and ſharpneſs, to have referred to; and perhaps, alſo, that which another author ſays of them (1), that in their lectures of morality they

(1) *Strabo, lib.* iv.

gave

he tells us, they taught, that fire and water would at length abſorb all things.

BEFORE we leave this ſubject, we muſt not omit ſaying ſomething of their famed druideſſes, and the great eſteem they were in among the *Gauls*, as well as among the *Germans* [s]. We have already ſhewed, that antiently the *Gauliſh* women bore a great ſway in this country, of which the druids, in time, ſtripped them; but it is likely, that the druideſſes held ſtill great part of their own credit, eſpecially on account of their being thought endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed for any thing elſe; and ſome of them, we find, were among the loweſt rank of people (K). *Their druideſſes, or female druids.*

THERE were three claſſes of druideſſes in *Gaul*, the chief of which was of thoſe who kept a perpetual virginity; for theſe were thought to have the ſpirit of prophecy. The next was that of thoſe, who, though married, were yet obliged to abſtain from the matrimonial intercourſe, except one ſingle time in the whole year, in which they were allowed to go and have children by them; after which, they returned to their office, which was, to aſſiſt the druids at their religious fun- *Three orders of them.*

[s] TACIT. lib. iv. c. 54, & ſeq. de mor. Germ. DIO, in fragm. xlix. PLIN. & al.

gave this for a maxim, that the fertility of their fields depended upon their richneſs, and the largeneſs of their revenues.

(K) Witneſs *Dioclefian*'s hoſteſs, who, when he was but a private man in the *Roman* army, then in *Gaul*, foretold him, that he ſhould become emperor after he had killed a boar, or rather, *Aper*, as the iſſue ſhewed it a little time after (2). We have ſeen, likewiſe, in the *Roman* hiſtory, that their emperors were not above conſulting, and being adviſed by them; particularly *Severus* (3) and *Aurelian*, the latter of whom aſking ſome of them how long the empire ſhould laſt in his family, they made no difficulty to tell him boldly, that that of *Claudius* would one day become the moſt illuſtrious (4). We ſhall not take upon us to inquire how they came by this extraordinary gift, or whether it was real, or a mere cheat and pretence; only we would obſerve, that the latter cannot be ſuppoſed, without allowing at the ſame time, that the druids themſelves were likewiſe impoſed upon by them; elſe it is not likely they would have allowed them to reign ſo long, and bear ſuch ſway in all religious and civil matters, contrary to the practice of the *Indian* brachmans, and other ſects of antient philoſophers, who never admitted their women into any of their myſteries (5).

(2) *See vol.* XV. *p.* 484, 485. (3) *Ibid. p.* 369, (I). (4) *Vopiſcus in Aurel. ſub fin.* (5) *Vide Plin. ubi ſupra. Tacit. lib.* IV. *Strabo, lib.* XV.

ctions.

Their office.

ctions. The laſt were a kind of ſervants or attendants, on the others; and this we learn rather from ſome antient monuments and inſcriptions [t], than from antient authors, who have ſaid little more of them, than that they were propheteſſes. Both druids and druideſſes pretended to a great knowlege in aſtrology, calculated peoples nativities, erected figures, and foretold ſtrange things, both by that, and much more by their inhuman auguries; of which bloody cuſtom we ſhall give a ſpecimen in the note (L). But thoſe, who were ſtiled propheteſſes, were thought to have a gift ſuperior to the reſt, and which was looked upon as ſupernatural: theſe were called by ſome ſuperior title, ſuch as that of dame was heretofore among us, and were in the higheſt requeſt, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among foreign nations. As for the others, they were much leſs regarded; and their night-aſſemblies about ponds and marſhes, to worſhip and conſult the moon, and ſome other ſorceries they pretended to uſe, made them be looked upon as downright witches, canibals, *lamiæ*, *pythoniſſæ*, *ſtriæ*, and every thing that is black and horrid, by Chriſtian authors, from the ſixth century downwards [u].

Witcheries.

[t] GRUTER. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. c. 27. [u] Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat.

(L) It appears, by comparing what antiquaries have been able to collect from ſome antient *Gauliſh* monuments, concerning this bloody ceremony, with what *Strabo* ſays of it (6), as it was practiſed among the *Cimbri*, who were a branch of the old *Celtes*, that there was no material difference between them in this reſpect. We ſhall therefore give the purport of what that antient author hath left us of it, which is as follows:

The druideſſes were, on theſe occaſions, like the druids, cloathed in white tunics, faſtened with hooks, and girt with a braſs girdle, and without ſhoes. As ſoon as the *Cimbrians* had taken any captives, theſe women flew upon them with drawn ſwords in their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a large capacious *labrum*, or ciſtern, by the ſide of which was a kind of foot-ſtool, on which the druideſs then officiating ſtood, who plunged a long knife into the breaſt of each of theſe unfortunate wretches, one after another, as faſt as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood ſhe formed her predictions. The other druideſſes, who aſſiſted, took up the breathleſs bodies, opened and examined their intrails, and from thence likewiſe foretold ſome new things, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

(6) *Lib.* vii.

THE

THE next order among them, in great esteem, was that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and looked upon the former to be only a more modern name given to them; but there is a passage in *Strabo*, which quite explodes that notion, where he says [w], that the druids were in the highest power, and gave laws to the *vates*, *eubages*, and bards, who were every-where to give them place, when they pleased to challenge it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their consent and approbation. Besides, we are told by that, and a number of other authors, that these bards were so called from their office, which was, to sing the praises of their heroes [x], and to accompany their songs with musical instruments; and that their compositions were held in the highest esteem, as the most effectual means of eternizeing the memory of those who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors last-quoted adds, that they could at any time put a stop to a whole army's engaging, by their interposition: so great a power had wisdom and the muses over those barbarians [y]. It was their business to accompany the *Gaulish* armies with their songs, which were generally calculated to inspire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death [z]. During the onset, they used likewise to give some loud shouts, sometimes as of victory, at other times to intimate their danger, in case they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way; so that, though they did not really fight themselves, they were so intermingled with the army, that they ran, in some measure, the same risk with those that did (M). By this means, they were eye-witnesses of the combatants, and either celebrated their praises in their songs, or censured those that had not done their duty; and as these might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol those who had been faulty, or in praising either too much or too little, for favour or interest, it is thought they acquired the name of parasites [a]: but this seems very inconsistent with what we read of the great esteem they were in, unless we allow that word to have an-

The bards their office.

Different from the druids.

Their office in the army.

[w] Lib. iv. [x] DIOD. SIC. lib. vi. c. 9. LUCAN. lib. i. vers. 447. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. XV. [y] DIOD. SICUL. ubi supra. [z] PAUSAN. in Phoc. [a] POSIDON. ap. Athen. lib. vi.

(M) This may be inferred from what we read of one of them, named *Pomponius*, a man in great esteem, both as a bard and a poet; who finding himself in great danger from the enemy, made a vow to *Mars*, their great protector, to sacrifice to him a boar, if he escaped safe (7).

(7) *Macrob. Saturnal. lib.* vi. *c.* 9. *Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. lib.* xvi. *c.* 6.

tiently carried a more favourable meaning than it doth now (N). To theſe two orders we may add thoſe of the *vates* and *euvates*, or *eubates*, which ſeem to have been ſtill inferior to that of the bards; but whether they were ſo to each other, or the ſame under two names, is not eaſy to gueſs, with that little light we have from antient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole is, that the druids preſided over all religious matters, and bore a great ſway in thoſe of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all tranſactions, and treaſured up in their poetic compoſitions the knowlege of things and perſons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their ſongs, as the druids thought proper. The *vates* and *euvates* might be ſingers of theſe bardiſh compoſitions, and be further retained in the families of the great, to celebrate their praiſes and heroic acts; but, as the druids were more known to ſtrangers than the reſt, their name was given to all indifferently by antient hiſtorians.

Vates *and* euvates.

Their ſuppoſed office.

DIODORUS and *Cicero* ſeem to mention a fifth ſort, to wit, the *ſaronides*; but we have ſhewn a little higher, that it was but another name for that of the druids, as the learned *Bochart* has fully proved [b]. As for the *flamens*, or *flamines*, though they have been ſuppoſed to have belonged to the druidiſh order, yet biſhop *Stillingfleet* has ſufficiently diſproved them to have been of *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* extract. They were of the *Roman* kind, and of much later date than either druids or bards. We have ſpoken of them in a former volume [c], and to that, and the learned prelate above-quoted, we ſhall refer our readers, and cloſe this ſection of the *Gauliſh* religion with obſerving, that, in ſpite of all the ſevere edicts of the *Roman* and Chriſtian monarchs, there were ſtill very viſible traces of it, and of the very worſt part of the druidiſh rites, practiſed

The end of druidiſh ſuperſtition.

[b] Vide & PELLOUTIER. hiſt. des Celt. lib. ii. c. 9. [c] See vol. xi. p. 297, (A).

(N) This word, though by length of time become a term of reproach, might not carry ſo harſh a meaning in our author; if it had, it is hardly credible thoſe bards could have kept up their credit ſo long, and in ſo brave and warlike a nation. But, in our opinion, that name was given only to an inferior ſet of bards, who are judged to have been a kind of clients, or *ſolduri*, who entered themſelves into the ſervice of ſome noblemen or generals, and bound themſelves to live and die with them, and whoſe buſineſs it was to ſing the praiſes of their patrons, in poems compoſed by the bards, before numerous crouds of people, who never failed to ſurround and liſten to them (8).

(8) *Caſaubon. in Athen. lib. vi.*

not

not only long after the ſettling of Chriſtianity in *Gaul*, but even to the middle of the ſixth century, as appears by a notable inſtance of it, which we ſhall give in the note (O).

(O) This fact is taken from *Procopius*, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of it, and is as follows: *Theodebert* I. having penetrated into *Italy* at the head of a conſiderable army, and taken poſſeſſion of the bridge of *Pavia*, his men offered in ſacrifice the wives and children of the *Goths*, whom they had ſurpriſed, and caſt their bodies into the river, as the firſt-fruits of that war. "For, ſays he, the "*Franks*, though Chriſtians, do "ſtill obſerve a great many of "their antient ſuperſtitions. "They offer up human victims; "and uſe many execrable rites "in their auguries." And another author, who lived till the latter-end of the ſeventh century, has a long catalogue of ſuch ſuperſtitions, againſt which, as he was a biſhop, and ſince ſainted for his piety, he forewarns his Chriſtian flock. The reader may ſee the paſſage at large in the authors quoted below (9).

(9) *Vide Father Coint. tom.* i. & iii. *Fleury's eccleſ. hiſt. tom.* viii. *Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 7.

SECT. IV.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Learning, Arts, Sciences, Commerce, and Cuſtoms, of the antient Gauls.

Their government.

WE have already ſpoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the *Gauls*, in the hiſtory of the *Celtes* their anceſtors [a]; of their migrations and ſettlement in *Europe*, and of their antient monarchical government there [b]. How and when it came afterwards to dwindle, and ſplit itſelf into that variety of forms in which the *Romans* found them afterwards, were in vain to inquire after, conſidering that they kept neither hiſtory nor records but what was couched in the ſongs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as poſſible, from public knowlege, and only ſung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occaſions, rather to ſtimulate the people to an imitation of their heroes, than to preſerve any regular ſeries of their tranſactions. All therefore that can be offered by way of conjecture concerning this change, from hints and ſcraps of foreign authors, is as follows.

[a] Vol. vi. p. 1, & ſeq. 11, & ſeq. 34, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 23, & ſeq.

Various forms of it.

THE *Gauls* were by this time (though ſtill under the ſame name, uſing the ſame language and cuſtoms, and governed by the ſame general laws) under different governments, ſome of which were monarchical, others ariſtocratical, others partly ſo, and partly democratical; and theſe were, by way of diſtinction, called free [c]. *Tacitus* reckons no leſs than ſixty-four of theſe cities [d], or, as *Cæſar* better explains it [e], regions, or diſtricts, who were under this kind of government. Theſe little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they choſe a magiſtrate for civil, and a general for military affairs [f]; yet theſe, as well as thoſe that were under a kingly government, obſerved one conſtant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common intereſt of the whole nation, was debated and ſettled (A). The free commonwealths had, moreover, a law common to them all, that whoever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common intereſt, they were obliged to acquaint their magiſtrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magiſtrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the reſt; for it was not lawful for any perſon to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council [g]. All that can be gathered, relating to this grand aſſembly, out of the ſame hiſtorian, the reader may ſee in the ſubſequent note (B). Upon the whole, then, this grand

Grand council of the nation. Thoſe of the free republics.

[c] CÆSAR. comment. l. i. c. 1. vi. c. 4. [d] TACIT. ann. l. iii. [e] Comment. ibid. [f] STRAB. l. v. [g] Comment. l. vi. c. 4.

(A) And, indeed, theſe warlike people were in no ſmall need of ſuch a general council, ſince they made war one of their chief employments, and were no ſooner free from a foreign one, but they immediately fell a quarreling among themſelves: ſo that, to prevent theſe inteſtine broils, the chief buſineſs of that grand aſſembly was, to find out ſome plauſible pretence for carrying it againſt ſome of their neighbours, either to pull down thoſe that were over-grown, and raiſed their jealouſy, or to protect the oppreſſed, or furniſh ſome allies with a number of auxiliaries, and ſuch-like (1).

(B) The *Gauls*, ſays that conqueror (2), demanded that a general council of their whole nation ſhould be ſummoned, and that it might be done by his conſent. A council was, accordingly, aſſembled at *Bibracte*,

(1) *Comm. l.* vi. *c.* 4, & 6. *Strab. l.* iv. *Melo, l.* iii. *c.* 3. (2) *Comm. l.* i. *c.* 12.

grand council was the dernier resort of the *Gauls*, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, distribution of plunder, and such-like, between district and district, was finally determined. For if, for instance, after some successful victory or excursion, any debate happened about the plunder, as it seldom failed to be followed with a great deal of bloodshed, if not timely prevented (and, if *Polybius* may be credited, bloody frays often happened for such trifles as the plunder of a good store of victuals, and especially of wine [h]); the dispute was deferred to the assembly of the district, or commonwealth. But whenever it happened, as it often did, between district and district, the grand council must either determine between them, or else they were sure to butcher one another, till one side was forced to give over. So that *Tacitus* had great reason to say of them, as he did of their neighbours the *Germans*; "If they will not be in friendship with us, let them at least "fall out among themselves: fortune can do no greater ser- "vice, than to set them thus at variance with each other [i]." As to those small commonwealths, they seem to have had such an aversion to kingly government, that one of them, that of the *Ædui* (C), ordered the great *Certillus*, the father of *Vercingetorix*,

Grand council the dernier resort.

Commonwealths.

[h] L. ii. [i] German. c. 33.

where was a vast concourse from all parts of the nation (3). And elsewhere he tells us, that he summoned that *Gallish* council to meet in the spring; and the *Treviri*, *Senones*, and *Carnuti*, not coming with the rest, he adjourned it to meet at *Paris* (4).

Among those who opposed his measures, was *Dumnorix*, one of the chiefs of the *Æduan* commonwealth, against whom he had sent an order to have him slain; who, thereupon, applied himself to the council, alleging, that he was a member of a free commonwealth, and begged to be protected by them (5). Another was *Vercingetorix*, who, *Cæsar* says, flattered himself that he should be able to unite such commonwealths to him, as dissented from the rest of the *Gallish* cities, and to form such a general council of all *Gaul*, as the whole world should not be able to withstand (6).

This is all that we can meet with concerning those grand councils; but as to other particulars relating either to the extent of their power, the time, manner, and place of their being summoned, and held, and the like, history leaves us in the dark.

(C) The *Ædui* were one of the three chief commonwealths in *Gaul* (7), and situate near *Autun*. The country is now called *Lower Burgundy*.

(3) *Ibid.* (4) *L.* vi. *c.* 1. (5) *L.* v. *c.* 3. (6) *L.* vii. *c.* 6.
(7) *Tacit. l.* iii. *Cæs. comm. l.* v.

Inteſtine diviſions.

cingetorix, lately mentioned, a man in great power and credit, and eſteemed the firſt man in *Gaul*, to be put to death, for having aſpired to the kingdom [k]. At the ſame time they were ſo extremely jealous of each other's power, that they were obliged to enter into combinations againſt each other, and the little ones to put themſelves under the protection of the greater ones; an inſtance of which we gave in the laſt note. *Cæſar* ſometimes calls the former tributary and ſubject to the latter, but moſt commonly confederate with them. Upon his firſt entrance into *Gaul* he found it divided into two factions: the *Ædui* were at the head of one, and the *Arverni* at the head of the other; and both, he tells us, had for many years contended for the ſuperiority, whilſt the *Bituriges*, a people in the province of *Berri*, and neighbours of the *Arverni*, were ſtill in ſubjection to the *Ædui*; and the *Sequani*, who lived in *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*, and neighbours to the *Ædui*, were under the protection of the *Arverni* [l].

Improved by J. Cæſar.

SUCH were the unhappy diviſions between the *Gauliſh* commonwealths (D), which gave ſo great an advantage to the *Romans*

[k] Vide & comment. *l.* vi. c. 11. [l] *Idem, l.* i. c. 12. vi. c. 4.

The other two were the *Arverni* and the *Rhemi*. The former of theſe were ſited on the river *Loire*; their capital was called *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of *Guienne*; and they became, in time, ſo powerful, that, according to *Strabo*, they made war againſt *Cæſar* with four hundred thouſand men (8), and, a little before the arrival of that conqueror, had quite weakened their rivals the *Ædui*, by withdrawing moſt of their clients and dependents (9): and it was, probably, upon this juncture, that they condemned that great commander of theirs to loſe his head, and choſe his ſon in his ſtead.

The *Rhemi* were the old inhabitants of the country of *Rheims*, whoſe antient and famous metropolis ſtill bears the ſame name, and is one of the greateſt and moſt populous cities of *France*.

(D) Accordingly, we find the *Senones*, or rather *Semnones*, who inhabited ſome part of the *Lionois*, joining in league with that of the *Pariſians*, and both ſoon after putting themſelves under the protection of the *Ædui*. The *Bellovaci*, a very populous commonwealth, and in great repute and authority among the *Belgæ* (1), were likewiſe allied with them. Their capital, then a very conſiderable city, was called *Bellovacum*, and *Cæſaromagus*; their country ſtill retains the name of *Beauvois*.

(8) *Strab. l.* iv. c. 4. vii. c. 7.

(9) *Comment. l.* vi. c. 4. vii. c. 10.

(1) *Idem, l.* ii.

Cæſar

Romans againſt them, and which they failed not to improve, according to their wonted policy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. *Cæſar*, finding the *Arverni* too ſtrong for, and averſe to him, entered into an alliance with the *Ædui*, who were by this time become vaſtly inferior to them, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the *Roman* people. Their example was ſoon followed by others, ſo that partly by cajoling ſome, and ſowing jealouſies and diſcords among others, he facilitated the conqueſt of that noble and warlike nation, which, had it been more united in intereſt, and form of its government, muſt, in all appearance, have proved too hard for him. *His policy and addreſs.*

BUT, notwithſtanding this great multitude and variety of commonwealths, it is plain, that both *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, ſtill ſwarmed with petty kingdoms, that is, with diſtricts governed by kings, whom the *Romans* ſtiled *reguli*, or petty kings, but the *Gauls* ſtiled kings (E), though their dominions *Their petty kings.*

Cæſar reckons, moreover, five different people under the dominion of the *Nervii* (2), another antient, fierce, and warlike people of *Belgia*, ſuppoſed to have dwelt in the now dioceſe of *Cambray*; theſe were the *Centrones*, or inhabitants of *Courtray*. *Grudii*, ſuppoſed to have dwelt about *Bruges*; the *Lævaci*, about *Louvain*; the *Pleumoſii*, or *Pleumaſii*, whoſe ſituation is uncertain; and the *Gorduni*, ſituate in the neighbourhood of *Ghent*. The *Eburones* and *Condruſii*, who lived in the territories of *Liege* and *Namur*, were clients to the *Treviri*, or inhabitants of the country of *Triers*, the then principal nation in *Belgia prima*. The *Veneti*, or inhabitants of *Gallia Armorita*, or *Britany*, compoſed ſo powerful a commonwealth, that our author (3) tells us, their dominion was one of the moſt extenſive.

(E) The word *rex* ſeems plainly enough to be of *Celtic* extract; to wit, from *rey*, or *regh*, prince, or lord: hence we have ſhewed in a former volume (4), *Rhea*, *Jove*'s mother, to have had that name given her, as implying a lady, or princeſs, as ſhe really was. The name of *Rhey* might therefore be given to to thoſe antient monarchs, till their vaſt kingdom came to ſplit itſelf, as we have ſeen above, into ſo many petty principalities and commonwealths; at which time, it is probable, thoſe petty kings came to be called *Tyrannes*, or, according to the old *Celtic*, *Tyr-rhanwir*, from their being the perſons who divided the people into ſuch diſtricts, or communities, and ſettled the boundaries of each, as well as the portions of land which every family under them was to be intitled to. Hence the *tyrannoi* of the *Greeks*, and the word *tyrant*, might at firſt carry a much better meaning, till their degeneracy made it to become ſo

(2) *L.* v. *c.* 11. (3) *L.* iv. *c.* 2. (4) *Vol.* vi. *p.* 44. *in fin.* (K).

minions were ever so small. These differed from the magistrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary (F), but sometimes conferred by the people upon such as were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the *Bituriges* did one over the *Celtæ*, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus* [m]; sometimes a brave and powerful man forced himself upon the throne: and even those who seem to have come to the crown by succession, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as those that were chosen by them. This is, at least, what *Ambiorix*, king of the *Eburones*, owns,

How chosen.

Their power limited.

[m] Livy, l. v.

odious, that they changed it for those of princes, dukes, earls, &c (5).

The author of the *Mona antiqua*, above quoted, thinks the name and office of those *tyrans* to be of much older date; and that, in all probability, some such power or dignity is tacitly implied in one of the *statutes of the sons of* Noah, called *de judiciis* (6). We have formerly given our sentiment concerning that rabbinic book (7) so much discredited by some, and so strongly defended by our learned *Selden*. But, without having recourse to such questioned authorities, reason plainly tells us, that from the first dispersion there must have been some such *tyr-rhanwirs*, or land-assigners, as the word implies, to prevent the continual quarrels that must inevitably happen for want of them.

Moses further observes (8), that the three families of *Noah*'s sons were, after the flood, divided after their tongues and families, *begojehem*, in their nations, that is, into separate communities, over whom the chief, or head, presided, and was the *rhey*, or lord, and *tyr-rhanwir*, or assigner of their proper lands in each settlement; and who should be fitter for such an office, than those who bore the greatest authority?

(F) At least *J. Cæsar* mentions several eminent private men, whose ancestors had been formerly invested with the regal dignity, and, among these, *Casticus*, whose father had been many years king of the *Sequani* (9); *Piso*, whose grandfather had reigned in *Aquitania* (1); and *Tasgetius*, whose ancestors had been kings of the *Carnutes* (2), and whose territories retain still the name of *Chartrain*. So that they seem rather to have been magistrates for life, than real kings, especially as their power is affirmed to have been limited by the people.

(5) See *Rowland's Mona antiqua*, p. 41, & seq. (6) *Hottoman. Franco-Gal.* c. 1. (7) *Vol.* i. p. 259, & seq. (8) *Genesis* x. (9) *L.* i. c. 2. (1) *L.* iv. c. 3. (2) *L.* v. c. 8.

with

with relation to himſelf. "The conſtitution of our govern-
"ment, ſays he, is ſuch, that the people have no leſs power
"and authoriry over me, than I have over them [n]." This form has been, indeed, much admired by *Ariſtotle*, *Polybius*, *Cicero*, and eſpecially by *Plato*, as by far the ſafeſt, and moſt excellent; becauſe, as the laſt of theſe rightly obſerves, ſhould kingly government be left without a bridle, when it hath attained the ſupreme power, as it ſtands upon ſuch ſlippery ground, it eaſily falls into tyranny. "For this reaſon,
"ſays he, it ought to be reſtrained, as with a curb, by the
"authority of the nobles, and of ſuch choſen men as the
"people have impowered for that end and purpoſe [o]."

IT is not eaſy to gueſs how many of theſe kingdoms and commonwealths there were in *Gaul*; but both were equally courted by the *Romans*, and for the ſame reaſon; to wit, to withdraw from, and weaken the force of thoſe that oppoſed their conqueſts. Theſe petty kings, eſpecially, were often corrupted by dint of gifts, promiſes, or ſome fine titles, ſuch as that of *friends and confederates of* Rome, to embroil the *Gauliſh* affairs, and foment diſſenſions among their little kingdoms and republics: even the pooreſt and moſt inconſiderable amongſt them were thought worth their while to bring over to them; and if they found them buſy and active in their intereſt, they failed not to reward them in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to draw others into the ſame treacherous practices. Among thoſe whom *Cæſar* mentions among the friends and allies of *Rome*, was *Catamantales*, king of the *Sequani* [p], the grandfather of *Piſo*, mentioned a little higher, who reigned in *Aquitain*, and [q] whoſe name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and *Olevico*, king of the *Nitiobriges*, or people of *Agenois*, who had that title beſtowed upon him by the *Roman* ſenate [r]. Among thoſe who made the nobleſt reſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, was *Divitiacus*, king of the *Sueſſones*, a brave people of *Gallia Belgica*, who was one of the moſt potent princes of all *Gallia*. His territories were large and fruitful: he had twelve conſiderable cities, one of which, *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*, *Cæſar* afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, as we have elſewhere ſhewn [s], notwithſtanding they had brought five hundred thouſand fighting men againſt him. This prince's dominions is ſaid to have extended even to *Little Britany*. He was ſucceeded by *Galba*, at the time when *Cæſar* invaded them [t]. Thus much for the *Gauliſh* government,

Careſſed and corrupted by J. Cæſar.

Several of them ſtrenuouſly oppoſe him.

[n] Comment. l. v. c. 8. [o] Vide HOTTOMAN. Franco-Gall. in fin. c. 1. [p] Comment. l. i. c. 2. [q] L. iv. c. 3. [r] L. vii. c. 6. [s] See before, vol. xiii. p. 164, & ſeq. [t] L. ii. c. 1, & ſeq.

which

The cauſe of their quick and eaſy conqueſts.

which we ſhall cloſe with a ſevere reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will ſhew how much their inteſtine feuds contributed to his conqueſt of them. "Among "the *Gauls*, ſays he [u], not only all their cities, cantons, and "diſtricts, but even almoſt all families, are divided and torn "by factions. Theſe are generally cauſed and fomented by "their princes and demagogues, who exerciſe a kind of arbi-"trary power and authority over their inferiors and depend-"ents, and manage all public matters with an uncontroul-"able ſway." *Tacitus* obſerves much the ſame thing [w] of it; ſo that, in ſpite of all their bravery, their ruin ſeems no leſs than inevitable, when ſo torn and diſmembered from within, and invaded by ſuch powerful and politic enemies from without.

Their laws unknown to us.

WHETHER theſe diſaſters were occaſioned through the want of a good body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not eaſy to determine. We have, indeed, obſerved, in a former volume, that *Mercury* is ſaid to have civilized the *Celtic* nation, in many reſpects, and, amongſt other things, that he gave them a ſet of laws [x]. Another author gives the credit of *this to one Samothes*, a man of profound learning and *wiſdom among them, and ſaid to have been the* founder of the *Celtic* monarchy [y]. But what thoſe laws were, if any ſuch were, indeed, compiled for them, we are wholly in the dark (G). If we may, however, gueſs from ſome inſtances

[u] L. vi. c. 11. [w] Annal. l. i. c. 11. [x] See vol. vi. p. 23. & 52. [y] See LEWIS's hiſt. Brit. and the authors quoted by him, book i. ch. 2.

(G) The druids and bards, who had the keeping and interpreting of them, were, indeed, too cautious to divulge them to ſtrangers, or even to any of their nation, except to thoſe of their own order; ſince they obſerved the ſame ſhineſs with relation to all other branches of learning, which they carefully concealed from the people. But, whatever that ſyſtem of laws may have been, it muſt have ſuffered a total change, upon the abolition of the monarchy, and the diſmembering of the whole into ſo many petty kingdoms and commonwealths. And, indeed, by all we can gather from *Cæſar*, or any other antient author, they ſeem ſo far from having been tied by any common body of laws, that, except that of holding a general aſſembly every year, and another of permitting all private quarrels and conteſts to be decided by ſingle combat, of which more hereafter, and which every community was obliged to permit, they rather appear to have been wholly governed by the deciſions of the council, whether of each diſtrict, or of the whole nation, unleſs

ſtances of their hiſtory, they ſeem to have held one general maxim; to wit, that the longeſt ſword had the beſt title; and that it was the deſign of the Supreme Being, that the ſtrongeſt ſhould ſtrip the weakeſt; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The following inſtance, out of *Livy* [z], is a pregnant one, that this was an eſtabliſhed principle amongſt them. The reader will ſee it in the note (H).

A ſtrange maxim of the Gauls. *They founded their right on their ſwords.*

NEITHER

[z] LIVY, l. v. c 35, & ſeq. PLUTARCH. in Camil.

where kings bore an abſolute ſway, if any ſuch there were; for, as far as we can find, moſt of this ſort were as much ſubject to the people, as they to them.

(H) The *Senones*, of whom we have ſpoken a little higher, finding themſelves too much ſtreightened in their territories, fell foul upon the city of *Cluſium*, whoſe territories happened to lie very convenient for them; upon which, the beſieged applied to the *Roman* ſenate for help, who being, at that juncture, unwilling to enter into a war with the aggreſſors, contented themſelves with ſending three young patricians of the *Fabian* family, in a friendly embaſſy to them. Theſe opened their commiſſion before the general aſſembly of the *Gauls*, which was, in ſubſtance, to require the *Senones* to ceaſe all further hoſtilities againſt the *Cluſians*; otherwiſe the ſenate would be obliged, againſt their will, to ſupport the oppreſſed, againſt whom they could allege no cauſe of complaint. To this the *Gauls* anſwered, with their uſual politeneſs, to the following effect; to wit, that though they were not acquainted with the *Romans*, they could not but have a great notion of their bravery, ſeeing the *Cluſians* had implored their aſſiſtance under their preſent unhappy ſituation. "Your principals, continued "they, having choſen to ſend "an embaſſy to us, rather than "their forces, to ſupport their "allies, we do not refuſe the "peace which you offer to us, "provided the *Cluſians*, who "hold more lands than they "cultivate, agree to yield ſome "of them to us, who are in "want of them. This is the "only condition upon which "we can make peace with you, "and we deſire a poſitive anſwer before your departure. "If the *Cluſians* will not agree "to it, we are ready to give "them battle, even now, before you, that you may be "able to inform your countrymen, how much the *Gauls* are "ſuperior to other nations, in "point of bravery."

To this the embaſſadors replied, without ſeeming to underſtand the force of the laſt words, that they could not but look upon it as a piece of great injuſtice, to inſiſt upon a people's yielding the territories they were lawfully poſſeſſed of, and to wage war againſt them, becauſe they refuſed to do ſo. Whereupon *Brennus*, the *Gauliſh* leader, without farther ceremony, anſwered, that the *Gauls* carried their right at the point of their ſword; and

that

Decided their law-suits, &c. by single combat.

NEITHER was this maxim of theirs confined to foreign conqueſts, but extended itſelf to the deciſion of private rights among themſelves; for when any debates aroſe amongſt them about their poſſeſſions, about any injury or affront given or received, eſpecially among thoſe of the better ſort, in caſe the council or public magiſtrate did not give ſentence to the ſatisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by ſingle combat. Neither could their magiſtrates deny them that liberty, when once inſiſted upon by either party; nor could the oppoſite decline the challenge, without giving up the point, and being branded with ignominy. Antiently, indeed, that is, whilſt the whole *Gauliſh* nation were under a monarchical government, the druids and bards (who, as we have formerly hinted, were the keepers and interpreters of their laws, and preſided in all their courts and councils with ſuch an uncontrouled ſway, that it was the moſt dangerous thing to contravene their deciſions), ſuch diſputes may have been, and, it is moſt likely, were actually decided by theſe courts and councils; but after they came to be ſeparated into ſo many different governments, they began to look upon ſuch ſubjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to ſubſtitute this way of ſingle combat to it, not only as the ſhorteſt, but as the more honourable, and more agreeable

Appealed to that from any court ſentence;

that the brave had the beſt title to all things. "You yourſelves, "ſaid he, have made no ſcruple "to ſtrip the *Albanians*, *Fide-* "*nates*, *Volſcii*, &c. of the great- "eſt part of their territories; "and yet you did nothing, in "all this, that we pretend to "cenſure, as either ſtrange, or "unjuſt: for you only follow- "ed the prime and moſt an- "tient of all laws, which obliges "the weak to give way to the "ſtrong. This law ſeems to be "derived from the Deity itſelf, "and extends down to the very "brutes, amongſt which, the "ſtrongeſt naturally ſeek to "ſubdue the weakeſt. Ceaſe, "then, to take the part of the "beſieged *Cluſians*, leſt the *Gauls* "ſhould one day think them- "ſelves obliged, in their turn, "to ſhew the ſame compaſſion "towards thoſe whom you have "oppreſſed." This was, indeed, ſuch an argument as the *Romans* could never anſwer, but tacitly approved, and followed, though they had not the ingenuity to own it, as the *Gauls* did, upon all ſuch occaſions. What the ſucceſs of this embaſſy was, is foreign to our preſent ſubject: we have given a full account of it in a former volume (3), and only repeat it here to ſhew, by what laws this nation was chiefly governed; to wit, that of the ſtrongeſt arm; and that if ever they had any other laws, they ſuffered them to be ſuperſeded by this, which they falſly called the law of nature.

(3) *See before, vol.* xi. *p.* 531, *& ſeq.*

to

to that received maxim of theirs, that Providence was engaged to ſide with the right party; and that ſucceſs was a ſure token that the conqueror had the beſt title to the thing in diſpute. And as the party who thought himſelf injured had a right to appeal to this way of duel, to juſtify his diſſatisfaction, even though the king himſelf had given ſentence againſt him, and his opponent was obliged to ſubmit to it; ſo if the caſe of the two contenders was ſo intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they uſed to adjudge them to this method of ending the conteſt. Even the very witneſſes, if their depoſitions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themſelves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by ſingle combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any ſentence that was paſſed either by king, or court of judicature (I).

and in all dubious caſes.

To ſuch a degree of fondneſs for theſe ſingle combats were they grown, that the very candidates for places of honour or truſt, when their pretenſions or merit were eſteemed nearly equal, had recourſe to it; and, even among the druids themſelves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any diſpute aroſe about the number or validity of the votes of thoſe who had the chooſing of him [a]. And, what was ſtill more prodigious, theſe challenges were often ſent for mere punctilios, and trifling piques, eſpecially at their feaſts, and drunken revels, and many times out of mere oſtentation, and to make parade of their ſtrength

Strange fondneſs for duels.

[a] Comment. l. vi. c. 13. TACIT. ann. l. xxiii. c. 57. N. DAMASCEN. VEGET. de re milit. & al.

(I) Accordingly, we read of two contending brothers in *Spain*, between whom *Scipio* would fain have compromiſed their diſpute about the ſucceſſion; who told him, with one accord, that they would ſubmit to no judgment, either of God or man, but to that of *Mars* (4). *Herodotus*, who often confounds the *Scythians* with the *Celtes*, tells us, that they were wont to keep, and ſhew to the ſtrangers, that traveled through their countries, the heads of thoſe whom they had thus overcome in ſingle combat, in quarrels about property, honour, and ſuch-like (5). The ſame cuſtom was alſo practiſed among the *Germans*, who are reported to have lulled *Varro* aſleep, by complimenting him with having found out the means to end quarrels and diſputes by the way of juſtice, which they were wont to decide by the ſword (6).

(4) *Livy, l.* xxvii. *c.* 21. (5) *Herodot. l.* vi. *c.* 65. (6) *Velleii Paterc. l.* i. *c.* 118.

and

and bravery. We ſhall give two or three inſtances out of *Livy* in the note (K), which will ſufficiently ſhew how fond and tenacious they were of this general law of deciding all controverſies by the ſword.

Still preſerved among the French.

How long this duelling humour has been preſerved among ſome of our neighbours, and how little to their credit, in ſpite of their ſpecious pretence of honour, we need not here obſerve: their anceſtors, it is plain from their hiſtory, made war their chiefeſt trade, and higheſt glory; and if they carried that favourite paſſion to exceſs, this may be ſaid, in extenuation of it, not only that the ſame warlike phrenſy reigned all over *Europe*, and far beyond, but, likewiſe, they were under a kind of neceſſity of indulging it to the utmoſt, in order to put a ſtop to the encroachments of a neighbouring nation, who aimed at no leſs than the enſlaving of all the world (L). No wonder,

(K) Speaking of the funeral obſequies which *Scipio Africanus* performed to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the *Spaniſh* wars, *he tells us*, that there came vaſt crouds of perſons of diſtinction to *Carthagena*, a city in *Spain*, ſaid to have been built by *Aſdrubal*, to honour that ceremony by ſingle combats. "Theſe, ſays he, did "not fight like common gladia-"tors, either by force, or for "money, but of their own ac-"cord, and free will." Some were ſent thither by their princes, to diſplay their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight there out of oſtentation; and others, becauſe they could not refuſe the challenge that was ſent to them. Amongſt them were ſome, who, having lawſuits, or ſome controverſies with others, agreed among themſelves to put off the deciſion of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the eſtate or thing in diſpute ſhould fall to the conqueror (7). The other inſtance, which we have out of the ſame author (8), is of ſome *Gauliſh* mountaineers, who were generally looked upon as ſome of the rudeſt and fierceſt of that nation, whom *Hannibal* had taken priſoners; theſe the *Carthaginian* general ordered to be brought at the head of his army; and, having provided them with a ſufficient number of *Gallic* arms, offered them their liberty, upon condition that they ſhould engage in ſingle combat, and vanquiſh every man his antagoniſt; promiſing, moreover, that every victor ſhould be preſented with an horſe, and a ſet of warlike accoutrements. This they readily accepted, and, in ſight of the whole army, fought with ſuch intrepid bravery, that the ſpectators knew not which to admire moſt, the victor, or the vanquiſhed.

(L) The *Gauls*, as well as *Germans*, *Spaniards*, &c. had the more reaſon to oppoſe the *Romans*,

(7) *Livy*, *l.* xxviii. *c.* 21. (8) *L.* xxi. *c.* 42.

wonder, then, if in ſuch a caſe they uſed all poſſible means to inure themſelves to martial deeds, to inſpire their youth with a contempt of death, and thirſt after glory and liberty, and to prefer an honourable death to an ignominious ſlavery. This became, accordingly, ſuch a ſettled maxim among them, that they ſeemed to have no other concern in this world, than either to preſerve their liberty, or to avoid ſlavery by a noble death [b]. Whenever, therefore, we ſhall ſee their deſcendents encourage theſe kinds of ſingle combats from the ſame laudable motives, we ſhall readily own them to tread in the ſteps of their warlike anceſtors. But if their views rather tend to rob other nations of their liberty, than to preſerve their own, they will be juſtly chargeable with having improved the *Gallic* ferocity, by the ſuperaddition of the *Roman* ambition and tyranny. But to return to the antient *Gauls*:

Exceſſive love of liberty.

THEY had ſuch a ſingular contempt of life, when not accompanied with liberty and martial deeds, that either upon the appearance of ſervitude, or incapacity of action through old age, wounds, or any chronic diſeaſes, they either put an end to their days, or elſe prevailed upon their friends to do it, eſteeming this laſt ſtate as much a kind of ſlavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themſelves ſo ſtreightly beſieged by their enemies, that

Their deſperate behaviour.

[b] TACIT. ann. l. ii. c. 15.

mans, with all their might, becauſe they knew, by the experience of other nations, that, where-ever theſe new conquerors got the better, they overturned their fundamental laws, put an end to all their public councils, gave them new governors and magiſtrates, diſarmed the people, loaded them with ſuch heavy taxes, and ſubjected them to ſuch a new form of government, as appeared to them intolerable.

To all theſe we may add a much greater inſtance of the *Roman* tyranny; which was, that when any of theſe brave nations, that had been unfortunately brought under their heavy yoke, made any attempt, as it was natural and laudable in them to do, or were even but ſuſpected by their deſpotic maſters to have a deſign, to regain their liberty, they were ſure to be made ſuch dreadful examples to the reſt, as can hardly be mentioned without horror. We ſhall refer our readers to the *Roman* hiſtory, for numberleſs inſtances of their cruelty to thoſe brave nations, and only obſerve here, that nothing could more effectually inſpire ſuch a brave warlike one as this of the *Gauls*, with a ſpirit of liberty, and deteſtation of the *Roman* tyranny, than thoſe diſmal cataſtrophes of their unfortunate neighbours, which they had before their eyes.

they

they could hold out no longer, inſtead of thinking how to make the moſt honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care, many times, was, to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into ſlavery. In the field, when they were forced to make ſuch a haſty retreat, that they could not readily procure carriages for thoſe who were not able to follow them on foot, as the ſick, wounded, and the like; they made no ſcruple to diſpatch them out of hand. And this was ſo far from being reckoned an hardſhip on them, that it was what they begged, with the greateſt vehemence and earneſtneſs; of all which we have ſeen very many inſtances through the courſe of this work, and ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin in the note two more, very remarkable in their kind (M).

In

(M) The firſt is of their famous, and, till then, ſucceſsful general, *Brennus*, who, being dangerouſly wounded in that unfortunate expedition which he undertook againſt *Greece, and* ſeeing *his army* deſtroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, called together the broken remnant of his troops, and adviſed them to chooſe *Cichorius* for their leader, who ſhould firſt diſpatch him, and all the ſick and wounded, and afterwards lead them back into their own country. The thing was accordingly executed by him, and twenty thouſand of that unhappy people were put to death. *Brennus*, only, choſe to die by his own hands, as the moſt glorious death of the two, in his opinion (9). The other is of thoſe *Gauls*, who, being on the eve of giving battle to *Antigonus*, and being threatened by their aruſpices with a total overthrow, went firſt, and killed their wives and children, and then reſolutely marched to meet that glorious death, which their ſoothſayers had foretold to them (1). With the ſame ſpirit of liberty *did thoſe act, who were unfortunately taken priſoners by their* enemies, before they had time to diſpatch themſelves: for if once the conqueror began to treat them as ſlaves, to load them with chains, or condemn them to hard labour, they ſeldom failed taking the firſt opportunity of putting an end to their ſlavery by a voluntary death; even the very loading them with chains, as was commonly uſed by all nations, has raiſed this ſpirit in them to ſuch an height, that they have ruſhed upon, and butchered, one another, by mutual conſent (2). Neither was this love of liberty confined to the men, their women are no leſs famous for it in hiſtory; nor did they come ſhort of the *Spartan*, and other female heroines, but rather ex-

(9) *Excerpt. ex Diod. Sic. l.* xxii. *op. legal. Hæſchel. p.* 158. *Vide Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l.* ii. *c.* 14. *Juſtin. ex Trog. l.* xxiv. *c.* 8. *Pauſan. in Phoc. c.* 23.
(1) *Juſtin. l.* xxvi. .. 2. (2) *Iidem ibid. Vide & Florum, l.* ii. *c.* 11. iv. 12.

celled

In the mean time, it will not be improper to take notice of a judicious reflection which *Strabo* makes upon this exceſſive love of liberty, and contempt of death, which reigned among the *Gauls*; to wit, that it very much facilitated the conqueſt of that nation; becauſe their pouring thus furiouſly their numerous troops upon ſuch an experienced enemy as the *Romans* were, under *Cæſar*, their want of conduct and circumſpection, made them rather increaſe the number of the vanquiſhed, than ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror; whereas thoſe in *Spain*, by dividing their forces, and a prudent choice of the moſt advantageous grounds, and ſtrongeſt paſſes, and diſputing with them every ſuch place, inch by inch, made their conqueſt more difficult, and longer in completing [c]. This remark is certainly very juſt, and the *Spaniards*, by joining policy to their valour, put off their ſlavery ſome few years longer; whereas the *Gauls*, truſting too much to their number and bravery, were more ſpeedily reduced: yet were the former wanting in a main point of politics, as we have obſerved in their hiſtory [d], and divided into too many ſtates and intereſts; whereas, had they joined their forces againſt the common enemy, they might, in all likelihood, have baffled all the *Roman* valour and policy. For, as the ſame hiſtorian obſerves, in another place [e], it was by this way of conquering one little ſtate after another, that both the *Carthaginians*, and, after them, the *Romans*, made themſelves maſters of that country.

Strabo's judicious remark upon it.

This is not a proper place to inquire into the cauſes that occaſioned the loſs of liberty to the *Gauliſh* nation: it will more properly be done, when we have brought their hiſtory down to that ſad cataſtrophe. The point we are upon is, their valour, and love of their country, laws, and liberty, in which noble virtues no nation ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than this, or was more dreaded by the *Romans* for them. Witneſs that law which the latter made, and is recorded by

Their ſuperior valour dreaded by the Romans.

[c] Strab. l. iv. [d] See before, p. 490. [e] Strab. l. iii.

celled them, in this deſperate kind of fury; inſomuch that, when they have perceived their men to give ground, they have ſallied out, armed with axes, and ſuch other weapons as came firſt to hand, and, with moſt hideous outcries, fallen foul both on the fugitives, and on their enemies; on the firſt, as betrayers of their country; and on the others, as invaders of their liberties. We ſhall give ſome remarkable inſtances of this female valour under the next head.

ſeveral of their own writers [f], whereby all diſpenſations formerly granted to prieſts, old men, and invalids, were to be made void, in caſe they were threatened with any tumult or danger from the *Gauls*; which law is, moreover, taken notice of by *Cicero* [g], and by *Cæſar* himſelf [h]; ſo that there was a time when they were more afraid of the *Gauliſh* valour, than of any other nation, or even their neighbours the *Germans*, whoſe ſuperiors they proved themſelves ſo far in this point, that they forced their own colonies upon them beyond the *Rhine*, whenever their vaſt increaſe made their own territories too ſtreight for them. We ſhall conclude this article with a remarkable paſſage or two out of *Juſtin*, as follow [i]:

Juſtin's *account of their conqueſts*, &c.

"THE *Gauls*, finding their multitudes to increaſe ſo faſt, "that their lands could not afford them ſufficient ſuſtenance, "ſent out three hundred thouſand ſouls to ſeek for new habi- "tations: part of theſe ſettled in *Italy*, and theſe both took "and burnt the city of *Rome*; another part penetrated as far "as the ſhores of *Dalmatia*, and, having deſtroyed there an "infinite number of barbarians, ſettled themſelves at laſt in "*Pannonia*. A bold, hardy, and martial nation this, who "ventured (next after *Hercules*, who, by the like attempt, "raiſed himſelf to the higheſt pitch of reputation, and title to "immortality) to croſs the almoſt inacceſſible rocks of the "*Alps*, and places ſcarcely paſſable through their exceſſive "coldneſs; where, having totally ſubdued the *Pannonians*, "they waged war with the neighbouring provinces for many "years."—And a little after,—"Being encouraged by their "ſucceſs, others ſubdivided their parties; ſome took their "way to *Græcia*, ſome to *Macedonia*, deſtroying all before "them with fire and ſword. And ſo great a terror did the "name of *Gauls* ſpread round about them, that ſeveral kings, "not in the leaſt threatened by them, came, of their own "accord, and purchaſed their peace with large ſums of mo- "ney."—And in the very next book he adds, that "So "great was the fruitfulneſs of the *Gauls* at that time, that "they filled all *Aſia* with their ſwarms; inſomuch that none "of the eaſtern monarchs either ventured to make war with- "out a mercenary army of them, or, if driven out of their "kingdom, fled to any other but to them, for refuge."

The bravery of the Gauliſh women.

WE ſhall have the leſs room either to doubt of, or to wonder at, what we read in antient authors concerning the ſingular valour, and love of liberty, of the *Gauliſh* nation, if we

[f] LIVY, l. viii. APPIAN l. ii. Vide & PLUT. in vit. Marcel. & Camil. & TACIT. de morib. German. [g] Philippic. ii.
[h] Comment. l. vi. [i] Hiſt. l. xxiv.

conſider, that it was as remarkable in their women as in their men; ſo that both ſexes had it, in ſome meaſure, transfuſed in their blood; they ſucked it at the breaſt, and learned the firſt rudiments of it in the very nurſery. We have hinted a little higher, what pains theſe viragoes took to keep up their men from giving ground to the enemy, and with what intrepid fury they fell, indifferently, upon thoſe who turned their backs upon them, and upon thoſe who purſued them: we ſhall now, according to our promiſe, add ſome few inſtances more of this female bravery, from undoubted authority.

Some remarkable inſtances of it.

THE *Ambrones*, ſays *Plutarch* [k] (a *Gauliſh* people, who lived near the foot of the *Alps*, between *Switzerland* and *Provence*), having been defeated by *Marius* near *Aix* in *Provence*, were purſued by the *Romans* quite to their carriages: there they found the women armed with ſwords and hatchets, who, mingling themſelves with victors and vanquiſhed, did, with one hand, ſtrive to wrench their bucklers from them, and, with the other, to diſpatch them, and never let go their hold but with their lives. This might be imputed to their fury and deſpair; but, when they found themſelves loſt beyond recovery, they ſent to demand of the conqueror three things; to wit, firſt, Their liberty, that is, that they might not be condemned to ſlavery: ſecondly, That their chaſtity might be preſerved inviolate: and, thirdly, That they might be employed in the ſervice of the *Veſtals*. Theſe conditions having been rejected by *Marius*, they were all found, on the next day, either hanging on trees, or wallowing in their own blood, with their children butchered by them, and by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume [l], another, and even more dreadful inſtance of this love of liberty, in the *Cimbrian* women; the circumſtances of which are ſo ſhocking, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the trouble of repeating them here. The ſame deſperate reſiſtance *Julius Cæſar* is reported to have met with from the *Helvetian* women, when, having defeated their huſbands, he came to take poſſeſſion of their camp, and their baggage: for both the women, and their young ſons, defended themſelves to the laſt, chooſing rather to be cut in pieces, than to be carried into ſlavery [m]. The *Dalmatian* women are likewiſe reported to have ſet fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themſelves,

Conditions propoſed to Marius *to ſurrender.*

Deſpair on rejecting them.

[k] In vita Marii. Vide & OROS. l. vi. c. 16. FLOR. l. iii. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1. ad fin. HIERON. epiſt. ad Geront.

[l] Vol. xiii. p. 18, & ſeq. Vide & auct. ſup. citat.

[m] PLUTARCH. in vit. Cæſar.

and their children, into it; whilſt others hurried themſelves, and them, into the next river [n] (N).

Their martial diſcipline.

WHAT their military diſcipline was, is hard to gueſs: by what we have hitherto ſeen, it ſeems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in ſuch vaſt multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than diſcretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hoſts as occaſion required, but truſting altogether to their numbers, and reinleſs bravery, ſufficiently ſhews them to have been greatly wanting in this reſpect: and this ſeems the true reaſon why they had ſuch ill ſucceſs, whenever they engaged with other nations, eſpecially the *Romans* (O). Their chief talent

[n] DIO CASS. in excerpt. Valeſ. l. lvi. & lxxvii.

(N) The ſame we read of thoſe of *Iſtria*, *Illyrium*, *Spain*, and other *Gauliſh* nations (3), as well as thoſe of *Germany*, who retained more of the old *Celtic* ferocity, than any of the reſt: of theſe laſt we ſhall give a remarkable inſtance, as they ſhewed this love of liberty, not in the heat of deſpair, but in cool blood; for a number of theſe, being taken priſoners by the *Romans*, and ſcorning to be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, had it offered to their choice, whether they would be publicly ſold, or be maſſacred; but, unanimouſly, preferred the latter. The emperor, however, not taking them at their word, cauſed them to be expoſed to ſale; upon which, they all ruſhed into a voluntary death, many of them having firſt ſent their children before, in the ſame way (4). The ſame ſpirit may be ſaid to have run through all the deſcendents of the ancient *Celtes* (5), and extended even to their children. The author laſt quoted mentions a ſtripling, in *Spain*, who, ſeeing his whole family taken priſoners, and having, by chance, ſtumbled upon a ſword, fulfilled the orders which his father had given him, to free them from their miſery, and put them all to death with it. He mentions, likewiſe, a woman, who ventured to free a number of other priſoners in the ſame way: ſo that we may conclude this article with what *Oroſius* ſays of the *Gauliſh* nation; when, ſpeaking of thoſe *Iſtrian Gauls* who choſe to burn themſelves, rather than capitulate with the beſiegers, he adds, that there was neither man, woman, nor child, that did not prefer death to ſlavery (6).

(O) One might, at leaſt, have expected that thoſe continual wars, which they waged with theſe laſt, and their being ſo conſtantly hired as auxiliaries, ſometimes by them, and oftener by other warlike people, would have, in time, rendered them the

(3) *Appian. Illyr. Oroſ. &c.* (4) *Dio Caſſ. in excerpt. Valeſ. l.* lvi. & *l.* lxxvii. (5) *Strabo, l.* iii. (6) *L.* v. *c.* 14.

moſt

talent ſeems to have conſiſted, principally, in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberleſs troops with incredible fury and ſpeed, and ſpreading terror wherever they came; in ſurmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardſhips, that fell in their way, and falling upon their enemies with dreadful ſhouts, and deſperate eagerneſs, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almoſt peculiar to them; and, when all theſe failed, as it often did whenever they were engaged with troops that were better diſciplined, and trained up in all the politic arts, and ſtratagems of war; their laſt reſource was, to ſignalize their valour, and love of liberty, by ſuch deſperate exits as thoſe we have lately hinted. Much of their ſucceſs was owing to their horſe, and armed chariots, in both which reſpects they diſplayed ſuch a wonder- *Rude manner of engaging, fighting, &c.*

moſt expert nation in the art of war, conſidering their hereditary fierceneſs, intrepid valour, contempt of death, thirſt for glory and conqueſt, and their invincible dread of ſlavery; all which were ſtrongly rooted in them by education, and continual exerciſe in martial deeds: for, beſides what we have lately ſaid of their excellent way of training up, and inuring their youth to the military trade, we muſt remind our readers of an excellent method they learned of their anceſtors, the *Celtes*, which was, to have their martial laws couched in ſome kinds of verſes, or ſongs, ſet to proper tunes, and adorned with all the ſuitable embelliſhments of rhetoric and poetry. Theſe the youth were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions; ſo that they had learned all the rudiments of military diſcipline long before they were able to bear arms (7); and it is not unlikely, that they likewiſe initiated them in the practice before that time.

In theſe ſongs, or poems, were, moreover, recorded the actions of the great and brave, the victories which they gained over their enemies, the names of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in them, and the monuments which were erected in memory of them. For as theſe bards and ſongſters never committed any thing to writing, or (if they did, for their own ſakes, and the better remembring the vaſt number of ſuch pieces, which time, and their continual wars, muſt of courſe occaſion, yet) they never let them go out of their keeping, they were wont to rear up monuments, which were nothing but rude heaps of huge ſtones, artfully, and by main ſtrength, laid one over another, without any inſcription: ſo that the people were obliged to have recourſe to thoſe poems for the meaning of theſe monumental heaps; of which the reader will find many inſtances in the authors quoted below (8).

(7) *See before, vol.* vi. *p.* 29. *Stonehenge. Keyſler. antiq. ſeptentr. & German. antiq. paſſ.*

(8) *Rowland's Mona antiqua. Stukely's Borel. antiq. Gauloiſ. Cluver. Ital. &*

Dexterity of horse and armed chariots. An excellent method among them.

ful dexterity, as, joined to their bravery, seldom failed of doing considerable execution. When they came to be divided into small kingdoms and commonwealths, their method was, to divide their armies, in time of action, in the same manner, that the merit and prowess, as well as the faults and misbehaviour, of every nation and tribe, might be better known, and that every man might be thereby excited to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. But this, though excellently well designed at first, was attended with great inconveniencies, and often threw things into confusion, either for want of a general discipline, or through the jealousy and misunderstanding between their commanders, and especially from the time the *Romans* undertook the conquest of *Gaul*, through the treachery of those who had been corrupted by them.

Superstitious observations before they engaged.

ONE thing more we must not omit, concerning their military discipline, which is, their extreme superstition, in which they seemed to outdo all other nations: they were very careful in observing the moon, in particular; and avoided, as much as possible, engaging the enemy before it was past the full. An eclipse of it was looked upon as such a bad omen, that no appearing advantage, how great soever, or, indeed, any thing but *absolute necessity*, *that is*, *nothing* but *their being attacked*, and forced either to defend *themselves*, or die, could induce them to fight; and then they engaged more like desperadoes, than regular troops. They gave, moreover, particular heed to their druids and aruspices, who, in their auguries, are branded with using some very inhuman ceremonies, of which we have given some hints in speaking of their religion. If the augury promised them success, those *diviners* used to march before them with songs, and dances, and musical instruments, until the onset began; but if it proved otherwise, they forbore fighting, if possible, till they met with a more favourable one: but dreadful was their case, whenever they were forced to engage after a sinister omen, or threatening augury; for then such panic horror and despair reigned through their hosts, that they rather strove to avoid slavery by a speedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy, and give the lye to their knavish aruspices, and their conjuring tricks.

Their armour, weapons, &c.

THEIR weapons and armour, as they were antiently in use among the *Celtes*, we have elsewhere given an account of[9]; but whether through a shew of bravery, or a contempt of those which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others in their wars with the *Romans*, but

[9] Vol. vi. p. 29, & seq.

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their bows and arrows, the ſword and lance, which laſt was either longer or ſhorter, according to their fancy, and the ſhield; and yet it was with theſe weapons that they performed ſuch aſtoniſhing feats, as made them, a long time, a terror to their enemies. They deſpiſed the helmet, cuiraſs, and other ſuch defenſive armour, and rather choſe to fight half, and ſome quite naked. They were utter ſtrangers to thoſe machines which other nations uſed in ſieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather laid their chief ſtreſs on a briſk and fierce attack, which they began with throwing clouds of ſtones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which, they ſcaled them, with the utmoſt fierceneſs and rapidity. This fierceneſs often proved fatal to them, eſpecially when they have chanced to meet with a ſtout repulſe, as they frequently did, from the *Romans*; for, in all ſuch caſes, they loſt all their courage, and preſence of mind, and ſuffered themſelves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence (P). But we have, by this time, followed them long enough in that bloody track; let us now take a view of them in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and ſciences, trade and navigation, *&c.*

Contempt of defenſive arms, warlike engines, &c.

Their language. Antiently the old Gomerian *or* Welſh.

WE begin with their language, which being univerſally allowed to have been the old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, of which we have given a full account in a former volume [p], we ſhall have the leſs to ſay of it here, except it be ſo far as relates to the changes it underwent after it divided itſelf into as many dialects as the whole nation was into little ſtates. There is ſcarcely any doubt but this old *Celtic* was the common language ſpoken all over *Europe*. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which barely to abſtract, would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a ſubject for the greateſt part of our readers; but he has further confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the *German* language was originally a dialect of the old *Celtic* [q]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of his proofs, in the

[p] Ibid. p. 30, & ſeq. See alſo before, vol. vi. p. 31, & (C).

[q] PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 15.

(P) Thoſe who choſe rather to ſurrender, laid down their arms, and preſented their left ſhoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked boſoms, in token of ſubmiſſion; after which, they ſcattered ſome of their money, plate, and fine cloaths, amongſt them, to bribe their conquerors. Theſe inſtances, however, of ſubmiſſion, were but ſcarce and rare amongſt them, in compariſon of thoſe in which they preferred death to ſlavery.

history of the antient *Germans* immediately following: in the mean time, so far as relates to the *Gauls* we are now treating of, it is manifest, that they all used this language, and that it was that same which is still preserved in several parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Biscay*, *Britany*, *Cornwal*, and *Wales*, but no-where more purely than in *North Wales* (Q).

Latin, Greek, &c. *derived from it.*

We formerly observed, that not only most of the modern *European* languages were manifestly dialects, more or less distant, of this old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, but that even the *Greek* and *Latin*, and other antient ones, had such a surprising affinity with it, as if they had split themselves from the same block, and that very many of them plainly appeared to be of *Celtic* extract (R). We may add what *Quintilian* observes of the antient *Latin*, that till about the middle of the consular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expressions, having

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(Q) What occasioned this to be called in question, by several learned men, was, that *Julius Cæsar* (9) in his division of the *Gauls* into the *Belgæ*, *Aquitani*, and *Celtæ*, affirms, that they differed not only in their customs, but language. To which we may add what *Strabo* (1) and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (2) say of them, that they were not of one language, but differed a little from one another; or, as we take their meaning to be, used different dialects of the same language: for so it will appear plainly, to those who shall take the pains to trace those antient dialects to their true origin, as it was brought from the *Gauls* into our isle, and is still retained in its pristine purity, in that part of it called *North Wales*, and compare it with those alterations which, in time, it underwent, in those other parts of *Europe*, where it is still preserved, tho' nothing so pure and unmixed, such as are *South Wales*, *Cornwal*, *Ireland*, the isles of *Man* and *Anglesey*, and some parts of the highlands of *Scotland* amongst us, and in *Britany*, *Biscay*, and some other parts of the continent: such a scrutiny will easily discover, not only the true original mother from her spurious offspring, but the different chanels by which this odd and corrupt mixture conveyed itself into the latter.

(R) Of this we have interspersed some instances, in a former volume (3); but shall, for the satisfaction of our *English* readers, add a few more, and place them so, that they may have so much of them at one view, as will clearly make out what we have said; and refer them, for a more copious number, to the authors quoted below (4).

(9) *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 1. (1) *L.* iv. (2) *L.* xv. (3) *Vol.* vi. *p.* 30, *& seq.* (4) *Pezron. antiq. nat. Celt. ad fin. Mona antiq. posth. præfert. p.* 43, *& seq.* 252, 308, 315, *& seq. Hickes's thes. ling. Septentr. Lluyd's lexic. Keysler. antiq. Septentr. in addend. Edwards's specim. ling. Celt. & Hebr.*

Tir,

in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, moſt of them *Gauliſh*[r]; ſo that if thoſe which have been ſince loſt, or changed, were to be added to thoſe which ſtill remain, the conformity would appear yet greater. And if thoſe *Gauls* who were afterwards conquered by the *Romans*, had not,

[r] L. i. c. 5.

Tir, terra.
Mor, mare.
Engil, ignis.
Awyr, aer.
Aur, aurum.
Avon, amnis.
Ghwydr, vitrum.
Ffynnon, fons.
Mur, murus.
Marw, mori.
Trev, tribus.
Offrail, offertorium.
Anival, animal.
Tirva, turma.
Terwin, terminus.
Calav, calamus.
Arva, arma.
Gayau, hyems.
Llyvr, liber.
Nyver, numerus.
Geveil, gemelli.
Priv, primus.

The ſame may be ſaid, alſo, of the heathen gods, whom we have ſhewed, under a former article, to have been of *Celtic* extract, as well as their names, which are thus etymologized:

Jupiter, Jovis, { *Jeuanc, Juvenis princeps,* the youngeſt of *Saturn*'s ſons.
Tonans, *Taran,* thunderer.
Mars, Mavors, { *Mawyr ruyſk,* warlike, powerful; whence, probably, *Maurice.*
Neptune, *Noſddyfn,* ſwimming on the waves.
Mercury, { *Merk wr,* a merchant; or *March wr,* a ſwift runner, or meſſenger.
Talamon, al. Atlas, { *Telmon,* a tall man, ſuch as he is feigned to have been.
Hermes, { *Armes,* a diviner; in which art he is ſaid to have excelled all the reſt.
Teutat, { *Dhew-taith,* the traveler's god; or from *teu tat,* the father of the people.
Hercules, { *Erchyl,* horrid, dreadful, whether on account of his deeds, or of that attitude in which he was repreſented.
Vulcan, { *Wael gain,* or *ginta,* the inventor of ſteel, or ſteel armour.
Apollo, *Ap haul, ap heulin,* the ſon of the ſun.
Titan, *Ti taan,* the houſe of fire.
Triton, *Trwydon,* a wanderer on the waters.
Rhea, Jove's mother, *Rheys,* a princeſs, or lady.
Juno, { *Jevanc,* a young princeſs; or from *Ghuin,* fair.
Venus, *Ghuin,* white, fair.
Diana, *Di anaf,* ſpotleſs, chaſte, untouched.
Minerva, { *Min arfau,* the temperer of ſharp tools and weapons.

partly

partly out of neceſſity, partly out of mere complaiſance, adopted a great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might ſtill behold a much greater nearneſs between the *Low Briton*, *Biſcayaneer*, *Iriſh*, &c. and the pure *North Welſh*. So that the only reaſon why theſe laſt have retained it in ſuch purity, muſt be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themſelves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the *Iſraelites*, during their long abode in *Egypt*, preſerving their original *Hebrew*, which they ſuffered to be greatly corrupted, and, amongſt a great part of them, almoſt loſt, in a ſeventy years captivity. Now, as it is univerſally allowed, that moſt of the *Aſiatic* tongues, ſuch as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Armenian*, &c. borrowed moſt of their radical or primitive words from the *Hebrew*, ſo this old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, which was the language of *Gomer*, and his deſcendents, who firſt inhabited *Europe*, was the mother of moſt of the *European* languages, at leaſt as far as *Scythia* and *Sarmatia*, which were peopled by *Gog* and *Magog*, two other branches of *Japhet*'s offspring: and as there is ſuch a vaſt affinity between thoſe two mother-tongues, we mean the *Hebrew* and *Gomerian* [s], or antient *Celtic*, it is not to be wondered, *if we find the ſame reſemblance* diffuſing itſelf through all their derivatives; ſuch as the *High* and *Low Dutch*, the *Latin* and *Greek*, the *Arabic*, *Perſian*, &c. and, particularly, between the *Greek*, *Roman*, and old *Celtic*, as the authors laſt quoted have ſufficiently ſhewed, as well as accounted for.

The notion of their ſpeaking Greek, *exploded.*

We have been the more particular on this ſubject, becauſe ſeveral learned men have maintained, that the *Gauls* commonly uſed the *Greek* tongue [t]. Nothing can be more wild, or more contrary to all that we meet with in antient authors concerning the *Gauliſh* language, than ſuch an aſſumption, which may be eaſily overthrown by one or two expreſs paſſages we meet with in *Julius Cæſar*. The one is, that in a conference which he had with *Divitiacus*, an *Æduan* or *Gauliſh* lord, he was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter; and yet *Cæſar* was a perfect maſter of the *Greek* [u]. The other, which is ſtill more expreſs, is, that when that conqueror found himſelf under a neceſſity to write to *Quintus Cicero*, who was then beſieged in his camp, he made uſe of the *Greek* tongue, leſt his letter ſhould fall into the hands of ſome

[s] Vide Edwards's ſpecimen. Lluyd's grammar. Pezron. antiq. nat. Celt. Hickes's theſaur. Mona antiqua, p. 278, & ſeq.
[t] Vide Hottoman. Franco-Gallia, c. 2. [u] Comment. l. i. c. 19.

of

of the *Gauls*, and discover his designs to them [w]; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of that nation. *Strabo* doth indeed tell us, that the *Massilians* cultivated all sorts of polite literature, and, particularly the *Greek*, to such a degree, that the rest of the *Gauls* were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, insomuch that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it [x]. But then it is plain, first, that he only speaks of those *Gauls* who were neighbours to *Marseilles*, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited several learned men out of that famed city to instruct their youth, or sent their children to be educated there: secondly, If the rest of the *Gauls* afterwards followed their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own: and, thirdly, That this fashion of learning and using the *Greek* tongue did not begin till *Strabo*'s time (S).

[w] L. v. c. 12. [x] L. iv.

(S) Accordingly, St. *Jerom* tells us, upon the authority of a passage which he has preserved out of *Varro*, that the *Massilians* spoke three sorts of languages, the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gaulish* (5). Hence we may conclude, that the *Greek* tongue was only introduced among the learned, but was not the original language of the *Gauls*. We might further confirm this from a number of antient monuments, and especially from the antient names of provinces, cantons, rivers, cities, mountains, &c. but we think the case sufficiently plain, without any such further proofs. The *Greek* characters, indeed, were in use among them in *Cæsar*'s time, as we shall hint under the next head; but as for their tongue, it plainly appears to have been brought into use much later still, and that only among the learned and polite. As to the present language of that country, those who are ever so little skilled in antient ones, may easily perceive it to be a medley of other tongues, the greater half of which is taken from the *Latin*, as the *Romans* were very industrious to propagate and cultivate it in all their conquered dominions. The rest is plainly a mixture of the old *Celtic*, of the *Frank* or *German*, as this afterwards greatly deviated from its original; and the rest seems to be of *Greek* extraction. For it has been observed, by judicious men of that nation, that many *Greek* words have been adopted by them into common use, which were not borrowed from the academies of the druids, who, for ought that appears, knew little of it, but from the schools of the *Massilians* we have lately spoken of.

(5) *Hieron. opera, tom.* ix. *p.* 135. *Vide Hottoman. ubi supra, & Pelloutier.* ii. c. 10.

BEFORE

The genius of their ſtile, and language.

BEFORE we diſmiſs this article of the *Gauliſh* language, it will not be amiſs to make a ſhort remark on its pretended rudeneſs and harſhneſs, againſt which both *Greek* and *Roman* authors have raiſed ſuch an unanimous outcry. According to them, it was enough to hear a *Celte* or *Gaul* ſpeak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greateſt part of their words, eſpecially of their proper names, of men, women, towns, rivers, *&c.* were ſo very harſh, that they could not be pronounced by ſtrangers, or written in other languages, without great difficulty; neither could they be inſerted in a poem, without murdering the verſe [y]. A foreigner could hardly hear them ſpoken without having his ears grated, or almoſt flayed with them [z]. The emperor *Julian* ſays, that it reſembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of ſome wild beaſt [a]. There muſt needs be allowed to be ſome exaggeration in theſe expreſſions, conſidering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears to thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to, or ignorant of it. It is not to be queſtioned, but even the *French* and *Italian*, emaſculated as they have been of late, appear ſo at firſt hearing: it muſt, however, be confeſſed, that, with reſpect to the *German*, there is leſs of the hyperbole; *and perhaps the antient Gauliſh might originally have a* great deal of that kind of harſhneſs, *which guttural and* ſome other hard conſonants, as well as too great a colluvies of them, will naturally cauſe, unleſs ſoftened by the interpoſition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly to diſculpate the latter; but would only obſerve, that there is a vaſt difference between thoſe two languages in this reſpect; and that the true *Celtic*, or *North Welſh*, though ſeemingly crouded with a number of conſonants, has yet a peculiar ſweetneſs, and is much more adapted for muſic and poetry, than we are ready generally to imagine: and, for proof of this, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume [b] (T).

THE

[y] PLIN. jun. l. vii. epiſt. 4. [z] DIOD. SIC. l. v. OVID. de triſt. eleg. xii. ver. 55. [a] Miſopog. [b] Vol. vi. p. 30, & ſeq. (B).

(T) Here it will not be amiſs to remind the reader, that their cuſtom of couching and preſerving all their laws, records, hiſtory, *&c.* in verſe, inured them to a ſtile more ſwoln, figurative, and emphatic, than that of other nations; on the other hand, their fierce and warlike diſpoſition might, in all probability, make them fonder both of that, and of their ſonorous and maſculine language, than of the ſmoother *Greek* and *Roman* proſe. To which we may add, that their natural averſion for the *Roman* nation

THE *Gauls* had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in proceſs of time, the *Greek* ones; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not do it till very late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to it; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obſtacle to it, and their druids or bards, whoſe intereſt it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this their prejudice againſt committing any thing of moment to writing, under pretence that it rather tended to deſtroy than preſerve the memory of them, as it was likely to be a kind of diſcouragement to them to learn them by heart out of their poetical compoſitions; whereas this laſt, they pretended, was the moſt effectual means of preſerving them, both from oblivion, and from falling into the hands of ſtrangers [c]: ſo that it was looked upon as a diſhonour for any of them to learn to read or write (U). And even after they began to introduce the uſe of letters, in their contracts, and the like civil concerns, the druids never ſuffered them to commit any thing relating to their hiſtory, laws, and much leſs to their religion, to writing [d]. Hence

Their writing and characters. Contempt of writing among the laity.

[c] Comment. l. vi. c. 14. [d] Idem ibid. STRAB. l. iv.

nation might not contribute a little to this oppoſition, eſpecially as they had reaſon to conſider all their ſweetneſs of language, ſtile, and behaviour, as ſo many ſnares to entrap people out of their liberty. If we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (6), their ſtile was not only ſwoln, conciſe, and Laconic, but intricate and obſcure, full of ſynecdoches and hyperboles; which the reader will find, perhaps, better accounted for by what we ſhall ſay, in the ſequel, concerning their manners and cuſtoms; in which, as well as their loftineſs and pompouſneſs of ſtile and language, they ſeem to have been more cloſely imitated by the *Spaniards*, than by any other *European* nation.

(U) *Ælian* has preſerved us a paſſage out of *Andretion*, to this purpoſe (7), that the antient *Thracians*, and, in general, all the barbarian nations, ſettled in *Europe*, were not only quite ignorant of letters, but had a ſingular contempt for them, tho' they were commonly uſed by thoſe that ſettled themſelves in *Aſia*. The ſame is affirmed of the *Hunns*, by *Procopius* (8); and this humour ſeems to have been ſo deeply rooted among them, that even *Theodoric* king of *Italy* could never be prevailed on to learn to write his own name, tho' he had ſpent a conſiderable part of his younger days among the *Romans*; but is reported, whenever he was obliged to ſign an edict, to have only made uſe of a golden plate, that had the four initial letters of it, *Teod*, ingraven upon it, and which he traced with his pen (9).

(6) *Lib.* v. (7) *Var. hiſt. l.* viii. *c.* 6. (8) *Goth. l.* iv. *c.* 13.
(9) *Excerpt. auct. incog. ap. Valeſium, ad calc. Ammian. Marcel.*

Origen

Origen might well tell his antagoniſt [e], that he never heard of any of their writings; and hence that ſcarcity of materials we meet with, in relation to their hiſtory, ſince they had no records but thoſe ſongs and verſes, which they carefully kept from ſtrangers; and periſhed, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or, at leaſt, with their old heatheniſh religion, upon their embracing Chriſtianity (W). It were to be wiſhed, that the Chriſtian prieſts and monks had not imitated, ſo cloſely, this druidiſh policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monaſteries; eſpecially in *Gaul* and *Germany*: for they ſeem ſo well to have cultivated this prejudice againſt it, among the laity, that they were forced to have recourſe to them whenever any will, grant, or public act, was to be made; and then both the perſons concerned in it, and the witneſſes, ſet their own marks, and the ſcrivener their names to it. But, with reſpect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of abſolute neceſſity to make uſe of writing, the *Greek* character ſeems to have been that which was in uſe among them, according to *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others, above quoted; and was brought into practice from *Marſeilles*, which was a *colony of the Greeks, or Gallogreeks*. How their conqueſt, and intercourſe with the *Romans*, afterwards introduced their character amongſt them, is obvious to every one, and we need not dwell any longer upon it.

Imitated ſince their converſion.

Merchants &c. uſed the Greek *character.*

As to their poetry, ſince it is altogether loſt, we can ſay little of it: yet it will not be amiſs to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern hiſtorian [f], who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expreſſes it, the reigning

The probable origin of their poetry.

[e] Con. Celſ. l. i. [f] PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 10.

(W) It is probable, indeed, that upon their converſion to the goſpel they might, by degrees, be ſo far ſhamed out of this ſuperſtitious fondneſs for concealing their laws, hiſtory, &c. that they might ſuffer them to be committed to writing from thenceforward: but as for thoſe hymns, and poetic compoſitions, which we are ſpeaking of, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they were ever preſerved, ſeeing both parties, that is, both the new converts, and thoſe who remained in their antient idolatry, were equally concerned to ſuppreſs them; the latter out of their natural zeal to conceal them, and the former on account of thoſe praiſes that were ſung in them, to their falſe deities, heroes, &c. and of thoſe abominable and inhuman rites that were performed in the worſhip of them. *Jornandes* tells us, indeed, that thoſe which were in uſe among the *Goths*, were ſtill extant in his time. If they were, it is plain they have ſince periſhed; and, moſt probably, for the very reaſon juſt now aſſigned.

ignorance,

ignorance, and contempt of letters, gave birth to those poetical compositions in *Europe*. This was, indeed, the most effectual method to preserve the memory of such momentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to commit to writing, and which, by this means, were not only easily learned and remembred, but, likewise, concealed from other nations. And such fondness did both *Gauls* and *Germans* conceive for these kind of performances, especially as they were set to proper tunes, that they seemed to relish nothing else, and shewed a natural contempt for those of the prosaic sort. And this humour still prevailed so strongly, even as low as the ninth century, that when *Lewis the Debonnaire* undertook to have the *Saxons* instructed in the holy scriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into *Saxon* verse [g]. The same was done by *Ottofridus*, with respect to the four gospels, which he caused to be translated into *German*, and put into verse: for as they could neither read, nor cared to learn, they consented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verse, and set to music for them, and they permitted to sing them on proper occasions. Some such compositions *Charles the Great* is said to have found among them, which were very antient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their antient kings, and which he caused, likewise, to be transcribed, for the same end [h] (X).

Their extreme fondness for it.

WE need not here repeat what we observed, in the last section, concerning their skill in astronomy and geometry,

Arts and sciences.

[g] Vide DU CHESNE rer. Francar. tom. ii. ap. Pelloutier, ubi sup.
[h] EGINHARD. in vit. Carol. Magn. c. 29.

(X) We have already hinted, more than once, what were the chief subjects of those antient poetic compositions: as to their metre, and other particulars relating to them, we are wholly in the dark, unless we guess at them by some of a more modern date; such as those which the author of *Mona Antiqua* has given us (1) out of *Taliesin*; who was poet laureat to *Maelgwyn*, about the time of *Austin* the monk's coming into *England*. But neither from these, nor from the character which antient authors have given us of the old *Gaulish* language, can we conclude them to have been either smooth or elegant, except with respect to the loftiness of their expressions and figures: yet would it not be fair to conclude, that they were all of the same kind; and we should have framed but a very wrong idea of the *Greek* poetry, if we had had no other poems to judge by, than those of a *Pindar*, *Lycophron*, and some others of their bards.

(1) *P.* 150.

from

from which we may juſtly infer, that if they were maſters of thoſe two ſciences, they muſt, of courſe, have cultivated many others, eſpecially ſuch as are depending on, or leading to them; but to what a number, or degree, cannot be eaſily determined, any more than what new ones thoſe were which they afterwards learned from the *Maſſilian* ſages. As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, as we have ſhewed above, eloquence was that wherein they prided themſelves moſt, and which, indeed, was moſt natural to them. They received, from their infancy, moſt of their inſtructions from thoſe poems which were compoſed by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occaſions, either read, or ſung; and as the greateſt part of them were of the heroic kind, ſo it inured them to a pompous and high-flown ſtyle. We have ſeen, that they repreſented *Mercury*, the god of eloquence, with the ſymbols of *Hercules*, to ſhew what vaſt power that art had over them, above all others. Theſe emblems they ſeem to have taken from the *Romans* (Y); and though they were ſo far from imitating them in their long-winded periods, flow and pompouſneſs of words and figures, but affected, *in the main, a conciſe and nervous* ſtyle, *yet they could not* forbear being taken with ſuch artful *declamations*, and pieces of oratory. This is, at leaſt, what *Cerealis*, a *Roman* general, upbraided them with in *Veſpaſian*'s time [i]; and *Cato* the cenſor tells us, that the *Gauls* made this eloquence, and exerciſe of arms, their chief ſtudy (Z).

Eloquence much in vogue in Gaul.

We

[i] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 73.

(Y) It is known, that the *Romans*, in all places of their public exerciſes, placed *Mercury* and *Hercules* in full view. The *Greeks* uſually ſet a *Cupid* between them, to ſhew, that love hath its origin from the other two, that is, from ſtrength and eloquence (2); and we read, that the *Megalopolitans* had but one temple for thoſe two deities (3), or even repreſented them under one and the ſame emblem (4).

(Z) And, indeed, nothing could be more natural, or neceſſary, in ſuch a country as this, where every little kingdom and commonwealth had its particular council; before which all matters relating to peace and war, and every affair, both public and private, were debated by the parties concerned, beſides the grand council of the whole nation, where the rights, privileges, pretenſions, and other concerns of every private ſtate, were to be conſidered, and finally determined, as we have ſeen before. But, after all, we would not ven-

(2) *Euſtat. in Odyſſ.* θ. (3) *Pauſan. in Arcad.* (4) *Ariſtid. orat. in Hercul.*

ture

Commerce.

WE have already taken notice, from the great regard they paid to the god *Mercury*, as he was the god of traffick, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is, moreover, proved, from a great number of antient inſcriptions, and, particularly, a famous one ſet up by the *Paris* merchants, and dedicated to *Jupiter the Good*. The reader will ſee it in the note (A), together with an hint or two of ſome curious

ture to affirm, that this art was equally cultivated all over *Gaul*; it is more likely, that the countries, ſtill unconquered by the *Romans*, retained ſtill ſomething of their natural ferocity, and contempt for ſuch arts and ſciences as were moſt admired among foreign nations: and we may very well ſuppoſe, that the Druids, where-ever they ſtill bore any ſway, did all they could to cheriſh this antipathy. And it is, perhaps, in order to leſſen this averſion, as well as to inſpire thoſe that were ſubdued, with a greater love to this art, that ſeveral emperors thought fit to found academies in ſeveral parts of *Gaul*, with conſiderable rewards and honours to thoſe who gained the prize of it.

We are told, that that of *Autun* had, in *Tiberius*'s time, forty thouſand ſtudents (5). We read, beſides, that other public ſchools were erected at *Lyons*, *Bourdeaux*, *Thouloufe*, *Narbonne*, and other places, beſides that ſo famed one at *Marſeilles*, of which we have already ſpoken (6). Hence we need not wonder, that this country has been ſince ſo celebrated for the great number of its rhetoricians and orators (7); and if it has not been equally famous for their excellency in this kind, as for the number of them, it is becauſe it has happened here, as it doth every-where, and in moſt other ſtudies, many labour hard at them, but few are qualified for them (8).

(A) The inſcription runs thus: TIB. CAESARE AVG. JOVI OPTVM. MAXVM. M. NAVTAE PARISIACI POSVERVNT. From the diſpoſition of ſome of the letters, which, for want of room at the end of the line, are put juſt under it, inſtead of beginning the next, our author ſuppoſes the *Gauls* to have had the antient way, which is aſcribed alſo to the *Greeks*, of writing βουστροφηδὸν, that is, as the oxen plowed, backwards and forwards (9). He endeavours to confirm his notion by ſome antient coins, whoſe legend runs, in ſome, from the right to the left; and, in others, from the left to the right. We do not, however, mention it here, as if we were ſatisfied, that he has fully proved it from either, but only to excite our curious antiquaries to a more exact inquiry into it from ſuch old coins and monuments, as may fall in their way.

Our author further pretends, that the *Celtes*, or antient *Gauls*,

(5) *Tacit. ann. l.* iii. *c.* 43. *c.* 6. & *Auſon. profeſſor. Juv. ſat.* iv. *ver.* 23.
(6) *Sueton in Calig. c.* 20. *Juven. ſat. l.* i.
(7) *Hieron. adv. Vigilant. & epiſt. ad Ruſtic.*
(8) *Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celt. l.* ii. *c.* 10. *aa fin.*
(9) *Pauſan. l.* v. *Vide Relig. des Gaul, l.* iii. *c.* 14

curious conjectures, which a modern author has drawn from it, which would be too long for us to dwell upon.

THE whole country ſeems to have been divided into three eſtates; to wit, 1. the druids, with their underlings, the bards, *&c.* 2. the nobles; and, 3. the mercantile part, which was, by far, the greateſt. The two former had their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the ſpoils of war; and were ſo opulent, that riches ſeemed to flow upon them on all ſides; ſo that their chief buſineſs, eſpecially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and ſciences, as the beſt means to preſerve, if not to increaſe, their opulence. What ſeems moſt ſurpriſing, if what an antient author tells us may be depended upon, is, that ſome of the *Gauliſh* nations interdicted the uſe of gold and ſilver, which was to be all dedicated to *Mars*, and ſo become ſacred and inviolable; and allowed of no coin, but that which was made of copper and braſs [k]. His words are to this effect: The *Cordiſſi* (he means the *Scordiſci*) ſpoken of in a former volume [l], conſecrate all their gold, and ſuffer none to be uſed in their country: but they would do better to proſcribe their ſacrileges, inſtead of that metal. *For it is not to their credit to forbid the uſe of it, whilſt they commit ſo many unjuſt robberies to procure iron* and copper. For, whenever they chance to want any of theſe, they make no difficulty to take up arms, and never lay them down till they have procured a ſufficient quantity of them. This paſſage will farther ſerve to convince the reader, that the war which the *Gauls* waged againſt the temples of other nations, was not owing to their greedineſs after thoſe treaſures that were ſtored up in them, but from the averſion they had,

[k] ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 5.

[l] See vol. xii. p. 451, & ſeq.

brought the *Greek* letters with them from *Phœnice* (1), contrary to the general conſent of antient authors, who affirm, that they borrowed them from the *Greeks*. As his arguments for it ſeem very far from concluſive to us, we have followed the current opinion, until ſomething more evident ſtrikes out from thoſe hints he has given us; which is far from being impoſſible, conſidering the difficulty there is to imagine how it was poſſible for the druids to retain in their heads ſuch a vaſt variety of the moſt copious and important ſubjects, by dint of memory, and without having ſome kind of books, or writings, to refreſh it, or to have recourſe to, when that failed; and how eaſily might they conceal ſuch an help, if any ſuch they had, as they did ſo many other things, from the reſt of the world?

(1) *Ibid. l.* i. *c.* 4.

in

in common with the *Perſees*, ſpoken of in a former volume [m], againſt all ſuch buildings, they being looked upon by both as derogatory to the Supreme Being, who cannot be confined within walls, but fills, with his preſence, both heaven and earth. But it is too likely, that this contempt of theſe two ſuperior metals vaniſhed away, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, eſpecially upon their becoming ſubject to that of the *Romans*; who, as we obſerved before, made no ſcruple to rifle thoſe treaſures [n], which, before that time, lay expoſed to the wide world untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into ſlavery with it, as *Herodian* reports them, and eſpecially *Severus*, to have done by the *German* nation.

Hunting, and other exerciſes.

THE *Gauls*, as well as all the other northern people, made hunting a conſiderable diverſion; and, indeed, conſidering the vaſt foreſts which the country abounded with, and which bred vaſt multitudes of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, wolves, wild boars, foxes, *&c* (B). if they had not made it their buſineſs

[m] See vol. v. p. 149. [n] SUETON. in Cæſar.

(B) *Cæſar* (2), *Pliny*, and other authors (3), mention ſeveral other wild beaſts which uſed to be hunted by the *Gauls*, of which we know nothing now but the names; and ſome of them, by the deſcription there given us, ſeem to have been of a very ſtrange kind, if there ever were any ſuch in being: ſuch are the *alces*, the *bonaſſus*, the wild aſs, *&c.* The *alces*, according to *Cæſar*, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to ſleep leaning againſt a tree. The ſame animal is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Solinus*, without that particularity. The *bonaſſus*, according to ſome authors (4), had an horſe's face, and the reſt reſembled a bull, its horns bending ſo far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the ſame wonders they relate of ſome of their birds, one ſort of which caſt ſuch a bright light from their feathers (5), that travelers made uſe of them to ſee their way in the darkeſt nights: but enough of theſe fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called *urus*, and which, *Cæſar* ſays (6), was a little leſs than the elephant, tho' it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or ſledge (7); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; beſides badgers, otters, and other ſuch, not worth mentioning.

(2) *Comm. l.* vi. (3) *N. H. l.* viii. *Pauſan. in Bœot.* (4) *Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. l.* ix. *c.* 45. *Plin. ubi ſupra.* (5) *Solin. polyhiſt. c.* 32. *Vide & Strab. l.* iv. (6) *L.* vi. *c.* 28. (7) *Martial. epigr. l.* i. *Paul. Diacon. hiſt. Longobard.*

business to hunt and destroy them, they must, in time, have been over-run with them. But, besides these, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmless animals: they made, likewise, fowling a diversion, and were, it seems, so dextrous at it, that they killed them flying, with a dart[o] thrown by hand; though they are likewise said to have use the sling, and the bow and arrow, and had a way of poisoning those darts and arrows which they used in hunting, with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, *lineum*, or *limeum* [p], which some have taken for ellebore [q], some the nightshade. *Strabo* says, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whose fruit, he had somewhere read, resembled the *Corinthian* chapiter. The wound failed not, it seems, to kill the creature, and make its flesh more sweet and tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The professed huntsmen held a feast every year to *Diana*, and, among other offerings, each of them presented her with a purse, in which was a certain sum for every beast they had taken during that year; such as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and so proportionally for the rest. Their devotions being *ended, they adjourned to a sumptuous entertainment, and concluded the day with it* [r].

Various kinds of game.

Poisoned darts.

Hunting-feast to Diana.

OTHER exercises, of the manly kind, they were, likewise, very fond of. We have often observed, what excellent horsemen and charioteers they are said to have been, above all other nations in *Europe*, which skill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly, we find, they had their hippodromes, horse and chariot-races, tilts and tournaments; at all which the bards assisted, and, with their poems, songs, and musical instruments, in which they celebrated the praises of

Warlike, and other exercises.

[o] STRABO, l. iv. [p] AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. xvii. c. 15. PLIN. ubi supra, l. xxv. c. 5. Geogr. l. iv. [q] ARRIAN. de venat. [r] EPHOR. ap. Strab. l. iv. DAMASCEN. ap. Stob. serm. xxxvii.

For all these kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the sport, and generally hunted on horseback, unless it be some of those creatures, which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to hunt on foot (8). So fond were they of their hounds, that the antient *Burgundian* laws obliged a man, publicly convicted of stealing of one of them, to pay five shillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treasury; and, if insolvent, he was obliged to kiss the dog's posteriors (9).

(8) *Arrian. de venat. & al.* (9) *Vide Pelloutier, ubi supra, l. ii. c. 12.*

those

thoſe who had formerly won the prize, inſpired the new candidates with a noble ardor to ſignalize themſelves upon all ſuch occaſions. And happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in thoſe records of fame. All their exerciſes in general tended to render them lighter, ſtronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compaſs of a girdle of a certain ſize, either by faſting, running, riding, ſwimming, or any other laborious diverſion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a diſgrace to them, but they were, likewiſe, fined for it [s]. Swimming was alſo an excellent expedient, not only to harden their bodies, but to fit them for paſſing the wideſt and rapideſt rivers; in which they were ſo very expert and famed, that they could croſs the *Rhine*, *Danube*, and *Rhone*, without breaking their ranks [t].

Feaſtings, frequent and ſumptuous.

THESE may be looked upon as ſome of the laudable and beneficial diverſions; but they had a moſt predominant one, which can ſcarcely be ranked in that claſs, and yet ſeemed generally to accompany all the other public ones, or, rather, the others ſerved only to introduce this; we mean their feaſtings, in which they were generally very profuſe, though very negligent in the order and decorum of them [u]. All their public aſſemblies and exerciſes, all their feaſts, birthdays, weddings, burials, and anniverſaries of them, were always accompanied with ſuch ſumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good chear both vocal and inſtrumental muſic. The nobles, eſpecially, were moſt fond of them, becauſe their greatneſs and intereſt conſiſting chiefly in the number of their clients, vaſſals, and *ſolduri*, there was not a more effectual way, either to ſecure the old, or procure new ones, but ſuch kind of entertainments: for the *Gauls*, as well as the *Germans*, and other northern nations, were ſuch exceſſive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than theſe kind of feaſts: and to what height theſe were carried, may be ſeen by ſome few inſtances we ſhall give in the note (C). To theſe feaſts, thoſe who were moſt

[s] CÆSAR, ubi ſupra. MELA de ſit. orb. l. iii. AMM. MARCEL. l. xxv. & al. [t] TACIT. Germ. c. 14, & ſeq. [u] Vide XENOPH. exped. Cyr. l. vii. ATHEN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ſympoſ. vii. c. 9. VARRO, & al.

(C) We read of the famed *Luernius* king of the *Auvernians*, and father of *Bituitus*, who was afterwards defeated by *Fabius Maximus*, that he made an incloſure of twelve furlongs ſquare,

moſt famed for valour and wiſdom were always reckoned the chief gueſts, becauſe their example bore the greateſt ſway in all ſuch elections. The reader may not be diſpleaſed, perhaps, to ſee a ſhort deſcription of theſe feaſts of the antient *Gauls*, out of *Poſidonius*, who had himſelf been in that country: we ſhall give it in the note (D). It was likewiſe cuſtomary to drink hard at theſe kinds of feaſts; yet it ſeems, ac-

A deſcription of them.

Accompanied with hard drinking;

in which he entertained all comers, during ſeveral days, with all manner of exquiſite meats and liquors (1); and of one *Ariamnes*, who cauſed lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred perſons, and treated them in the ſame ſumptuous manner a whole year (2). Neither ſuffered they any ſtrangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of theſe feaſts, or were traveling that way, to paſs by without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take ſhare of them; and, if their time could not permit them to ſtay, they obliged them to drink a glaſs or two (3).

The ſame *Luernius*, we are told, having given one ſuch feaſt, and invited a famed bard to come and ſing his praiſes, as it was uſual for them to do; the bard, coming juſt at the latter end of it, was ſo deeply affected at the diſappointment, that he tried, in vain, to ſing out his deſigned panegyric: he was, at length, conſtrained to change it into deep lamentations, for being forced to take up with the reliques of ſo ſumptuous a banquet (4).

(D) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and eaſy to break into pieces; but devoured a great deal of fleſh, boiled, roaſted, and broiled; which they did in a very ſlovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphee, or chief of the feaſt, who was either one of the richeſt, or nobleſt, or braveſt, ſat in the middle, with the maſter of the houſe on his ſide: the reſt took their places next, each according to his rank, having their ſervants behind them, holding their ſhields. The guards had their table over-againſt them; and, after their maſters had done, the ſervants were, likewiſe, regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a diſh, till the coryphee had taſted of it (5).

Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the *Gauls* uſed to eat ſitting upon the ground, which was covered with ſkins of wolves and dogs; and the diſhes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a ſtove, or fire-place, which abounded with ſpits, pots, pans, and other ſuch kitchen-furniture (6).

(1) *Tacit. ubi ſup. c.* 21. (2) *Poſidon. ap. Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 12. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Idem ibid. Appian. in Celt.* (5) *Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 13. (6) *L. v.*

cording to the ſame author, that the coryphee, or head-gueſt, always began firſt, and put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round: for, it ſeems, they all drank out of the ſame veſſel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuſe when it did. And hence, in all probability, the cuſtom of drinking to one another, which was, it ſeems, common to the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* [w], as well as the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, and northern people. The misfortune was, that at theſe feaſts they uſed to begin to talk of affairs as ſoon as the cups went round; and as they generally ſat at them till the next morning, they ſo heated themſelves with liquor and wrangling, that they ſeldom ended without duels, the *Gauls*, ſays our author, ſetting ſo little value upon their lives. If the feaſt proved a peaceable one, it was generally accompanied not only with muſic and ſongs, as we obſerved above, but with dances likewiſe, in which the dancers were armed cap-à-pé, and beat the meaſure with their ſwords upon their ſhields. On certain feſtivals, likewiſe, ſuch as that of *Mithras*, they uſed to dreſs themſelves in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as were dedicated to him, and accompany the proceſſions that were made on that day: others dreſſed themſelves in maſquerade-habits, ſome of them very indecent, and played ſeveral antic and immodeſt tricks; and this cuſtom was retained ſo long among them, even ſince their converſion to Chriſtianity, that ſome of their councils and biſhops not only cenſured and condemned them, but appointed faſts, and proper prayers, to be uſed on thoſe days [x], to divert them from that heatheniſh cuſtom.

ſometimes with fighting, muſic, dancing, &c.

Maſquerades.

THEIR chief liquors were, beer and wine, the former the moſt common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. *Strabo* obſerves, of the *Luſitanians*, that one ſuch feaſt as thoſe we have ſpoken of, uſed to exhauſt all the vintage of that year [y]; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the *Germans*, and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. Their martial temper inſpired them originally with ſuch contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at firſt, to their wives, old men, and ſlaves. The *Germans* and they are juſtly blamed for it by the *Romans*, and a great piece of pride and folly it was in them, to chooſe to purchaſe the conveniencies of

Strong liquors.

Contempt of agriculture, &c.

[w] DIOD. SIC. l. v. Vide & POLYB. l. ii. [x] Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 34, & ſeq. [y] Lib. iii.

life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by the ſweat of their brow[z] (E).

Their vices. We ſhall conclude this ſection with a ſhort review of the other vices and virtues which are recorded as being peculiar to the antient *Gauls*. As for their vices, they are reducible to theſe three, which are attributed to them by the generality of antient writers; to wit, drunkenneſs, lazineſs, and fierceneſs; all which we ſhall have the leſs occaſion to dwell upon, becauſe we ſhall occaſionally give ſo many pregnant inſtances in the courſe of their hiſtory. As for drunkenneſs, we cannot ſee why that vice ſhould be reckoned more peculiar to them, than to their neighbours the *Germans*, who vaſtly exceeded them in it. Beſides theſe, *Plato* has given us a liſt of other people who were equally guilty of it; to wit, the *Lydians*, *Perſians*, *Carthaginians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Spaniards*[a]; and we need not direct our readers where to look for ſome others, who may juſtly come under the ſame cenſure (F). How-

Drunkenneſs.

[z] German. c. 14. & 23. l. x. Clem. Alex. pæd. l. ii.

[a] De leg. l. i. Vide & Athen.

(E) *The* ſame may, indeed, be ſaid of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as vaſtly below the care of a warlike nation; but one may ſay, in general, that when the *Romans* came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure thoſe things by their labour, which they were formerly wont to get, either by the ſword, or by commerce: neceſſity ſoon made them feel the ſweet of encouraging agriculture, and all other kinds of trades; and by degrees, likewiſe, of the liberal arts and ſciences; in both which branches they became, in time, as expert and famed as any other nation. So that one may ſafely look upon their conqueſt by the *Romans* to have been the mother of all theſe.

(F) *The truth is, the Gauls* were more envied for their bravery, both by *Greeks* and *Romans*, and were, therefore, made oftener the ſubject of their reflections. Accordingly *Livy* and *Plutarch* (7) pretend to have it from antient authors, that thoſe *Gauls* who lived near the *Alps*, having once taſted the *Italian* wine, became ſo enamoured with it, that they immediately reſolved to go and conquer that country. And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that they were ſo fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their ſlaves, for a gallon of wine (8); which made the merchants very ready to furniſh ſuch cuſtomers with that beloved commodity, both from *Greece* and *Italy*. It is likewiſe pretended, that they were more than ordinarily greedy

(7) *Hiſt. l.* v. *Plut. in Camil.* (8) *Lib.* v.

of

However, though this abuſe has been ſomewhat exaggerated, yet we own, that there muſt have been ſome foundation for it, ſince *Charles the Great* was forced to make ſome ſevere laws againſt it; one of which obliged the judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue faſting; others, which forbad the forcing of any one to drink more than he cared for; others, which forbad the ſoldiers, whilſt in the field, to invite any man whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink water till they had been ſufficiently puniſhed for their fault [b]. This vice, it ſeems, was ſo univerſal, that even the *Myſians*, a kind of monkiſh tribe among the *Scythians*, who were obliged to abſtain from all fleſh, wine, and ſtrong liquors, and the [c] *Scythians* and *Thracians*, who were deſtitute of them, had yet a way amongſt them of intoxicating themſelves by the ſmoke of ſome odoriferous weeds, ſomething, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them exceeding chearful and merry, tho'

[b] Vide addit. Carol. Mag. ad leg. Salic. an. 803. & Pelloutier. ubi ſupra, l. ii. c. ult. [c] Herodot. l. i. Mela, l. ii. Plut. de fluv. Max. Tyr. l. xi. Solin. c. 15.

of it, on account that it made them fight more courageouſly, or rather furiouſly, and more apt to deſpiſe all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet, in fact, nothing is plainer, than that, if thoſe authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the *Gauls* could not encounter a worſe enemy than wine proved to them, upon all occaſions, ſince, according to them, it ſeldom failed throwing whole armies of them into diſorder and confuſion; and, which is ſtill worſe, by baiting them with ſome large quantities of that liquor, it either ſo overcame them, that they fell down dead-drunk, and expoſed, as it were, naked and defenceleſs, to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in pieces; or, as it often happened, it ſet them a fighting one againſt another, ſo that they became an eaſier prey to them (9). One would, therefore, be apt to think, that, after they had ſo oft and ſeverely ſmarted for their greedineſs after that deſtructive liquor, their kings and generals would have made ſome wholſome prohibitions againſt ſo dangerous a cuſtom: and what may incline us to believe they did ſo, is, that though the *Greek* and *Roman* authors charge the *Gauliſh* people, in the lump, with this vice, yet the inſtances they give are but few, and happened ſometimes to one nation, ſometimes to another of them.

(9) *Vide Juſtin. ex Trog. l.* xxiv. *c.* 7, *& ſeq. Appian. Celt. Plutarch. Liv. ubi ſupra, & al.*

without

without being attended with the ill effects which are commonly caused by excess of wine, *&c* [d].

Idleness. THE laziness, imputed likewise to them, appears, by what we have said a little higher, to have been rather owing to their pride, than to any dislike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is plain, that in their exercises, as well as their wars, they accustomed themselves to hardships and fatigues of any kind; so that if they neglected agriculture, and handicraft-trades, it was rather because they looked upon them as a kind of slavery unbecoming their martial genius. And it was upon this account that they so readily rushed upon any desperate death, to avoid being taken prisoners, especially by the *Romans*, who, they knew, were wont to make slaves of them, and condemn them to the hardest and meanest employments (G).

Ferocity. As to their last vice, to wit, their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the less occasion to wonder at it, if we consider, that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death: for how can it be expected they should be tender of other peoples lives, that were so careless, and even lavish of their own? And if slavery appeared so terrible to them, that they preferred *any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy in them, to* massacre their prisoners of war, *or sacrifice them to* their gods, rather than to make slaves of them? But we observed before, that this excessive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other nations, especially upon the *Romans*, not only with a jealous eye, but with an invincible hatred, as they observed them so diligent and successful in enslaving all they could. And this might not add a little to their native

[d] POSIDON. ap. Strab. l. vii. Vide & CASAUBON. in loc. & PELLOUTIER. ubi supra.

(G) It is true, indeed, that, after their conquest, they have taken up with a laborious life, cultivated their lands, vineyards, and useful trades: yet the same spirit reigns still among their gentry and nobility, both in *Gaul* and *Germany*; where they retain still a contempt for all the laborious and mercantile part, and choose rather to live in a shameful sloth, and even poverty, than support themselves and families, by any other way than that of arms. They are even known to carry this punctilio of honour so far, as to look upon it as dishonourable, to the last degree, for a nobleman, in how low circumstances soever, to marry the daughter of a mechanic, or even merchant, tho' her fortune were ever so large, and capable of enriching him, and his family.

fierce-

fierceneſs, and to that cruelty with which they thought they ought to treat ſuch open invaders of public liberty, as well as thoſe who baſely aſſiſted them in it. This will appear ſtill more probable, if we come now to examine ſome of thoſe ſocial virtues for which they were famed, even by the confeſſion of their enemies, ſuch as their hoſpitality, frugality, juſtice, and fidelity.

Their virtues, and hoſpitality;

It will, doubtleſs, be thought ſtrange, that a nation, ſo cruel to their enemies, and ſo touchy and fierce among themſelves as to have recourſe to ſingle combat upon every trifling affront, ſhould yet be ſo famed for their hoſpitality and humanity, not only to ſtrangers, but to ſuch as refuged themſelves among them; and yet they are highly cried up for this admirable virtue, both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. It was, it ſeems, a conſtant cuſtom among them, to invite their ſtrangers to all their feaſts, and, after it was over, to inquire who they were, and wherein they might be ſerved [e]. This was practiſed, according to the ſame author, by the very *Celtiberians*, who were looked upon as ſome of the cruelеſt among the *Gauls*, inſomuch that they came in crouds to invite a traveler to their houſes; and happy was he thought whom he choſe for his hoſt: if he pitched upon one whoſe circumſtances would not permit him to afford him a very long entertainment (for they generally treated them very ſumptuouſly), he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any *Gaul* was convicted of having refuſed this courteſy to a ſtranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magiſtrate: witneſs that law which was enacted among the *Burgundians*, which laid a fine of three crowns on all ſuch inhoſpitable delinquents; and one of double that ſum to any *Burgundian* that ſhould direct a ſtranger to the houſe of a *Roman*. In ſome other places they added a corporal puniſhment to the fine; and *Tacitus* does that juſtice even to the *German* nation, as to give ſeveral inſtances of their tender regard to ſtrangers [f]: and *Cæſar* adds, that they eſteemed all ſuch perſons as ſacred and inviolable, and to whom every houſe was to be opened, and every table free [g]. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and puniſhed thoſe upon the ſpot, from whom they had received any damage or ill treatment [h] (H).

and ſumptuous way of entertaining ſtrangers.

Laws againſt the inhoſpitable.

We

[e] Diod. Sic. l. v. [f] German. c. 21. [g] Comment. l. vi.
[h] Aristot. de mir. aud. N. Damasc. ap. Stob. ſerm. clxv.

(H) They even puniſhed the murder of a ſtranger more ſeverely than that of one of their own nation; to wit, the former by

Fidelity and juſtice.

We have no leſs pregnant proofs of their juſtice and fidelity: witneſs the confidence which the emperors, princes, and commonwealths, placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendſhip, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewiſe in the former chooſing them for their life-guards. And if they could be thus faithful to ſuch of the *Roman* emperors as *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Claudius*, and others; we need not doubt of their being ſo to other nations, to whoſe ſervice they had not ſuch a natural reluctance: though it muſt be owned, that the *Germans* gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in thoſe monarchs than the *Gauls* had done; and, perhaps, on this very account, that they did not ſhew ſuch a natural averſion to the *Roman* yoke as the *Gauls* did, who took all opportunities that offered to ſhake it off. But before even the time of *Auguſtus*, we find the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in great credit and truſt with *Juba* king of *Mauritania* [i], with *Herod* king of

[i] Cæsar. comm. l. ii. c. 40.

by death, and the latter by baniſhment. As for thoſe who took refuge amongſt the *Gauls* (and a more ſafe and ſtedfaſt ſanctuary they could not meet with in any other nation), they were ſure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence that great number of diſtreſſed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence; of which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former ſections of this hiſtory; and with what faithfulneſs they were protected by them, may, out of many more inſtances, be inferred from that which we ſhall give our readers, to avoid dwelling too long upon ſo known a ſubject.

Toriſin king of the *Gepidæ* had a noble refugee at his court, named *Ildiſgus*, who had a lawful right to the crown of *Lombardy*, but had been excluded from it, after the death of king *Vaces*, by *Aduin*, who ſeized upon upon it. This laſt cauſed *Ildiſgus* to be demanded of the *Gepidæ*, and procured his demand to be backed by the emperor *Juſtinian*'s embaſſadors. *Toriſin*, who had juſt concluded a peace with the *Romans* and *Lombards*, called a council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with *Aduin*'s requeſt, and the danger he was in, if he refuſed. Upon this, that truly auguſt aſſembly unanimouſly agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children, ſhould periſh, than to give way to ſuch a ſacrilegious demand (1).

Even among the ruder *Slavonians*, who lived on the other ſide the *Elbe*, it was permitted to ſet any man's houſe on fire, who refuſed ſanctuary to a ſtranger; and, in ſuch caſes, every one ſtrove to puniſh the violation of hoſpitality (2).

(1) *Procop. hiſt. Goth. l.* iii. *c.* 35. *l.* iv. *c.* 27. (2) *Helmold. chron. Slavon. c.* 82. *Pelloutier. l.* ii. *c.* 16.

Judæa,

Judæa[k], with *Cleopatra*[l], and with moſt princes far and near; an account of which has been given in every proper place of this work (I).

Of their frugality we have likewiſe given ſeveral inſtances, ſuch as their contempt of gold and ſilver, of trades and manufactures, and the like; the antient plainneſs of their diet, dreſs, houſes, &c. Their cloathing was a kind of veſt and breeches, light and neat; they wore their hair long, had a collar about their neck, and bracelets about their wriſts, and above the elbow. Thoſe who were raiſed to dignities, wore them of gold, the reſt of braſs. The druids were always cloathed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occaſions, appeared with their arms[m]. We know little of their marriages, except that they do not ſeem to have allowed polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives: at leaſt this plainly appears from a paſſage of *Pomponius Mela*, who, being a *Spaniard*, muſt underſtand the *Gauliſh* laws and cuſtoms better than any *Greek* or *Roman* author that has written of them. We ſhall give the ſubſtance of it in the note; firſt, becauſe it contains ſome curious particulars about the *Gauliſh* funerals, with which we ſhall cloſe this ſection; and, ſecondly, becauſe the author does

Frugality.

Dreſs.

Marriages.

[k] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 21. [l] Idem ibid. c. 5.
[m] Strabo, l. iv. Pliny, l. xvi. c. 24. De diis Germ. & al.

(I) They have, indeed, been branded with the reverſe vice, by ſeveral *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtorians (3); and it muſt be owned, that they have ſometimes receded from their fidelity, notwithſtanding their valuing themſelves ſo much upon it, above all other nations; and we have formerly given ſeveral inſtances of it, though, for want of knowing what motives induced them to it, we have been obliged to condemn them for actions, which, if thoſe authors had rightly informed us of the true ſprings of, might have paſſed uncenſured. Neither *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, nor *Romans*, were famed for their ſtrict adherence to their treaties, any more than ſcrupulous about the means of obtaining them: and *Cæſar*, for inſtance, has laid the blame on the *Gauliſh* perfidy, which *Cato* has bravely retorted upon him (4). And who knows what provocations they may have had, whenever they have departed from their uſual fidelity and juſtice? But, not to dwell too long upon uncertainties, we may affirm, that, in the main, they long enjoyed that noble character, however their conqueſts afterwards, and ſince them their unmeaſurable ambition, have hurried them into the quite oppoſite extreme.

(3) *Cæſar, ubi ſupra, l.* iv. *c.* 11. *Polyb. l.* ii. *Livy, l.* xxv. *c.* 33. *Vide Paterc. & al.* (4) *Vide Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c.* 24. *Plut. in eod. Cato Min. Dio Caſſ. & al.*

therein clear that nation from having entertained the *Pythagorean* doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which other writers have abſurdly charged them with, and which we promiſed, in a former ſection, to diſprove (K). That they burned the dead bodies, appears from thoſe urns which contained their bones and aſhes, with ſome other trinkets which they mingled with them, of more or leſs value, according, as may be ſuppoſed, to the condition of the deceaſed; but that they likewiſe buried without burning, may be alſo gathered from thoſe intire bodies which have been found in many places in *Gaul*, *Germany*, and eſpecially in the mounds of *Saliſbury* plain, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in a ſubſequent chapter: for as the *Gauls* received their religious laws and cuſtoms from the *Britiſh* druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in them in both countries.

Funerals, &c.

(K) "Among other tenets, "which the druids hold, ſays "that author (5), there is one, "which they endeavour to in- "culcate into every *Gaul*, in or- "der to *inſpire themwith greater* "bravery; namely, that of the "immortality of the ſoul, and "a future life. Accordingly, "ſays he, when they burn the "bodies of their dead, and bury "their aſhes, they bury, like- "wiſe, with them, their books "of accounts, and the notes of "hand of the moneys they had "lent whilſt alive, that they "may be of ſervice to them in "the other world. Sometimes, "likewiſe, their near relations "and friends have flung them- "ſelves into the funeral pile, to "go and live with them there. "Has this doctrine of a future "life any thing in common with "the *Pythagorean* tranſmigra- "tion? Could theſe account- "books, receipts, and notes, be "of any ſervice to ſouls which "paſs into other bodies, either "of men, or brutes? Can thoſe, "who affirm it, imagine that "ſouls, thus tranſmigrated, into "whatever body it be, could be "ſtill the ſame perſons, whom "thoſe accounts concerned? And "would thoſe friends have been "*ſuch fools*, as to chooſe to *die* "with *them*, *for the ſake of liv-* "ing with them hereafter, had "they had the leaſt notion of "ſuch a tranſmigration? How "could they ever expect that "happineſs, if they really be- "lieved, that, upon their going "out of this world, their ſouls "were to enter into freſh bo- "dies, of either men, women, "brutes, or vegetables, the one, "perhaps, in one corner of the "world, and the other in an- "other? What likelihood is "there, that the *Gauls*, ſo jea- "lous of their liberty as they "were, would, by thus ruſhing "into immediate death, run the "riſk of paſſing into the bodies, "I will not ſay either of plants, "or beaſts, but even into thoſe "of ſlaves, or of women, over "whom they had the power of "life and death?"

(5) *De ſit. orb. l.* iii.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of the antient Gauls, *from the* Roman *Invaſion, and their Conqueſt by* Julius Cæſar, *to the Irruption of the* Franks.

WE ſhall have the leſs room to inlarge upon this ſubject, firſt, becauſe we have little or no account of this nation before they were viſited by the *Romans*, but what we have given an account of in ſome part or other of this chapter; and, ſecondly, becauſe what happened to them from that time to the irruption of the *Franks*, has been fully ſpoken of in the *Roman* hiſtory. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and ſhort, for the ſake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may ſave our readers the trouble of collecting the particulars of it out of our former volumes, by having recourſe to every index, we ſhall give them here a ſummary of them in one view, and in as ſuccinct a method as we can, with proper references to the reſpective places where thoſe facts have been more fully diſcuſſed, and add to it an account of ſuch other tranſactions as have not yet, or have been but ſlightly touched upon. All which we ſhall endeavour to couch, as well as it can be done, in a chronological order, and as near as we can to its epocha, according to ſuch of our chronologers as may be beſt depended upon. We ſhall only add here, that the *Gauls*, being a ſtrong and hardy people, and multiplying ſo faſt, that their country could not contain them, was one conſtant cauſe of their excurſions into other countries far and near, and in ſuch vaſt multitudes, that they ſpread terror where-ever they came. It often happened, likewiſe, that theſe colonies, thus ſettled in a foreign country, were ſo moleſted by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being diſpoſſeſſed, they ſent into their native country for freſh aſſiſtance, and eaſily obtained it, the *Gauls* being always ready to pour out their numerous ſwarms, upon all ſuch occaſions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back to them. Hence their vaſt multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceneſs, and cruelty to thoſe who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable neceſſity, upon all ſuch expeditions, either to conquer or ſtarve, added not a little to the dread of their name. We ſhall paſs by thoſe which they antiently made out of *Europe* into ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, where they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral fine countries, and under different

A ſummary of the Gauliſh hiſtory.

Their frequent ſending of colonies abroad.

names,

names, and for which we ſhall refer our readers to the *Celtic* hiſtory in a former volume [a].

Gauls *under* Bellovesus *ſettle in* Nether Italy. Year of the flood 1256. Bef. Chriſt 622.

THEIR earlieſt, and moſt conſiderable ſally we have recorded, is that which they made into *Italy*, under their famous leader *Belloveſus* (A), who, croſſing the *Rhone*, and the *Alps*, till then unattempted, defeated the *Hetrurians*, and other oppoſers, near the *Teſino*, ſettled, and ſpread themſelves over that part of *Italy* called *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, then inhabited by the *Hetrurians*, about the year of *Rome* 160 [b].

THE *Cænomani*, who dwelt between the rivers *Seine* and *Loire*, made the ſecond grand expedition under their general *Elitonis*, and ſettled in the *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, *Mantuan*, *Carniola*, and *Venetian* [c]. The time of this and the next is uncertain.

THE third was made by the *Læves* and *Ananes*, the former of whom ſettled in *Novara*, on one ſide of the *Po*; and the latter in *Piacentia*, on the oppoſite ſide.

IN a fourth, the *Boii* and *Lingones*, having paſſed the *Pennine Alps*, ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Ravenna* and *Bologna*.

IN the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of *Belloveſus*, the *Senones*, ſeated between *Paris* and *Meaux*, were invited into *Italy* by an *Hetrurian lord*, and ſettled themſelves in *Umbria*. *Brennus*, who was their king, had laid ſiege to *Cluſium*; and here it was that he gave that noble anſwer to the three *Fabii*, who were ſent from *Rome* to expoſtulate with him, of which we have had occaſion to take notice in a former ſection. We have ſeen, in a late volume [d], that the treachery of the *Fabii*, in entering and de-

[a] See vol. vi. p. 11, & ſeq. [b] LIVY, l. v. c. 3, 4, & ſeq. [c] Idem ibid. 31, & ſeq. See PTOL. l. iii. c. 1. LACCURI de colon. Gall. [d] See vol. xi. p. 532.

(A) *Ambigatus*, then king of *Celtogallia*, finding his kingdom overſtocked, ſent his two nephews, *Belloveſus* and *Segoveſus*, each at the head of a numerous army, to go and ſeek ſome new ſettlements. The firſt croſſed the *Alps*, and the latter the *Rhine* and *Hercynian* foreſt, and ſettled in that part of *Germany* ſince then called *Boiemia*, and *Bohemia*, from the *Boii*, who accompanied him in that expedition, as ſhall be further ſhewn in the next chapter. Hence, however, it plainly appears, that it was their vaſt increaſe, that obliged the *Gauls* to ſend ſuch numerous colonies abroad; and not, as *Livy* (1), *Pliny* (2), *Plutarch* (3), and other writers, have miſrepreſented it, their thirſt after the *Italian* wine, that invited them to croſs the till then unattempted *Alps*.

(1) *Lib.* v. *c.* 33. (2) *Lib.* xii. *c.* 1. (3) *De vir. illuſtr. tom.* ii. *p.* 114.

ſending

fending that city, and of the *Romans* in countenancing, inſtead of puniſhing it, ſo exaſperated the *Gauliſh* general, that, raiſing the ſiege of the place, he immediately turned all his force againſt the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to *Rome*, whoſe inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch terror at his approach, that they abandoned it to his mercy. When *Brennus* entered the place, which appeared to him like a very deſert, he ſecured all the avenues round the capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by his men, who preſently after reduced it to aſhes, and all its ſtately temples and palaces into an heap of rubbiſh. We ſhall not repeat the particulars of this expedition; but refer our reader to the account which we have given of it in the *Roman* hiſtory above quoted [e], where he will find at length the whole *Gauliſh* army intirely cut off by the brave *Camillus*.

Brennus enters and plunders Rome.

THE next expedition was ſtill more unfortunate; for thoſe *Gauls*, who had ſettled themſelves in thoſe parts of *Italy* we have lately ſpoken of, led but an uneaſy life there, being continually haraſſed by the *Romans*; upon which, they ſent into *Gaul* for freſh reinforcements; but theſe came in ſuch vaſt numbers to their aſſiſtance, that they became more dreadful to them than the *Romans*: ſo that they made no ſcruple to turn their arms againſt them, and, having killed their two leaders, eaſily put the whole army to flight. The *Romans*, however, were in no ſmall dread of them, when they found how active they were in *Italy*, and what vaſt armies they could draw out of *Gaul*; and it was to diſſipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of ſuperſtition at *Rome*, which we formerly mentioned, of burying a *Greek* and a *Gauliſh* man and woman alive in the ox-market. But they did not truſt to this ſo far as not to make vaſt preparations, when they heard that the *Gæſatæ*, another brave *Gauliſh* nation, were invited, by their *Italian* countrymen, to their aſſiſtance. Theſe were of a fiercer nature than any of the reſt; they ſcorned all kind of defenſive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally choſe to fight naked. Had but their martial ſkill been as great as their courage (B), it is likely they might, at that juncture, have

An unfortunate expedition.

The Romans armed afreſh.

The Gæſatæ join againſt them.

[e] Ibid. p. 537, & ſeq.

(B) We have purpoſely omitted ſeveral defeats, which they met with in ſome other expeditions, and which the reader will find in the places of the *Roman* hiſtory quoted below (4); where he will find, that the *Romans* were by that time ſo well

(4) *See before, vol.* xii. *p.* 29, *& ſeq.* 40, *& ſeq.* 60, *& ſeq.* 121, *& ſeq. & alib. paſſ.*

have disabled the *Romans* from ever conquering any more nations: for their approach had spread such a terror all over the *Roman* territories, that they raised one of the vastest armies that ever had been known amongst them. If we may believe *Polybius* [f], it consisted of no less than eight hundred thousand men, horse and foot. The *Gauls*, however, nothing terrified at it, though they had but fifty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but, being as inferior to them in military discipline, as they were in number, they met with a total defeat: forty thousand of them were killed on the spot, and ten thousand taken prisoners, and amongst them *Concolitanus*, one of their kings; whilst the other, named *Aneroestus*, and by far the most experienced warrior, only escaped to a neighbouring village, and there killed himself, as did most of the officers who followed him, according to the *Gaulish* maxim, of preferring death to slavery.

The Romans *raise a prodigious army.*

The Gæsatæ *defeated.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all these successes, the *Romans* had no small reason to fear, that the *Gauls* would, at length, be made sensible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial discipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become, in time, as expert soldiers as they (C); in which case, they could not but become a very formidable enemy to their nation, considering their hatred to it, their hardiness, intrepidity, and readiness to join every foe against them. The assistance they gave *Hannibal*, as he was crossing their country, and over the *Alps*, of which we have given an account elsewhere [g]; and, after him, to *Mago*, and the *Carthaginians*, during their war; their being so frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other states and kingdoms, most of

The Romans *in great fear of the* Gauls.

[f] Lib. ii. c. 22. & seq. & alibi pass.

[g] See vol. xi. p. 235, & seq. (I). 245,

appriséd of their superiority to them in this point, that they generally trusted to it, and with good success; since it appears, by all these instances, that it was by this that they gave them such frequent and surprising defeats.

(C) We are told (5), that their very weapons, especially their swords, were so wretchedly tempered, that, upon the very first onset, in which they constantly charged with incredible fury, they used either to break, bend, or be so blunted against the *Roman* javelins, as to become useless; so that, before they could have time to sharpen or straiten them, the enemy presently closed in upon them, and, throwing by the javelin, and shortening their swords upon them, stabbed them, like so many sheep.

(5) *Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in Marcel. Oros. & al.*

them

them at war with *Rome*, and among which they were ſure to perfect themſelves more and more in the martial trade, whilſt they themſelves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifeſt danger; theſe conſiderations obliged them, at laſt, to retaliate upon them, and invade their country, upon the firſt favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war for them: but, before we come to ſpeak of this, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of their other expeditions and exploits, in *Aſia*, *Macedonia*, and other countries.

Reſolve to invade them.

THE firſt of this kind was in the year after *Pyrrhus* paſſed into *Italy*[h], when the *Gauls*, finding themſelves again overſtocked at home, ſent out three vaſt colonies to ſeek new habitations. *Brennus* (perhaps a deſcendent of him who had about two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into *Italy* we have lately mentioned) was the chief adviſer of this expedition, and head of one of the *Gauliſh* armies; *Cerethrius* commanded the ſecond, and marched into *Thrace*; and the third, under the command of *Belgius*, marched into *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*: as for *Brennus*, he was entered into *Pannonia*, or *Hungary*, a poor country in compariſon to thoſe which *Belgius* had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himſelf with immenſe plunder; ſo that, envying his ſucceſs, he reſolved to join him, and ſhare it with him. *Belgius* being ſoon after defeated to ſuch a degree, that we hear no more of him, or his men, he haſtened thither, under pretence of revenging and aſſiſting him; and it is not improbable, that the remainder of *Belgius*'s army liſted themſelves under him. The army with which he entered into thoſe two provinces, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe; but a revolt happened in it, in which *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, the two chief leaders of it, carried off twenty thouſand men, and marched into *Thrace*, and, joining themſelves to *Cerethrius*, ſeized on *Byzantium*, and the weſtern coaſts of *Propontis*, and there ſettled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

A threefold excurſion of the Gauls. Year of the flood 2069. Bef. Chriſt 279.

Brennus *enters* Hungary.

Belgius *defeated in* Illyricum.

Brennus's *ill ſucceſs.*

To retrieve this loſs, *Brennus* ſent for freſh ſupplies from *Gallia*, inliſted ſome *Illyrians*, and, with a new army of one hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and above ſixty thouſand horſe, entered *Macedonia*, defeated *Soſthenes*, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched towards the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, with an intent to invade *Greece*; but was ſtopped by the forces which were ſent to defend that paſs againſt him. This obliged him to get him ſome guides over thoſe moun-

Sends for freſh forces from Gaul.

Succeſs in Macedonia.

[h] POLYB. l. i. c. 6. Vide PAUSAN. Phoc. JUSTIN. l. xxiv. & ſeq.

tains, over which *Xerxes* had paſſed his forces before; upon which, the guards retired, to avoid being ſurrounded by him. He then ordered *Acichorius*, the next to him in this expedition, to follow him at a diſtance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched ſtrait towards *Delphi*, with a deſign, as is ſuppoſed, to plunder that rich city and temple; but met, it ſeems, with a terrible repulſe, from a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which deſtroyed a great number of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army: ſo that the remainder, being ſeized with a panic fury, fell upon, and murdered each other, all that night. The next morning they found their miſtake, and near one half of their army deſtroyed, and the *Greek* forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in ſuch numbers, that, though *Acichorius* joined him in due time, yet were they not able to make head againſt the *Greeks*, but were defeated, with a terrible ſlaughter. *Brennus* himſelf was deſperately wounded, and ſo diſheartened at his miſcarriage, that he aſſembled all his chiefs, and, having adviſed them to ſlay all that were wounded and diſabled, and to make as good a retreat as *they could*, *he put an end to his life*. *Acichorius*, immediately after, led the *remainder of this ſhattered* army back, as well as he could; but their long marches through enemies countries, the oppoſitions and hardſhips they met with from them, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, did, it ſeems, ſo thoroughly exhauſt them, that not one of them returned from that expedition [i]: a juſt judgment, indeed, upon them, if they really went with that ſacrilegious deſign which is charged upon them by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and in which we make no doubt but they have as much exaggerated their puniſhment in their abovementioned defeat, as they have their guilt, as the reader may ſee by what is added in the note (D).

Marches towards Delphi.

Seized with a ſtrange panic.

Their dreadful defeat, and end.

Brennus's *laſt advice, and death.*

The whole army periſheth.

WHILST

[i] Iidem ibid. Vide & MEMNON. excerpt. ap. Phoc. c. 19, & ſeq. Eclog. DIOD. SIC. l. xxii. LIV. l. xxxviii. CALLIMACH. hymn. in Delum. SUID. in voc. Γάλαται.

(D) We promiſed, in a former ſection, to explode the virulent charge which *Cicero* lays againſt the *Gauls*, and their religion, founded chiefly on this action of their plundering the *Delphic* temple, and that of their beſieging the capitol, and, as he adds (to aggravate it the more), the great *Jupiter* in it; from which he infers, that their religion conſiſted only in a diametrical oppoſition to all others, and in waging war againſt the gods of other nations, &c. and that the *Gauls* were a moſt irreligious,

WHILST this expedition was carrying on in *Greece*, the other colonies under *Leonorius*, parting from the others who were ſettled in the *Propontis*, marched into the *Helleſpont*, and made themſelves maſters of *Lyſimachia*, and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. Here ſome great miſunderſtanding happening

Another colony invade the Helleſpont.

ligious, wicked, and dangerous people, not fit to live; and much more to that purpoſe.

Now, if it be true, that the *Gauls*, before their conqueſt, did worſhip the one Supreme Being, and, like the *Perſes*, *Brachmans*, and other antient nations and philoſophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or repreſent him by idols of any kind, as we have formerly ſhewed they did, then will their deſtroying thoſe temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treaſures, if they had really done ſo by this of *Delphi*, ſtand juſtified, and rather deſerve commendation, than ſuch a black reproof. The plunder of ſuch ſuperſtitious treaſures, to men of theſe principles, and for the ſupport of a numerous army that ſtands in need of it, will be juſtly deemed applying them to a better uſe.

But it plainly appears, from the majority of thoſe authors quoted above, that they did not plunder the *Delphic* oracle; but that they were ſcared from it by a ſtorm and earthquake, which threw them into ſuch a panic, as made them be eaſily overcome by thoſe *Greek* forces, which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle againſt them; upon which it is ſuppoſed, that all theſe diſaſters befel them as a juſt judgment for their ſacrilegious deſign againſt that temple and treaſure: but this laſt is at beſt but a ſurmize, founded on a wrong, tho' common notion, that ſuch diſaſters always argued ſome atrocious crimes in the ſufferers: all which is here dreſſed up, by authors who were profeſſed enemies to the *Gauliſh* nation, and have, doubtleſs, exaggerated both at their pleaſure, tho' without any real foundation.

Juſtin, and after him *Cicero*, indeed, accuſe them of having plundered the *Delphic* treaſure; and the laſt adds, that they carried it home too; but, being grievouſly plagued for their ſacrilege, they were adviſed to throw their ill-got pelf into the lake of *Thouloufe*. This, though plainly oppoſite to all thoſe authors, who have written of that expedition, ſeems to us only an invidious improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a ſcandal on that vaſt treaſure which was conſecrated and repoſited in that lake, and which *Strabo* and *Athenæus*, on the authority of *Poſidonius*, tell us, was (ſo far from being fetched from *Delphi*) dug up out of ſome rich mines in that neighbourhood, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve in the laſt ſection. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with any ſeeming juſtice, againſt the *Gauls*, it was their ſending ſuch powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither *Greeks* nor *Romans* could have any pretence to find fault with that, which was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

between thoſe two chiefs, they parted their forces; the former returned to *Byzantium*, and the latter ſtaid where he was. They did, however, rejoin their forces ſome time after, and paſſed into *Aſia*, being invited thither by *Nicomedes*, whom they aſſiſted againſt his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowlegement of which, he aſſigned them that part of *Leſſer Aſia* which we deſcribed at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called *Gallogræcia*, and *Galatia*. Thither came alſo a great number of thoſe other *Gauls* who had ſettled in *Thrace*, and who were driven from thence by *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had ſeized the kingdom of *Macedon* upon the death of *Soſthenes*. A greater number of them diſperſed themſelves about in other countries, and either periſhed, or ſo intermingled themſelves, as not to be heard of any more; ſo that of this great and threatening *Gauliſh* army, none remained but thoſe who ſettled in *Galatia* [k]. Theſe, likewiſe, in time, increaſing in number, and being ſtreightened in their territories, endeavoured, according to cuſtom, to inlarge them where they could, and to ſend their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (E), which did not a little annoy and alarm all their neighbours; but they were at length ſuppreſſed by the proconſul of *Aſia*, *Corn. Manlius Vulſo*, who gave them ſeveral defeats, and obliged them to live quietly, and keep within their old limits [l].

Some ſettled in Galatia.

[k] Iidem ibid. [l] Liv. l. xxxvii.

(E) *Juſtin* tells us, that all *Aſia* ſwarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eaſtern prince at war, that did not hire them as mercenaries (6). This was, in particular, the caſe of *Antiochus Hierax*, in his war againſt *Seleucus*, whom he defeated at *Ancyra* (7) by the help of the *Gauliſh* auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have coſt him dear: for theſe, having heard a rumour, that *Seleucus* had been ſlain, formed, it ſeems, a project to murder him, and ſeize upon his kingdom; ſo that he found no better way of ſaving himſelf, than by giving them all the treaſure he had (8).

The ſcene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed into *Meſopotamia*, it is not improbable, that the battle of *Babylonia* happened between the *Babyloniſh Jews* and the *Gauls*, in which eight thouſand of the former defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thouſand of the latter (9): for *Babylon* was then a province of *Meſopotamia*, and *Antiochus* then in confederacy with the numerous *Gauls*.

(6) *Lib.* xxv. *c.* 2. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem, l.* xxvii. *c.* 2.
(9) 2 *Maccab.* viii. 20. *Vide & Juſtin, ubi ſupra. Polyæn. l.* iv. *c.* 19.

Year of the flood 2160. Bef. Chriſt 188.

THEY are, however, affirmed by ſome authors to have been ſubdued about fifty-three years before, by *Attalus* king of *Pergamos* [m]; and if ſo, they muſt have found out ſome means of recovering their liberty, to have been ſo powerful in *Manlius*'s time; unleſs we ſuppoſe theſe authors to have confounded the *Gauls* with the *Galatians*. However that be, theſe laſt were ſtill, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom, named *Deiotarus*, was, for his ſervices done to *Pompey the Great*, created king by him (F), and had the *Leſſer Armenia*, and ſome other territories, added to his own [n]. Thus much may ſuffice for the *Gauliſh* expeditions abroad. It is time now to return to thoſe at home, and to give an account of their conqueſt by the *Romans*.

Marcius ſubdues part of Gaul.

WE hinted a little higher, that the *Romans* were grown ſo fearful of the *Gauls*, that they thought it proper, in order to humble them, to lead their armies into their country. After many attempts, not worth mentioning, the perſon that opened the moſt effectual way into *Gaul* was the great conſul *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*, to whoſe lot this province was fallen, as well as the ſupreme power, by the death of his collegue in *Numidia*. *Marcius*, the better to carry on his deſign, opened a way between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, a work of immenſe labour, in which he was ſtoutly oppoſed by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Stæni*, who lived at the foot of the *Alps* [o], and who, finding themſelves overpowered by him, ſet fire to their houſes, killed their wives and children, and threw them and themſelves into the flames. *Marcius*, having accompliſhed his work, planted a colony, for the ſecurity of it, in the country of the *Volcæ Tectoſagi*, between the *Pyrenees* and the city of *Thouloufe*; and built a city in it, and called it *Narbo Marcius*, ſince *Narbonne*, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of ſuch a conſiderable part of *Gaul*, and the opening and ſecuring ſuch a way between the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, as it laid the foundation for the conqueſt of the whole country, was thought ſo conſiderable a ſervice to *Rome*, that the ſenate ordered him a triumph for it [p]. His ſucceſſor,

The dreadful end of the brave Stœni.

Narbonne *built by* Marcius.

[m] Idem, l. xxxiii. STRAB. l. xiii. SUID. POLYÆN. &c. [n] STRABO, l. xii. EUTROP. l. vi. [o] STEPH. de urb. [p] Faſt. capit. CIC. pro Fonteio. See before, vol. xii. p. 449, & ſeq.

(F) This is the ſame *Deiotarus* that ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed the other three tetrarchs, and ſeized upon all *Galatia*. For this he was ſummoned before *Julius Cæſar*, upon which occaſion *Cicero* made a ſpeech in his behalf, which is ſtill extant, under the name of *Oratio pro rege Deiotaro*.

Scaurus's *ſucceſs in* Gaul.

Scaurus, not only conquered ſome other nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Gentiſci* and *Carni* (G); but, to facilitate the ſending of troops from *Italy* thither, he made ſome excellent roads between them, which before were almoſt impaſſable [q], and was likewiſe honoured with a triumph.

The ſacred treaſure of Thouloufe *plundered.* Year of the flood 2247. Bef. Chriſt 101.

In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, taking the alarm at theſe ſucceſſes, took up arms againſt them, and gave them ſeveral conſiderable overthrows; in one of which the *Tigurini* (H), having ſurpriſed them, made them, and their general *Popilius*, paſs under the yoke [r]. The *Cimbri*, in particular, had retaken ſome parts of *Gaul* from the *Romans*, and, eſpecially, the famed city of *Thouloufe*; upon which, *Cæpio* marching his army to retake it, it opened its gates to him; notwithſtanding which, he not only gave it up to be plundered by them, but carried off all that vaſt treaſure that had been conſecrated there by the *Gauls* [s], and of which we have lately given an account, to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold, and the ſame of ſilver, even according to the moſt moderate accounts of it; and, in ſpite of his treachery, avarice, and ſacrilege, was continued proconſul of the *Narbonneſe Gaul*. This vile action ſo exaſperated the *Gauls*, that they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, taking the advantage of the ſquabble that was between the general and his collegue *Manlius*, they fell upon them ſo furiouſly, that they gave them ſuch an overthrow as they had ſcarcely ever met with, killed eighty thouſand men, beſides forty thouſand ſervants and ſutlers, in one day; only ten men, of their whole army, eſcaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave *Seſtorius*, who ſaved himſelf by ſwimming over the *Rhine*. The *Gauls*, who, according to cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, had devoted all the ſpoil, threw all the ſilver and gold into the *Rhone*, drowned all the horſes, and murdered all the priſoners they had taken. What conſternation this loſs threw the city of *Rome* into, and what puniſhment was inflicted on the ſacrilegious *Cæpio*, we have elſewhere ſhewn [t]. As to the victorious allies, they held a general council, whether to march immediately into *Italy*, or reduce thoſe provinces which the

The Gauls *revenge againſt the* Romans.

[q] See before, vol. xii. p. 495, & ſeq.
[r] Ibid. p. 469.
[s] Ibid. p. 494, & ſeq.
[t] Ibid. p. 498, & ſeq.

(G) Theſe inhabited part of *Noricum*; and the name of the latter is ſtill retained in the province of *Carniola*.

(H) The two former are only different names for the *Germans*, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. As to the *Tigurini*, they inhabited that part of *Switzerland* called *Zurich*.

Romans held in *Gaul*: they agreed, however, to conſult the brave *Æmilius Scaurus*, whom they had taken priſoner in a preceding action, and who, *Roman* like, ſtrove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic; but was, for his bold ſpeech, ſtabbed to death by *Boiorix* king of the *Cimbri* [u].

Romans *in a freſh conſternation.*

THE *Roman* ſenate, expecting nothing leſs than a freſh irruption of the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, thought fit to recal *Marius* from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt *Jugurtha*; and, having honoured him with a triumph for it, appointed him general againſt the enemy, and *Sylla* to ſerve under him. They both ſet out accordingly, and *Sylla* gained ſeveral advantages againſt the *Tectoſagi*, and took *Copillus*, one of their kings, priſoner, whilſt *Marius* reſolved not to engage ſuch a numerous army as appeared againſt him, till he had received ſufficient reinforcements to his own. In the mean time, the *Marſi*, another people of *Germany*, had joined the *Cimbri*, with a deſign to enter *Italy* with them, and *Sylla* was ſent to oppoſe them; but he, inſtead of engaging them, found means to gain the former over to the *Roman* intereſt. The *Cimbri*, enraged at this, ceaſed not to infeſt the *Roman* general till they forced him to remove to *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix* in *Provence*; who in his way was briſkly attacked by the brave *Ambrones*, now the canton of *Bern*, to whoſe valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave *Cæpio* and his collegue. They fought with the utmoſt fury and intrepidity, indeed; but wanted diſcipline; ſo that, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of ſuch regular troops as they engaged, ſo dreadful a ſlaughter was made of them, that the next river ran ſtained with their blood. Here the *Ambronian* women likewiſe ſignalized themſelves, ran with their axes againſt the purſuing *Romans*, and made a ſtout oppoſition. But, being at length overpowered, and offering to ſurrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied them by the enemy (I), they mur-

Marſi *join the* Cimbri; *but are gained by* Sylla.

Ambronians *defeated.*

Valour of their women.

[u] Ibid. p. 499.

(I) Theſe conditions were, as we hinted in a former ſection, that their honour ſhould be preſerved; that they ſhould not be ſold into ſlavery; and that they ſhould be employed in the ſervice of the *Veſtals*. Theſe conditions being denied, they would have contented themſelves with the firſt; but, that being inhumanly refuſed, their love of chaſtity made them prefer ſuch an honourable death, as could not but caſt a more ſhameful brand on thoſe who ſtiled them barbarians, and yet uſed ſuch brave matrons in ſo inhuman a manner (1).

(1) *Vide Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 1. *Frontin. ſtratag. l.* iv. *&* v.

dered

dered all their children, and themſelves; ſo that not one of them was found alive [w].

AFTER this defeat, the *Gauls* ſeem to have been quiet for ſome time, whether too much ſuppreſſed by the *Romans*, or that they left it to the *Germans* to haraſs them, as they in fact did, and gave the conſul much trouble, though to very little effect, they being conſtantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, ſoon after, with a more dreadful enemy in *Sylla*, and *Rome* was ſo rent, and in ſuch conſternation, on account of thoſe two factions, as we have ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory, that they rather ſought the friendſhip of the *Gauls*, than their reduction. But *Sylla* found means, by his addreſs, to draw them to his ſide [x]. Hence it is likely, that he ſuffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorſhip; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for ſome ſpace after his death, though the ſcene of war was by this time removed into *Spain* and *Portugal* by *Sertorius*, and where he had very great ſucceſs againſt *Pompey*, who was ſent againſt him [y]. This war was no ſooner ended there, than a new one began in the heart of *Italy* under *Spartacus*, who was at the head of an army conſiſting chiefly of *Gauliſh ſlaves, and whom he deſigned, after ſome notable ſucceſſes* againſt the two conſuls, to have *led back* over the *Alps* into their own country. But this they ſtifly refuſed, and were ſoon after totally defeated by *Craſſus*, who was ſent againſt them, and *Spartacus* himſelf ſlain, after having fought with incredible bravery, and ſacrificed heaps of *Romans* round about him: forty thouſand of the *Gauls* were killed on the ſpot; the reſt fled into *Luſitania*, where they were ſoon after cut off by *Pompey* [z]. Whether the *Tranſalpine Gauls* had any hand in this rebellion, does not appear. In that famed conſpiracy of *Catiline* they were indeed invited into it by ſome of his partiſans, in hopes of drawing ſome conſiderable helps from thence; but the embaſſadors of the *Allobroges* (K), then at *Rome*, who had been alſo tampered with, made ſuch a full diſcovery of the whole deſign to their protector *Q. Fab. Sanga*, and he to the conſuls, that it was happily prevented and diſconcerted [a].

Sylla *gains the* Gauls, *and ſuffers them to live in peace. Scene of war removed into* Spain.

Spartacus *and* 40000 Gauls *ſlain.*

FROM hence it ſeems as if the *Gauls* had lived all this long while in quiet and good friendſhip with *Rome*, whatever feuds there might be among them in the heart of their country: the

Cæſar's *ſwift entrance into* Gaul.

[w] See vol. xiii. p. 13. [x] Ibid. p. 32, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. p. 101, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. p. 124, & ſeq. [a] Ibid. p. 140.

(K) Theſe inhabited the regions at the foot of the *Alps*, known now by the names of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, and *Piedmont*.

Helvetii

Helvetii were they which kindled that freſh war which brought *Cæſar* over the *Alps*, and ended in the conqueſt of that brave and warlike nation. *Orgetorix* was the firſt cauſe of it, who, whether through want of room, or a deſire to exchange his inclement country for a better, or for ſome other cauſe not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a vaſt number of his countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in ſearch of new conqueſts. *Julius Cæſar*, to whoſe lot the whole country of *Gaul* was fallen, made ſuch haſte to come and ſuppreſs them, that he was got to the *Rhone* in eight days, broke down the bridge of *Geneva*, and, in a few days more, finiſhed the famed wall between that city and mount *Jura*, now *St. Claude*, which extended ſeventeen miles in length, was ſixteen feet high, fortified with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (L). Whilſt this was doing, and the reinforcements he wanted were coming, he amuſed the *Helvetii*, who had ſent to demand a paſſage through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had got his reinforcements, and then flatly refuſed it to them; whereupon a dreadful battle enſued, in which they loſt one hundred and thirty thouſand men, in ſpite of all their valour, beſides a number of priſoners, among whom was the wife and daughter of *Orgetorix*, the leader of this unfortunate expedition. The reſt ſubmitted, and begged they might be permitted to go and ſettle among the *Ædui*, from whom they originally ſprung; and, at the requeſt of theſe laſt, were permitted to go (M). This

Orgetorix the cauſe of it.

Cæſar's ſwift march, works, and ſucceſs againſt the Helvetii.

(L) If his own account of it may be relied upon (2), he did not ſet out till the beginning of *April*; and yet this huge work was finiſhed by the ides or 13th of the month: ſo that, ſubtracting the eight days he was a coming, it muſt have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! conſidering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had given him an helping hand.

(M) The *Ædui* were ſituate between the rivers *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Saone*, and were the only allies *Cæſar* then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they had promiſed to ſupply him with corn; but made ſo many delays, that he began to ſuſpect their fidelity, and to find himſelf in great diſtreſs for want of it. *Divitiacus*, one of the lords of it, was then in his army, with *Liſcus*, one of their magiſtrates: *Cæſar* examined them both about it ſeparately, and the latter told him, that *Dunmorix*, the younger brother of *Divitiacus*, deſigning to ſeize upon the ſupreme power, had allied with the *Helvetii*, and ſent that corn to them, which ſhould have been conveyed to him. *Divitiacus* confirmed what *Liſcus* had

(2) *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 1, *& ſeq.*

ſaid,

This action and victory, joined to the policy and incredible dispatch with which *Cæsar* had carried it against them, gained him such reputation, and, at the same time, struck the *Gauls* with such a dread, that they strove who should pay him the first homage and congratulations, and procure his friendship. So that we may look upon it as the basis of all his glory and conquests in this country.

The Gauls *begin to court his friendship.*

His address among them.

We formerly took notice of the sad divided state he found them in at his first coming among them, their vast variety of governments, their jealousy over each other, the overgrown power of some, and the reduction of others into a state of dependence next to slavery: *Cæsar*, who knew best how to make the most of these intestine broils, soon became the protector of the oppressed, a terror to the oppressor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among those who applied to him for help, were his allies the *Ædui*, against whom *Arioviſtus*, king of the *Germans*, joined with the *Arverni* (N), in their late wars, had taken the country of the *Sequani* from them, and obliged them to send hostages to him. *Cæsar* forthwith sent to demand the restitution of both, and, in an interview which he soon after obtained of that haughty and treacherous prince, was like to have fallen a sacrifice to his perfidy; upon which, he bent his whole power against him, forced him, against his will (O), out of his strong intrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. *Arioviſtus* escaped, with difficulty, over the *Rhine*; but his two wives, and a daughter, with a great number of *Germans* of distinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. *Cæsar*,

Arioviſtus *defeated.*

said, but without naming his brother; and, when *Cæsar* would have punished him for his perfidy, generously interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (3).

(N) The *Arverni* were seated on the *Loire*, and were so called from their metropolis, *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of the *Guiennois*. They were once the most powerful people of the *Gauls*; their territories are said to have reached from the ocean to the *Rhine*, on one side, and the *Pyrences*, on the other (4).

The *Sequani* were neighbours to the *Ædui*, and inhabited that part of *Gallia Belgica* called *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*.

(O) *Cæsar*, who lost no advantage he could get on an enemy, had intelligence, that some *German* propheteſſes (and such were in high esteem among them) had foretold, that they could not be victorious, till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a superstitious notion common among them, and all the *Gauls*; and this it was made him so eager, and *Arioviſtus* so averse, to come to blows before that time.

(3) *Ibid. Vide supra, vol.* xiii. *p.* 160. (4) *Strabo, l.* iv.

after

after this ſignal victory, put his army into winter-quarters, whilſt he went over the *Alps* to make the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign [b]. By this time all the *Belgæ* in general were ſo terrified at his ſucceſs, that they entered into a confederacy againſt the *Romans*, as their common enemy, of which *Labienus*, who had been left in *Gaul*, ſent him word; upon which, he immediately left *Rome*, and made ſuch diſpatch, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival, the *Rhemi* ſubmitted to him; but the reſt, appointing *Galba*, king of the *Sueſſones*, general of all their forces, which amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched directly againſt him. *Cæſar*, who had ſeized on the bridge of the *Axona*, now *Aiſne*, led his light horſe and infantry over it, and, whilſt the others were incumbered in croſſing that river, made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of them, that the river was filled with their dead, inſomuch that their bodies ſerved for a bridge to thoſe who eſcaped. This new victory ſtruck ſuch terror into the reſt, that they diſperſed themſelves; immediately after which, the *Sueſſones*, *Bellovaci*, *Ambiones*, and ſome others, ſubmitted to him. The *Nervii*, indeed, joined with the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui*, againſt him; and, having firſt ſecured their wives and children, made a ſtout reſiſtance for ſome time; but were, at length, defeated, and the greateſt part of them ſlain. The reſt, with their wives and old men, ſurrendered themſelves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns, as formerly. The *Aduatici* were next ſubdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (P), were ſold for ſlaves, to the number of fifty thouſand. Young *Craſſus*, the ſon of the *triumvir*, ſubdued likewiſe ſeven other nations, and took poſſeſſion of their cities; which not only completed the conqueſt of the *Belgæ*, but brought ſeveral nations from beyond the *Rhine* to ſubmit to the conqueror. The *Veneti*, or antient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Britany*, who had been likewiſe obliged to ſend

Belgæ *confederate againſt the* Romans.

A terrible ſlaughter made of them by Cæſar.

The Nervii, *&c. ſubdued.*

Craſſus's *ſucceſs in* Belgium, *&c.*

[b] Comment. l. i. c. 1, & ſeq. See before, vol. xiii. p. 162, & ſeq.

(P) Theſe were the remains of thoſe *Cimbri* whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*, and had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage. They made a ſham ſubmiſſion to *Cæſar*, and ſurrendered their arms to him; but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell foul on the *Romans* in the night: upon which he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves (5).

(5) *Comm. l.* ii. *c.* 1, *& ſeq.*

hoſtages

hoſtages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations, by ſea and land, to recover their liberty. *Cæſar*, then in *Illyricum*, was forced to equip a fleet on the *Loire*, and, having given the command of it to *Brutus*, went and defeated them by land, as *Brutus* did by ſea; and, having put their chief men to death, ſold the reſt for ſlaves. The *Unelli*, with *Veridorix*, their chief, together with the *Lexovii* and *Aulerci*, were, about the ſame time, ſubdued by *Sabinus*, and the *Aquitani* by *Craſſus*, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men. There remained nothing but the countries of the *Morini* and *Menapii* (Q) to be conquered, of all *Gaul*. *Cæſar* marched himſelf againſt them, but found them ſo well intrenched in their inacceſſible fortreſſes, that he contented himſelf with burning and ravaging their country; and, having put his troops into winter-quarters, paſſed again over the *Alps*, to have a more watchful eye on ſome of his rivals there [c]; but he was ſoon after obliged to come and defend his *Gauliſh* conqueſts againſt ſome nations of the *Germans*, who were coming to ſettle there, to the number of four hundred thouſand, and whom he totally defeated, and then reſolved to carry his conquering arms into *Germany*. As this laid the foundation for that bloody war which he afterwards carried on againſt them, it will be more properly ſeen in the ſubſequent chapters, as well as his ſeveral expeditions into this iſle in that which immediately follows, and to which we ſhall refer our readers.

Veneti *ſubdued, and ſold for ſlaves.*

The Morini *and* Menapii *ravaged by* Cæſar; *who carries his arms into* Germany.

UPON his return into *Gaul*, he found it labouring under a great famine, which had cauſed a kind of univerſal revolt. *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, who were left in the country of the *Eburones*, now *Liege*, were betrayed into an ambuſh by *Ambiorix*, one of their chiefs, and had moſt of their men cut off. The *Aduatici* had fallen upon *Q. Cicero*, who was left there with one legion, and had reduced him to great ſtreights: at the ſame time *Labienus*, with his legion, was attacked by *Indutiomarus*, at the head of the *Rheni* and *Senones*; but had better luck than the reſt, and, by one bold ſally upon them, put them to flight, and killed their general. *Cæſar* acquired no ſmall credit by quelling all theſe revolts; but each victory loſt the lives of ſo many of his troops, that he was forced to have recourſe to *Pompey* for a freſh ſupply, who readily granted him two of his own legions to ſecure his *Gauliſh* conqueſts [d].

A famine and revolt in Gaul.

Cæſar *forced to ſue to* Pompey *for freſh troops,*

[c] Ibid. p. 163, & ſeq.

[d] Ibid. p. 166, & ſeq.

(Q) Theſe are the territories now called *Ferouennes*, *Cleves*, *Gelders*, and *Juliers*. Thoſe of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* are now the *Eureux* and *Liſieux*. As to the *Unelli*, their abode is differently gueſſed at, but without any certainty.

BUT

BUT it was not long before they, ever reſtleſs under a foreign yoke, raiſed up a new revolt, and obliged him to return thither. His fear leſt *Pompey* ſhould gain the affections of the *Roman* people, had obliged him to ſtrip the *Gauls* of their gold and ſilver, to bribe them over to his intereſt; and this gave no ſmall handle to theſe frequent revolts which happened during his abſence. He did, however, ſoon reduce the *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii*, and *Treviri*, the laſt of which had raiſed the revolt, under the command of *Ambiorix*; but he ſoon found the flame ſpread much farther, even to the greateſt part of the *Gauls*, who had choſen the brave *Vercingetorix* their generaliſſimo. *Cæſar* was forced to leave *Inſubria*, whither he had retired to watch the motions of *Pompey*, and, in the midſt of winter and ſnow, repaſs the *Alps*, into the province of *Narbonne*, where he gathered all his ſcattered troops with all poſſible ſpeed, and, in ſpite of the hard weather, beſieged and took *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*; and defeated *Vercingetorix*, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the ſtrongeſt in *Gaul*, and which had a gariſon of forty thouſand men, of whom he made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter, that hardly eight hundred eſcaped. Whilſt he was beſieging *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, he was informed that the *Nitiobriges*, or *Agenois*, were in arms, and that the *Ædui* were ſending to *Vercingetorix* ten thouſand men, which they were to have ſent to reinforce him. Upon this news, he left *Fabius* to carry on the ſiege, and marched againſt the *Ædui*. Theſe, upon his approach, ſubmitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but ſoon after that whole nation roſe up in arms, and murdered all the *Italian* troops in their capital. *Cæſar*, at this, was in great ſtreights what meaſures to take; but reſolved, at length, to raiſe the ſiege of *Gergovia*, and at once attack the enemy's camp, which he did with ſome ſucceſs; but when he thought to have gone to *Noviodunum*, or *Noyons*, where his baggage, military cheſt, *&c.* were left, he heard that the *Ædui* had carried it off, and burnt the place. *Labienus*, juſtly thinking that *Cæſar* would want his aſſiſtance in the condition he now was, went to join him, and in his way defeated a *Gauliſh* general, named *Camulogena*, who came to oppoſe his march; but this did not hinder the revolt from ſpreading itſelf all over *Celtic Gaul*, whither *Vercingetorix* had ſent for freſh ſupplies, and, in the mean time, attacked *Cæſar*; but was defeated, and forced to retire to *Aleſia*, a ſtrong place, now *Aliſe* in *Burgundy*, as is ſuppoſed. Hither *Cæſar* haſtened, and beſieged him; and, having drawn a double circumvallation, with a deſign to ſtarve him in it, as he was

and to repaſs into Gaul *in the depth of winter.*

Makes a dreadful ſlaughter at Avaricum.

Ædui *make a ſham ſubmiſſion to him.*

Carry off his militarycheſt,&c.

Vercingetorix *defeated.*

likely to have done, upon that account refuſed all offers of a ſurrender from him. At length, the long-expected reinforcement came, conſiſting of one hundred and ſixty thouſand men, under four generals: theſe made ſeveral fruitleſs attacks on *Cæſar*'s trenches; but were defeated in three ſeveral battles, which, at length, obliged *Vercingetorix* to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Cæſar* uſed all his priſoners with great ſeverity, except the *Ædui* and *Arverni*, by whoſe means he hoped to gain their nations, which were the two moſt potent of *Celtic Gaul*, as he actually did; for both of them ſubmitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he ſpent the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one of the hardeſt he ever had, ſo he gained more glory by it than any *Roman* general had done before [e]: yet could not all this procure him from the ſervile ſenate, now wholly dedicated to his rival, a prolongation of his proconſulſhip; upon which, he is reported to have laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, that That ſhould do it [f].

and ſurrenders at diſcretion.

Cæſar's *reſolution againſt the ſenate.*

He was as good as his word, and the *Gauls*, upon their former ill ſucceſs, reſolving to have as many ſeparate armies as provinces, in order to embaraſs him the more, *Cæſar*, and his generals *Labienus* and *Fabius*, were forced to fight them one after another; which they did, however, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, notwithſtanding the hardneſs of the ſeaſon, they ſubdued the *Bituriges*, *Carnuti*, *Rhemi*, and *Bellovaci*, with their general *Correus*, by which he at once quieted all the *Belgic* provinces bordering on *Celtic Gaul*. The next who followed were the *Treviri*, the *Eburones*, and the *Andes*, under their general *Dunmarus*. The laſt place which held out againſt him was *Uxellodunum*, which was defended by the two laſt acting generals of the *Gauls*, *Drapes* the *Sennonian*, and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*. The place being ſtrong, and well gariſoned, *Cæſar* was obliged to march thither from the fartheſt part of *Belgic Gaul*; and ſoon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he cauſed the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms, to be cut off, to deter the reſt from revolting afreſh. Thus was the conqueſt of *Gaul* finiſhed from the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* to the *Rhine*, all which vaſt tract was now reduced to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor. The ſum of all the provinces, cities, and priſoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and *Plutarch*, the reader may ſee in the *Roman* hiſtory above quoted [g].

His two generals ſubdue ſeveral Gauliſh *nations.*

Cæſar's *cruelty to the* Uxellodunians. *Completes the conqueſt of* Gaul.

[e] Vol. xiii. p. 174, & ſeq.

[f] Cic. ad Attic. l. v. epiſt. 15, & ſeq. Vide & Plut. in Cic. & Cæſ.

[g] Vol. xiii. p. 178, & ſeq.

THUS ended, in a great measure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their singular valour, as *Tacitus* observes, in the life of *Agricola*. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, we are told [h], were permitted to remain free, such as the *Nervii*, *Ulbanenses*, *Suessones*, and *Leuci*; and others retained the title of confederates to *Rome*, to wit, the *Ædui*, *Lingones*, *Rhemi*, and *Carnutes*: as to the rest, who were reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, we may guess at their miserable condition, by what *Critognatus* the *Arvernian*, as quoted by *Cæsar* [i], tells us of it. "If, "says he, you would know after what manner distant na- "tions are used by the *Romans*, you need but look at our "neighbouring *Gaul*, now reduced into a province, which, "having its laws and customs changed, and being brought "under the power of the axes, is oppressed with perpetual "slavery." To understand rightly the difference of these three conditions, or, more properly, degrees of slavery; the first was, the having a number of soldiers quartered upon them, to keep them in awe (R); the next was, when the province was laid under tribute, in which case they were compelled to endure a vast numer of tax-gatherers, which, like so many leaches, or harpies, sucked out the very vitals of the country (S). The third was, when they were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magistrates; but had governors set over them, with full power and authority (*cum imperio & securibus*) over their lives and estates, and sent to them from *Rome*. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they so often revolted; for, as *Tacitus* himself observes, in the reign of *Tiberius*, the continuance of those

[h] PLIN. hist. l. iv. c. 11. [i] Comment. l. vii.

(R) In which case, if these provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it seems, no great armies quartered in them; since *Josephus* tells us (6), that, in *Titus*'s time, they had no more than twelve hundred soldiers in garison in all *Gaul*; altho', adds he, they had fought for their liberty against the *Romans* above eight hundred years, and had near as many cities, as the *Romans* had then soldiers there.

(S) We are told, accordingly, that, after *Julius Cæsar* had finished the conquest of *Gaul*, he laid it under a tax, or tribute, of HS. *quadringenties* (7), that is, about a million of *English* crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in subsequent reigns, may be easily guessed, by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints against those extortions and oppressions; some instances of which we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by.

(6) *Antiq. l.* ii. (7) *Eutrop. l.* vi.

taxes, the extortions of uſurers, and inſolence of the ſoldiers, were become ſo intolerable, that it drove the *Gauliſh* cities into a freſh rebellion. And *Suetonius*, in the life of *Nero*, tells us, that the world, having for near thirteen years groaned under his tyranny, at length ſhook it off, the *Gauls* ſetting the firſt example to all the reſt.

Gallia *divided into ſixteen provinces.* Year of the flood 2326. Bef. Chriſt 22.

GAUL was ſoon after divided into ſixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the note (T); each of which groaned now, more or leſs, under the *Roman* tyranny, according as they were more or leſs favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors ſent thither to rule them. However, neither under *Cæſar*, whilſt he lived, nor even under his ſucceſſor *Auguſtus*, do we read of any conſiderable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a cenſus, which is the firſt we read of made out of *Italy*, and which could not but be galling to them, they ſeem to have ſubmitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when *Druſus* was ſent thither to ſtop the incurſions which the *Germans* were frequently making upon them (U), and had there begun a ſecond, and perhaps a more ſtrict

(T) *Viennenſis, Narbonenſis prima, Narbonenſis ſecunda, Aquitania prima & ſecunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritimæ, Belgica prima & ſecunda, Germania prima & ſecunda, Lugdunenſis prima, ſecunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Græcæ*; of all which, the reader may ſee a further account in the authors hereunder quoted (8).

This diviſion, however, was not made by *Julius Cæſar*, ſince we find it ſtill under the three diſtinctions in which he left them, when *Auguſtus* cauſed the firſt cenſus to be made in it (9); but was begun towards the latter end of this laſt's reign, and finiſhed by ſome of his ſucceſſors.

(U) It is hardly to be doubted, but the *Gauls*, who did ſo grievouſly brook the plundering and inſolences of the *Romans*, and found themſelves too weak now to make head againſt them, did, by ſome private means, either invite the *Germans* as friends, or hire them as auxiliaries to their aſſiſtance; and this ſeems to have been the firſt beginning of the colonies of the *Franks*. For thoſe *Germans*, whether defeated by the *Romans*, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to ſettle on the borders of *Gallia*. For we are told, that *Auguſtus* tranſplanted the *Suevi* and *Sicambri*, who ſubmitted to him, into *Gallia*, and aſſigned them lands along the *Rhine* (1). And of *Tiberius* we read, that he brought forty thouſand of thoſe that ſurrendered themſelves, in the *German* war, over into *Gallia*, and ſettled them on the banks of the *Rhine* (2).

(8) *Anton. itin. S. Ruf. Ammian. Marcel. l.* XV. (9) *See before, vol.* XIII. p. 491. (1) *Sueton. in vit. Aug.* (2) *Idem in Tiber.*

To

ſtrict one; they then began to expreſs an univerſal inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. We have elſewhere ſeen how that politic general diverted them from it, by inviting all the *Gauliſh* chiefs to aſſiſt at the conſecration of the temple which the *Lugdunenſes* had built in honour of *Julius Cæſar*, and, upon their coming, behaved with ſuch addreſs and complaiſance to them, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to *Auguſtus*, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty *Gauliſh* nations, it ſeems, contributed to the rearing and adorning of this magnificent altar, which was conſecrated on the firſt of *Auguſt*; and games were, at the ſame time, inſtituted, in honour of this new kind of deity, not unlike the *Iſthmians* and *Nemeans* of *Greece* [k].

THIS fulſome flattery to that monarch, which might, probably, be owing to the preſence of *Druſus*, did not, however, divert them long from their favourite view of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune ſhould favour them with a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, ſeem, upon this occaſion, to have exerted themſelves to cheriſh that noble deſign in them, to prevent any further defection from their antient religion; and hence, moſt likely, aroſe thoſe frequent revolts, as well as threatening edicts, that came out againſt them in the ſucceeding reigns, and of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak in a former ſection: however that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries, which they underwent under *Caligula* [l], were of themſelves ſufficient to have ſpirited up a leſs warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their deſign, and under the next they either

Encouraged by the druids.

Caligula's *extortions.*

[k] Vide STRAB. l. iv. SUETON. in Auguſt. LIV. &c. & ſupra, vol. xiii. p. 527.

[l] See vol. xiv. p. 293.

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor *Probus*, in whoſe reign above ſixty cities had revolted from the *Romans*, and made a bold puſh to regain their liberty. This prince, ſays he (3), marched with a vaſt army into *Gaul*; which, after *Poſthumius*'s death, was all in commotion; and, when *Aurelian* was killed, was, in a manner, poſſeſſed by the *Germans*. There he gained ſo many victories, that he recovered from the barbarians ſixty of the moſt noble cities of *Gallia*; and whereas they had overſpread all *Gaul* without controul, he ſlew near four hundred thouſand of thoſe, who had ſeated themſelves within the *Roman* territories, and tranſplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers *Neckar* and *Elbe*: but of this we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſubſequent volume.

(3) *Vopiſc. in vit. Prob. Hottoman. Franco-gall. c.* 3.

enjoyed more reſpite, or, which is as likely, were more narrowly obſerved. But in that of *Nero*, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave and noble *Julius Vindex* (W), at that time governor of *Celtic Gaul*, declared his reſolution to free his country from ſlavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As ſoon as his deſign was known, the *Gauls*, haraſſed and reduced to beggary by intolerable impoſts, flocked to him from all parts to aſſiſt him in it; ſo that, tho' he had no *Romans* under his command, yet he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of one hundred thouſand armed men.

Vindex's revolt in Gaul.

When *Nero* heard the news of this revolt, he appeared quite glad at it, as it would afford him occaſion for freſh extortions and cruelties. What he ſeemed moſt affected with was, that *Vindex*, in ſome of his edicts againſt him, among other contemptuous language he had given him, had called him a bungling harper; ſo that, inſtead of making proper preparations to oppoſe him, he only ſtrove to diſplay his ſkill in muſic, to wipe off the ſcandal, as he thought it, that was thrown upon him. But when meſſengers came to him in large numbers, and acquainted him with the progreſs *Vindex* had made in *Gaul*, and with *Galba*'s revolt in *Spain*, he left *Naples*, in a fright, and repaired to *Rome: however, a frivolous, but lucky omen*, as he imagined it, having diſpelled his fears, *he returned* again to his muſical amuſement, without taking one ſtep to ſuppreſs either revolt.

Nero's ſtrange behaviour.

We ſhall not need repeat here the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end, of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume[m]: all that needs be recapitulated here concerning the ill ſucceſs of our *Gauliſh* general is, that his army having been ſurpriſed by that of *Rufus Virginius*, who was marched againſt him, whether by treachery or accident, is not agreed, the *Gauls* were defeated, with the loſs of twenty-two thouſand men, who were killed on the ſpot; upon which, *Vindex*, in a fit of rage and deſpair, laid violent hands upon himſelf, and the reſt diſperſed themſelves for want of a leader.

Vindex's ill ſucceſs, and death.

Galba had much better ſucceſs, and was ſoon after raiſed to the empire[n]; but the *Gauls* were

Galba's ſucceſs, and tyranny.

[m] Ibid. p. 455—460.

[n] Ibid. p. 461, & ſeq.

(W) He was deſcended from the antient kings of *Aquitain*, and bore a natural averſion to all tyrants. Upon his firſt reſolution of revolting, he ſent to perſuade *Galba*, then in *Spain*, to do the ſame; who neither followed his advice, nor betrayed his deſign; though ſome other governors, to whom he wrote on the ſame ſubject, ſent his letters to *Nero:* but *Galba*, upon receiving a ſecond letter from him, actually raiſed a revolt there (4).

(4) *Plut. in Galb. Dio, l.* lxiii. *Sueton. in Ner. Tacit. l.* i. *c.* 16.

ſo heavily oppreſſed by him, and ſo loaded with taxes, that they dared not undertake any thing againſt him. In the great ſtruggle between his two ſucceſſors, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, though they heartily hated them both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by *Fabius Valens*, who, in his march through their territories towards *Italy*, whither he was leading a gallant army, committed the greateſt plunders and extortions. This threw the nation into ſuch a terror, that every province and city ſent their embaſſadors to meet him, and bribe him with large preſents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (X).

Valens applied to by the Gauls.

THEY did, however, recover themſelves ſo far, notwithſtanding all theſe oppreſſions, as to make ſeveral bold puſhes for their liberty, eſpecially in the reign of *Veſpaſian*. We have given an account of it in a former volume [o], as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to clap up with them, rather than to exaſperate them to turn their arms againſt him at that juncture [p]. In *Adrian*'s time this province was viſited by that emperor in his progreſs through the empire, and as it had been greatly oppreſſed and impoveriſhed during the former reigns, he left, wherever he paſſed through it, ſome tokens of his pity and munificence to that nation, and built ſome ſtately edifices there, eſpecially a ſumptuous palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s widow. He forgot not, at the ſame time, to repair all the *Roman* towns and fortreſſes in that country, to keep them in ſubjection [q], as it actually did, no conſiderable revolt happening during his and ſome of the ſucceeding reigns. All this while they ſeem to have made a remarkable figure, and borne a great ſway; ſince, in that famous conteſt between *Severus* and his competitors, the *Gauls*, having firſt ſaluted him emperor, their example was followed by almoſt all the provinces in *Europe*, and he was every-where acknowleged and received with the loudeſt acclamations [r]. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at leaſt to the Chriſtians in this country, having raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt them, inſtigated thereto by his favourite

Makepeace with Veſpaſian.

Chriſtians in Gaul perſecuted.

[o] See vol. xv. p. 13, & ſeq. [p] Ibid. p. 15. [q] Ibid. p. 162, 163. [r] Ibid. p. 293, paſſ.

(X) Amongſt thoſe that ſuffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of *Vienne*, againſt which that of *Lyons* had inſtigated him, as having aided the late noble *Vindex* in his revolt. They were therefore forced to buy their pardon from him by an immenſe ſum, beſides a donative of three hundred ſeſterces, the ſurrender of all their arms, and furniſhing his army with proviſions.

Plautianus, who took occaſion of a ſoldier's refuſing to wear a crown as a donative, to ſeize on the eſtates of all the Chriſtians of rank and quality, and to put a great number of them to death, and amongſt them *Irenæus*, the worthy biſhop of *Lyons* [s]. *Gaul* was again made the ſcene of war, in the famed conteſt between *Gallienus* and *Poſthumius*, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the *Germans*, under which it had groaned for ſome time, and for which he had been acknowleged emperor, both there, and in *Spain* and *Britain*, of which we have already given a full account in the *Roman* hiſtory [t]. The latter having been murdered by his ſoldiers, for debarring them from the plundering of *Mentz* [u], *Lollianus* got himſelf proclaimed emperor of that part of it which borders upon the *Rhine*; whilſt *Victorinus*, whom *Poſthumius* had taken for his collegue, governed over the reſt. Both theſe being ſoon after murdered, as we have there related, and the ſon of the latter, then an infant, being named his ſucceſſor, the *Gauls* murdered him likewiſe, and ſet up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and ſtrength; but he being likewiſe run through by a ſoldier, who had been formerly his journeyman, and with a ſword, as himſelf told him, of his own making, *P. Piveſus*, or *Peſuvius Tetricus*, a man of ſenatorial and conſular dignity, was proclaimed in all this province, and ſoon after acknowleged in *Spain* and *Britain*. *Tetricus* did not long enjoy his dignity, before the conſtant jars and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor *Aurelian*, who had reſtored peace in all other parts of the empire, and was marching to reunite *Gaul* and *Britain* to it, made him wiſh to be fairly rid of it. There is even ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that he invited him into *Gaul*; and though he made a faint oppoſition againſt him at the battle of *Chalons*, yet, upon the firſt onſet, he yielded himſelf to that emperor; ſo that the *Gauliſh* troops, for want of a leader, were intirely cut off, and this province again reduced to its former obedience [w]. In *Conſtantine*'s time, who is ſuppoſed to have been the perſon who firſt divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceſes, and each of theſe four parts put under the government of a diſtinct *præfectus prætorio*, which was before only under two, *Gaul* was made one of thoſe dioceſes, and had its provinces aſſigned to it. We have already had occaſion to ſay ſomething of them at the beginning

Gaul *again made the ſcene of war.*

Proclaim A. Marius *emperor.*

Aurelian *comes into* Gaul, *and reduces it.*

A new diviſion of Gaul *under* Conſtantine.

[s] Ibid. p. 312, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. p. 427, & ſeq. & p. 442.
[u] Ibid. & ſeq. [w] Ibid. p. 458, & ſeq.

of

of this chapter, and in a former volume[x], but ſhall be obliged to ſubjoin them here in their due order, for the ſake of what is to follow; and only add, with reſpect to this prefectſhip, that it then included *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain* under it, and A.C. 330. that *Gaul* contained ſeventeen provinces, ſix of which were ſtiled conſular, and the reſt under certain preſidents, who reſided in the capitals of each; all which are as follow:

Provinces.	Conſul or governor reſided at
1. *Narbonenſis Prima*,	*Narbonne* in *Languedoc*.
2. ——— *Secunda*,	*Aix* in *Provence*.
3. *Viennenſis*,	*Vienne* in *Dauphiné*.
4. *Alpes Graiæ & Penninæ*,	*Moneſtriers* in *Savoy*.
5. *Alpes Maritimæ*,	*Ebrodunum*, now *Embrun*, in *Dauphiné*.
6. *Lugdunenſis Prima*,	*Lugdunum*, now *Lyons*.
7. ——— *Secunda*,	*Roan* in *Normandy*.
8. ——— *Tertia*,	*Cæſarodunum*, now *Tours*, in *Touraine*.
9. ——— *Quarta*,	*Sens* in *Champaigne*.
10. *Sequania*,	*Bezançon* in *Franche Comté*.
11. *Aquitania Prima*,	*Bourges* in *Berry*.
12. ——— *Secunda*,	*Bourdeaux* in *Guienne*.
13. *Novempopulania*,	*Auſcorum*, now *Aux*, capital of *Gaſcony*.
14. *Germanica Prima*,	*Moguntia*, now *Mentz*.
15. ——— *Secunda*,	*Colonia*, now *Cologn*.
16. *Belgica Prima*,	*Civitas Trevirorum*, now *Triers*.
17. ——— *Secunda*,	—*Durocortorum*, now *Rheims*.

BESIDES the governors of the above provinces, the ſame emperor appointed *comites*, or counts, in the cities, and *duces* in the frontier-towns, to adminiſter juſtice according to the *Roman* laws. This was the ſtate and government of *Gaul*, when the *Goths* got footing into the ſouthern part, which was then called *Narbonenſis*; it having been granted to them by the emperor *Honorius*, upon their quitting *Italy*[y]. Some ſervices they did afterwards to the empire, obtained to them a freſh ſettlement in *Aquitania*. After this came the *Burgundi*, a great and warlike people, ſeated on the other ſide of the *Rhine* (they had been called in by *Stilicho*, to defend the *Gauliſh* borders from the *Franks*, which were on their march to invade it on that ſide), and ſeized on all the ſouth-eaſt part of it, was from them called *Upper* and *Lower Burgundy*[z]. This did not,

[x] See vol. xvi. p. 141, 142 (L). [y] See hereafter, ch. xxviii. ſect. 2. [z] Ibid. ſect. 6.

however,

however, hinder the *Franks*, a fierce and warlike nation of *Germany*, from entering and ſettling themſelves in that part of *Gaul*, which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Weſer*, and extending themſelves from the river *Mayne*, on the ſouth, quite to the *German* ocean, on the north; and were a compound of various nations, ſuch as *Sicambri*, *Bructeri*, *Salici*, *Cheruſci*, and ſome others of leſſer note. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of their origin, names, fierceneſs, ſwift conqueſts, and hiſtory, in a ſubſequent chapter [a], and refer to what we have already ſaid of them in a foregoing one, concerning their treachery and ſevere puniſhment under *Conſtantine the Great* [b]. All that we ſhall add here, is, that they aſſiſted ſome of the maritim *Gauliſh* provinces, eſpecially thoſe of *Britany*, *Normandy*, *Flanders*, and *Picardy*, to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke; by which means they poſſeſſed themſelves alſo of the *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*, and of the two *Belgiæ* above-mentioned, and obliged the *Romans* to conſent to it. Soon after this, they choſe *Pharamond* for their king; who was the founder of the *French* monarchy; in whoſe reign the *Romans* beat the *Franks* out of *Gaul*, a little before his death. His ſucceſſor *Clodion* endeavoured to regain it, but was defeated in the attempt; *and it was under Meroveus's* reign, who cauſed himſelf to be choſen king in his ſtead, that *the Hunns* poured in their numerous hoſts into *Gaul*; of which expedition we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place [c]. As for the reigns of *Pharamond*, and his ſucceſſors, as he is generally eſteemed the founder of the *French* monarchy, we ſhall begin our modern hiſtory of that kingdom from him.

The maritim provinces ſhake off the Roman *yoke.*
A. C. 412.

[a] Ibid. ſect. 5. [b] See before, vol. xv. p. 538. [c] See hereafter, ch. xxviii. ſect. 1.

The END of the EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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